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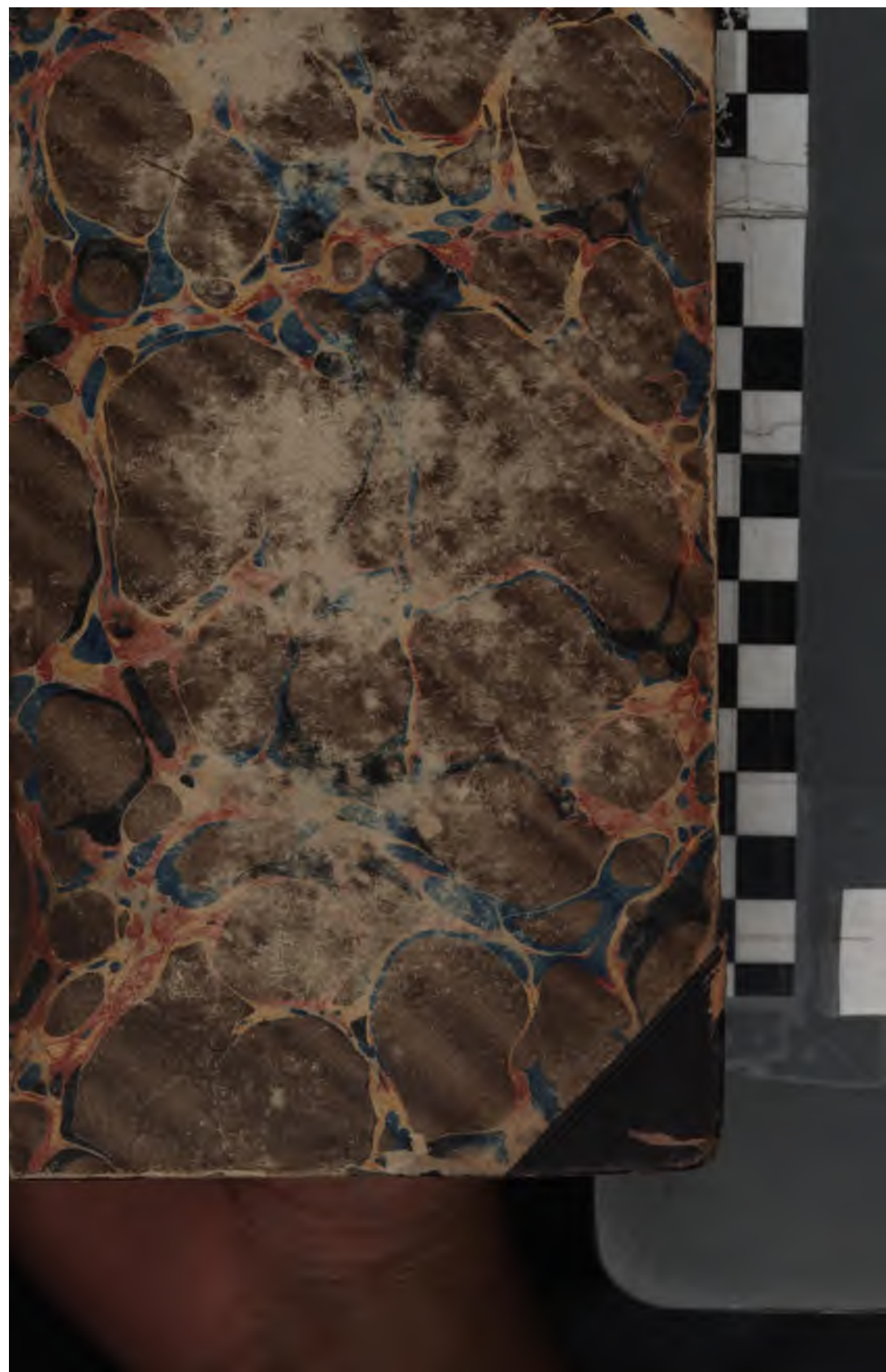
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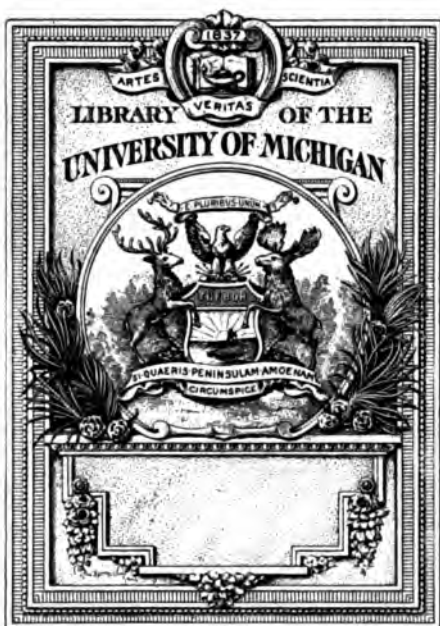
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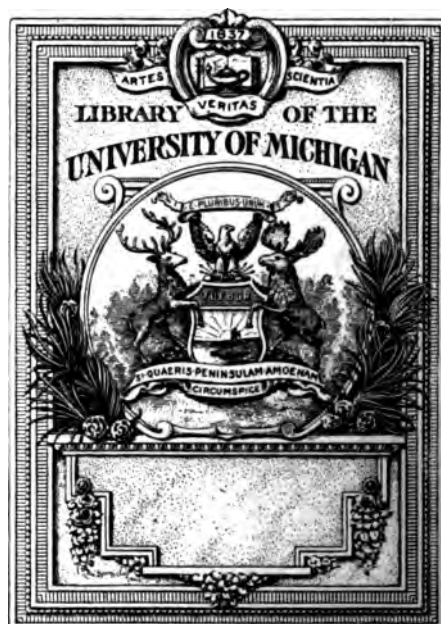
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ART. I.—*The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry: or, the Ancient British Church; its History, Doctrines, and Rites. By the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Norkis, Diocese of St. Asaph.* London: Cleaver.

THE History of Christianity in the West for the first three centuries presents very few certain facts for the mind to dwell upon. In the first place, it is altogether uncertain at what time or by what means the Christian faith first reached Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, Germany, and other western countries of the Roman empire. Without doubt there have been writers in later ages who have given us abundant details of the conversion of these countries to Christianity by the Apostles, or by missionaries appointed by them. We have had numbers of such accounts; and many Churches in the West claim to have been founded by apostolic teachers. But it is now universally admitted by learned men, that such claims, and the legends on which they are founded, are undeserving of credit; the only Church in the West which is undoubtedly of apostolical antiquity being that of the city of Rome, to which St. Paul addressed an epistle. The earliest facts respecting Christianity in France, on which any dependence can be placed, are the martyrdoms at Lyons, A.D. 177; after which, and the historical events connected with the time of Irenæus, we hear nothing further till the middle of the next century, and have then only a few meagre facts. As to Spain, we only know that Christianity existed there in the time of Irenæus and Tertullian: the Spanish martyrdoms were later than those of Gaul. Of Africa we know nothing till the time of Tertullian. The same may be said of Germany. If, therefore, we are unacquainted with the history of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain, we are nearly in the same position which every other western Church, except that of Rome, occupies; and it would be indeed a singular circumstance that Britain alone, of all the western Churches, should be able to produce the particulars of her first conversion to Christianity. So entirely were the western Churches without records of any kind, that the succession of the bishops has not been preserved in any Church; the catalogue of bishops of Rome, even, being only known, and that rather uncertainly, by the writings of Irenæus and Eusebius. There is evidence that the whole Church was, from the beginning, governed by bishops; but

there are no trustworthy records of the successive Church, except that of the city of Rome, for centuries.

The earliest writer who, *possibly*, refers to Christianity amongst the Celtic inhabitants of Britain who speaks of "Churches" then existing among *Celts*, and Iberians¹ ; and as Tertullian, who afterwards, says that Christianity had extended even to Britain which the Romans did not possess, it is clear that Christianity must have been introduced into Britain. There was, in fact, no Christianity from spreading there as it did elsewhere. Irenæus and Tertullian wrote, the whole of Britain except of Caledonia, had been reduced to the Roman province for more than a hundred years before the commencement of insurrectionary movement having been in South Britain finally subdued by Agricola in A.D. 84. To that time Britain was almost continually the theatre of the Roman legions for that time ; and if Christianity during that disturbed period, it was not likely to have made any progress.

But meagre as are the allusions to Christianity amongst the foreign Christian writers of the first century after Christ, when we turn to our native writers we find a number of details on the early ecclesiastical history of Britain are placed before us. Venerable Bede ascribes the introduction of Christianity to Lucius, King of Britain, an Bishop of Rome, about A.D. 177, and subsequently produced the names of the missionaries whom he sent at the desire of the king—the epistle which they wrote and the names of the archbishoprics and bishoprics founded and endowed in every city throughout Britain. The flamens and archflamens of the Druids.

On the other hand, Gildas, the earliest British writer who appears never to have heard of this history ; but Christianity to have been introduced here in the first century by the Apostles. And the traditions of the Cymry, as given by Mr. Williams in the elaborate and interesting work, coincide with this view to some extent, represent British Christianity as coeval with the Apostles.

It is our purpose, in the following pages, to consider the historical evidence for these alleged conversions.

¹ Irenæus *Adv. Hæreses*, lib. i. c. 10.

² Tertul.

And, in the first instance, we shall examine the British traditions as detailed by Mr. Williams, because they not merely ascribe the greatest antiquity to Christianity in England, but because they have, at first sight, more pretensions to antiquity themselves, than the story of King Lucius, in Venerable Bede, in whose pages it appeared, for the first time, in the eighth century.

The introduction of Mr. Williams's work is occupied with details on the "Bardism" of the Cymry; a very curious and important subject, inasmuch as the traditions of ancient British history, whether correct or otherwise, appear to have been handed down *orally* by the Bards till a comparatively late period. The system of Bardism was in full operation in Britain at the period of its conquest by the Romans; and while the Druidical branch of the order, that is, the class which was immediately devoted to the religious ministrations of their superstition, became extinct under the Roman dominion, the Bards, who were the historians and poets of that rude people, continued, as amongst the Celtic populations of Ireland and of Scotland, to be a recognised and an important class in the community. It seems, however, that, in the age of Cæsar, the Druids in Gaul were acquainted with the use of *letters*, and did not scruple to employ them in all matters except those which referred to "their discipline," which they transmitted by oral tradition only (Williams, p. 31). Mr. Williams infers from this fact, that the *British* Bards and Druids, from whom those of the Continent are said to have derived their institute, must also have employed writing in aid of their tradition; but this argument does not appear very conclusive, because the Gaulish practice may have been a corruption or innovation; and we are told elsewhere by Mr. Williams that the Druidic system was only preserved pure in Britain. With reference to the Gaulish Druidism in particular, he says (p. 39),

"It is evident from these words [of Cæsar] not only that the parent institution was more perfect in matters of detail, but that the Gallic system was even destitute of fundamental and fixed principles."

The purity of Druidism, indeed, was only preserved in Britain, according to the British records produced by Mr. Williams (*ibid.*); and thus the use of writing in Gaul does not necessarily prove that there were written historical records in Britain, amongst the Druids, as Mr. Williams argues (p. 31). He quotes certain "Law Triads of Dyvnwal Moelmud" to prove that it was the duty of Bards to keep a written record of "pedigrees of nobility by marriages, inheritances, and heroic actions" (p. 31); but a question will at once arise as to the antiquity and genuineness of the

works from which this quotation is made. These Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud are *said* to be about four hundred years before the Christian era (p. 12). But there seems to be no proof of their *existence* (as far as we discover from Mr. Williams) until the time of Caradoc of Llancarvan, in the twelfth century *after* Christ. Mr. Williams observes (p. 37), that "that Dyfnwal's Laws were translated by Gildas (in the sixth century) into Latin, and that Asserius showed this translation to King Alfred; but no sufficient authority is cited for these statements. Mr. Williams admits that there is a resemblance between the practices in these Laws, but believes it to be an internal resemblance, and he considers the genuineness of the code to be proved by internal evidence, because it refers to the incorporation of Bardic College, and the influence and privileges of its members, and to Druidism as the established religion. But to suppose that there is no demonstrative evidence of antiquity in these circumstances; for why should we not suppose that some of those who lived in the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and of Caradoc of Llancarvan, may not have *forged* these Laws, and endeavoured to avoid the mention of Christianity (which would have exposed their fictions), and to adapt their inventions to the actual facts of history, so as to avoid immediate detection? A great difficulty here occurs to us with reference to documents of such vast antiquity, supposing them to be genuine. We have observed in Mr. Williams's pages that any difference in language is perceptible in the various traditional documents referred to in his book. "It is remarkable," he says, "that all the documents which relate to the doctrine and institutes of the primitive Church are invariably written in the Silurian dialect" (p. 45), i.e. the Welsh of South Wales. Now if the Laws of Dyfnwal (which are supposed to have been written four centuries before Christ) had been reduced to writing, or handed down in their original form, it is hardly conceivable that there should not be some marked differences in dialect between them and other productions of a later date. It seems very strange and suspicious that of all these ancient documents should be that of South Wales—that South Wales alone should have preserved the language once used in the whole of Britain before the Roman conquest, and preserved it unchanged in all ages. We confess that this appears to us to throw considerable suspicion on the genuineness of all these "ancient" documents, and inclines us to apprehend that they were forged in South Wales, in or after those times when Geoffrey of Monmouth invented such marvellous tales of British history. The British language, four hundred years before Christ, could not have been identical in all respects with the English of the

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guage of six, or eight hundred, or a thousand, or fifteen years after Christ.

The support and authentication of the traditions of the Bards, by any *written* records, appears to us, therefore, doubtful. It seems to us that both the arguments employed by Mr. Williams (p. 31), to establish the contrary, are incorrect, yet in the absence of any evidence for the existence of records, how very *uncertain* becomes the whole mass of the history and other facts conveyed in the "Triads." These records of the Bards of Wales, profess, amongst other things, to give an account of the original peopling of Britain. Thus, we are told that Britain was called *before* it was inhabited. They then go on to carry the British history beyond the Deluge. And Mr. Williams himself, with their aid, professes to give an account of British history from about the time of the general diluvium at Babel. When we get down to Dyvnwal, four centuries before Christ, we feel quite at home—in modern times. We are in a position to demonstrate that these traditions are entirely false, inasmuch as history tells us nothing of Britain till long before the time of our Lord; but certainly all experience tells us that traditions conveyed merely orally are liable, in time, to great corruptions and additions; and if we suspect that the Bards in later ages endeavoured to enhance the dignity of their nation by inventing an early history for Britain, and carried it back to the remotest antiquity, their course was merely that which we find pursued by the bards and historians in many other nations, such as the Egyptians and Assyrians in ancient times, and the Scotch and Irish in more modern times. Forgeries of this kind, tending to enhance national honour and dignity, seem to have been practised at all times without scruple.

Mr. Williams in his notes, to which he refers in the text, for the evidence as to the genuineness and antiquity of the Triads and other remains cited in his work, gives us the following information as to the "Historical Triads"—a series of records in the form which gives to them the name they bear, a series which classes the events in groups of *threes*, which present a certain clarity or analogy. He quotes, in the first place, an extract from the work of Mr. Sharon Turner, which states that "the three Triads have been obviously put together at very different times. Some allude to circumstances about the first population of the island, of which every other memorial has perished. The Triads are noticed by Camden with respect. Mr. Stukeley the antiquary of Hengwrt, refers them to the seventh century. Some may be the records of more recent date. I think the most curious, on the whole, of all the Welsh remains

Now, supposing Mr. Vaughan to be correct in his view, it is surely rather unlikely that records of the seventh century after Christ could be depended on for the events of nearly three thousand previous years, which they profess to give. But it appears that some of them may be records of "more recent date" than the seventh century; and it does not appear how much more recent. Mr. Owen, another writer referred to (p. 5), states that the Triads relate to persons and events from the earliest times to the beginning of the seventh century—a proof that the whole cannot be assigned to an earlier period, though it seems difficult to say why it should not be referred to a considerably *later* period. In fine, we come to the actual direct evidence for the antiquity of the historical Triads, which is merely this.

"The Triads which we insert above, are from a series in the second volume of the Welsh, or Myvyrian Archaeology. To the copy from which a transcript was made for that work, the following note is annexed—'These Triads were taken from the Book of Caradoc of Nantgarvar and from the Book of Jevan Brechva, by me, Thomas Jones, of Tregaron—and these are all I could get of the three hundred—1601. Caradoc of Nantgarvar lived about the middle of the twelfth century. Jevan Brechva wrote a Compendium of the Welsh Annals, down to 1150.'—pp. 5, 6.

Now this is, it must be confessed, a very unsatisfactory proof of the antiquity of the Triads in question. All that appears to be certain is, that Thomas Jones, of Tregaron, in 1601, *aff* that the Triads he transcribed were taken from the books of Caradoc and Brechva; but there is no evidence that he was correct in this statement. It depends wholly on his *sw*. And even admitting that he *did* state the truth, still all it amounts to is, that these Triads were extant in the *twelfth* century; there is no proof whatever that they existed *previously* to the twelfth century. As far as we can see, there is nothing to prove, supposing that Thomas Jones, of Tregaron, A.D. 1601, been the fabricator of the Historical Triads; or that they have been fabricated in the twelfth century. Of course it could not have been any difficulty in composing in the *th* sixteenth century, records which contained an *alleg* of Britain from the general dispersion to A.D. 700. *7* In external evidence of authenticity, appears to be of no value the Welsh historical records most *questi*.

Besides the "Historical Triads" of which we are speaking, there is frequent reference to what are called "Tudor Triads." Of these Mr. Williams gives a full account. He quotes them from "Poems, Lyrics &c." by Edward Williams, Bard.

"These Triads (our author says) are from a manuscript collection by Llywelyn Sion, a bard of Glamorgan, about the year 1560. He was one of those appointed to collect the system of Bardism as traditionally preserved in the Gorsedd Morganwg, or Congress of Glamorgan, when the maxims of the institution were in danger of being lost, in consequence of persecution."—p. 13.

The external evidence for the antiquity of these Triads here given, is very slender. It goes back no further than the year 1560. There is no evidence that Llywelyn Sion (supposing such a person to have existed) did not adulterate, or fabricate the whole body of the Triads in question. He may have been the author of them, for any thing that we can see to the contrary; for Mr. Williams's argument for their antiquity, from their agreement with the Laws of Dyvnwal, appears to us rather to throw suspicion on them; and if they suppose Bardism to be incorporated with the State, and Druidism to be flourishing, as Mr. Williams observes, in further evidence of their antiquity, it is surely quite *possible* that Sion, in 1560, may have possessed sufficient skill to introduce particulars of this kind into pieces which he wished to pass off as records of great antiquity. We find, however, at page 19, that Mr. Edward Williams, the author of the volumes whence these Institutional Triads are quoted, speaks of a manuscript Synopsis of Druidism, or Bardism, written by Llywelyn Sion, about 1560, and he adds, that the "truth and accuracy" of this Synopsis "are corroborated by innumerable notices, and allusions in our Bardic manuscripts of every age up to Taliesin, in the sixth century." It is very singular, that under these circumstances, the Triads should only be producible from the manuscript of Sion in the sixteenth century. Where are the more ancient manuscripts and notices of which this writer speaks? We lack evidence most sadly here.

But, in fact, a great mass of the Triads appear to rest on the *same* authority of a "Synopsis," or manuscript collection, of Llywelyn Sion. The author above-mentioned states, in reference to the "Theological Triads," that they are taken from the *same* manuscript. He adds, that this collection "was made from various manuscripts of considerable, and some say of very great antiquity—these and their authors are mentioned, and most or all of them are still extant" (p. 23). Here the writer deals in generals to such an extent, that his statements are of little value: He does not state the age of the MSS. He does not state whether he knows of their existence from personal observation or by information of others. In short, nothing can be more vague and unsatisfactory.

Reference is made in many parts of Mr. Williams's book to the "Genealogy of the Saints of Britain." From the information

given us (p. 54), on the antiquity of these catalogues of Saints, it appears that the orthography of the book from whence one of them is taken, is "ancient;" and that the second was collected by Lewis Morris "from various old MSS. in North Wales, some of which are still in existence." Here again we have no particulars stated. We do not know whether the MSS. are of the sixteenth, or of the fourteenth, or the tenth century. "Old" MSS., and "ancient" orthography, conveys no particular notion as to date, authority, &c.

We cannot conceive that the MSS. thus vaguely referred to in this and in other preceding instances, are of any great antiquity. Had they been so, the Welsh antiquarians would assuredly have endeavoured to establish their age, by sufficient evidence. They could not have failed to make use of so important a means of establishing the genuineness of these Triads and other records.

We have thus briefly examined the evidence which has been adduced in support of the authenticity of the Welsh Triads and other records, and it appears on the whole, that the external evidence is too imperfect to enable us to employ them in the establishment of historical facts. Still we would not be understood to deny that the Druidical system has been handed down in the Triads. There is much in them which appears above the faculty and learning of Bards in the later ages, and which strikes us as really ancient; but we should think that the whole has been considerable degree mingled with later additions; and we have trust in the historical records, which appear to have been fabricated with a view to national pride and dignity.

But there is a far more serious difficulty than any we have adverted to, in reference to the historical records of the Cyn earliest British historian, Gildas—himself a Briton, and doing writing a narrative of the state of things in Britain during the minion of the Romans, and subsequently—was unable to draw *British records* to aid him in his work. He observes in his preface that his purpose is to narrate the evils which Britain, during the reigns of the Roman emperors, suffered and inflicted on people afar off, as far as he may, "not from national records of native writers, since none such appear to exist, or any, they were either burnt by the enemy, or carried off." He concludes by informing us, that his history is drawn from "foreign authorities." Now it certainly does not

³ "Illa tamen proferre conabor in medium, quæ temporibus inferiorum et passa est et aliis intulit civibus longe positis mala; quæ non tam ex Scripturis patriæ Scriptorumve monumentis, quam ex fuerint aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exsilii classe compareant,—quam transmarina relatione, quæ, crebris inter non satis claret."—*Gildas de exordio Britannicæ*. Ed. Stephe

passage in Gildas goes to subvert the authenticity of all the early historical records of the Cymry comprised in the Triads, &c. He evidently knew of no such national records or remains of native writers. If there ever were any such, he considered that they must have been burnt or lost. If he had heard of any oral traditions, he evidently did not consider them worthy of attention, or possessing any authority. We infer from this, that the Britons in the time of Gildas were unacquainted with the ancient history of their race, except in a very general way—that they knew no more of it than the broad facts which appear on the face of history—and that the historical Triads and other pieces bearing on the early history of Britain, which, as Mr. Williams himself seems to admit, bear signs of having been in part compiled as late as the seventh century, or even later, were in fact composed in that age, or some of the following ages after the time of Gildas; and, consequently, that they are of no authority whatever as regards the early British history. In point of fact, as we have seen, no evidence is before us to show that there is any documentary proof of the existence of these Triads, &c., much before the sixteenth century. No manuscript is actually produced, which can be ascribed to the twelfth or thirteenth, or even to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. No *proof* is given that Caradoc of Llan-carvan, or Brechva, in the twelfth century, wrote books containing Triads, and that the present Triads are faithful transcripts. In short, the whole thing wears a most suspicious aspect, and we know not to what age, between the seventh and the sixteenth, to ascribe the composition of the Historical Triads, and other Welsh records bearing on history.

Still we may approximate somewhat more closely to the age of these records; for not only is the Welsh traditional history more recent than the time of Gildas, but it appears to be later even than the time of Nennius—that is, later than the *ninth* century. For Nennius, who certainly was a British writer, and probably of that date, gives us a number of historical details on the early history of Britain, which are entirely different from those of the Welsh Triads, &c., and prove that this British writer of the ninth century had never heard of the stories comprised in them. Nennius states that there are different accounts of the first peopling of the island after the Deluge. According to the annals of the Romans, he says, Brutus, a descendant of Æneas, being expelled from Italy, settled in Britain with his people, as its first king, and Britain was thus peopled (Nennius, § 10, Ed. Stephenson). But, according to the British records, he says, Britto, or Brutus, was of the family of Japheth, and descended from him in the seventeenth generation, and this Britto was the

son of Hissitio, son of Alanus, who with his family fled to Europe (Nennius, § 17). Now this proves very clearly that at the time of Nennius, the Welsh Triad history had not been invented. It is perfectly incredible that Nennius, a British author, should not have been acquainted with the traditions of his own country, or that he actually records what the British traditions *were* and those traditions, as stated by him, are altogether different from those of the Triads. We therefore infer that the Triad history is more recent than the ninth century: indeed, as Geoffrey of Monmouth appears to reproduce in an augmented form the fables as those of Nennius, we should be disposed to infer that the Triad history is much later than the twelfth century.

But besides this, there is another most serious objection to the credibility of these British or Welsh remains; they represent a state of things in ancient Britain which is totally inconsistent with the facts of history. They suppose Britain, since the Roman invasion, to have been continually ruled by its own sovereigns, and that the whole of South Britain, including Siluria, was for centuries divided into provinces, forming a part of the Roman empire, the inhabitants of which were kept in order by a handful of troops. From the time of Agricola (A.D. 78) to the invasion of the Saxons, the Britons appear to have submitted very quietly to the Roman dominion; and we read of no British kings (with one exception) under the Romans. At the same time it is perfectly clear that in Siluria, more particularly, there was no such thing as an independent British sovereign, or even a nominal sovereign at all. We fully admit that it was not the policy of the Romans to permit sovereigns to retain their titles and a portion of their authority as tributaries, but that they acted much in the same way in which England now permits native principalities in India under her sway, and does not consider it necessary to reduce every part of the country under the jurisdiction of her own officials. The Romans frequently followed this policy where they were not opposed by force, or where sovereigns or states submitted without any condition to their dominion. In Britain they did so in one instance only. Vortimer, king of the Regni, became a favourite with the Romans on consequence of his early and willing submission to their arms, and was permitted to retain the government of the towns of his tribe. But Britain, as a whole, constituted no more Roman provinces from the moment of its final conquest by Agricola, A.D. 80. After that period there is no mention of British kings whatever.

With reference to Siluria in particular, there is historical evidence that the Silures were finally conquered by Julius Fro-

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a long and obstinate resistance, about A.D. 75. The rare testimony of Tacitus on this point is indisputable probably in consequence of the warlike and turbulent character of this people that one of the three legions, which constituted the Roman force in Britain, was permanently stationed in the north of the Silures, at Caerleon, or Isca Silurum. The legions were employed in guarding the northern barrier against the Caledonians. It is therefore clear that the country of the Silures was, of all parts of Britain, precisely that in which native sovereignty could have been permitted. It would be contrary to all sound policy, and especially to the practice of the Romans, to permit a nation, which it was found desirable to have in order by a garrison, to have the power of organizing its own sovereignty.

But the Welsh Triads, on the other hand, suppose that Siluria was always the seat of the British monarchy, and that the names of a series of *Christian* princes of Britain! with Bran, the father of Caractacus, and acting quite independently as sovereigns in their dominions. It supposes that St. Cyllin succeeded to the throne (p. 63); that Cyllin's successor in his "dominions;" that Owain erected a palace, and endowed a choir; that Lleirwg then "ascended the throne," and established the "Archbishopric of Llŷlysoed." Mr. Williams maintains that the alleged letter of Emperor Lucius, which supposes him to be sovereign over the whole of Britain, and does not even allude to any other government, is perfectly in accordance with the views which the Welsh records give of the state of the first and second centuries (p. 68). And yet it is clear, from undoubted history, that the whole of Britain was, during that period, in complete subjection to the dominion of the Roman emperors. The country, from one end to the other, was intersected with Roman roads, covered with Roman towns and colonies, garrisoned by Roman troops, and was furnished with regular levies of recruits to the Roman armies, in the form of the "British Cohorts," who were attached to some of the legions in foreign parts. The whole machinery of the British government was in full operation: taxes were rigidly enforced, and the natives were deprived of the use of arms⁴.

One special point of discrepancy between these Welsh traditions and the facts of ancient history cannot be passed over. The Triads represent Caractacus, not merely as King

⁴ Ample details on these points will be found in Henry's History of E

but as a *native* of that country. Mr. William history as given in the Welsh records, says :

"Caradog, though elective sovereign of the whole isle many nations,' was emphatically and peculiarly Prince therefore, his patrimonial residence must have been region. A Triad justifies this natural conclusion,

'The three tribe herdsmen of the isle of Brit

Bennren, herdsman in Corwennydd (a place in Glamorganshire) kept the herd of *Caradog, the son of Bran, and his triad* herd were twenty-one thousand milch cows, &c."—p. 1

Thus we see that Caractacus was, according to the records, the Prince of the Silures by hereditary right; moreover his father's name was Bran, according to the records. They state that Bran, the father of Caractacus, carried a prisoner to Rome, along with his son Caractacus, who was imprisoned there for seven years, and having converted to Christianity there, returned to his kingdom.

Now all this is perfectly inconsistent with the case, as stated in the Roman historians. According to Dio Cassius, Caractacus, with his brother Togodumnus, sons of *Cunobelinus*, who was king by descent, not by conquest, of the Cattivelauni—a nation inhabiting a tract of London, and by conquest, sovereign of the whole of England from Yorkshire southwards. Caractacus and his brother, who had each inherited a share of the dominion of their father, contended with great courage against the Romans in the time of the Emperor Claudius; but after the defeat of Caractacus, being deprived of his paternal dominion, he was received by the Silures, a warlike people of South Wales, as their leader; and at their head he engaged in a fresh conflict with the Romans, which issued in his defeat, and his submission to the Romans by his stepmother, Cartismandua, a Brigantes. His father Cunobelinus, therefore, lived many years before Caractacus was captured by the Romans, and this is wholly inconsistent with the Welsh Triad, which states that Bran, instead of Cunobelinus, the father of Caractacus, was supposed to have been *alive* when the latter was captured. In fact, if Dio Cassius, an historian of good credit, in the first century, is to be believed, there never was such a person as Bran. Tacitus also, who mentions (Annal. l. xii.) the capture of the wife and daughter of Caractacus, the death of his brothers, and his subsequent betrayal, is perfectly consistent with the capture or betrayal of his *father*.

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On the whole, then, we think there is sufficient rejecting the testimony of the Welsh records on all points relating to events prior to the time of Gildas, with that there were *no historical records* extant amongst them in his time, *i. e.* about the end of the sixth century.

The Welsh account of the introduction of Christ into Britain has been adverted to above. Mr. Williams gives the following Triads in reference to the subject:—

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“The three holy families of the isle of Britain:—

“The first, the family of Bran, the blessed, son of Llyr, that Bran brought the faith in Christ first into this island, where he had been in prison through the treachery of Aregvawg, daughter of Avarwy, the son of Llud.”—p. 53.

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And shortly after, the following:—

“The three sovereigns of the isle of Britain who conferred the faith:—

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“Bran the blessed, son of Llyr Llediaith, who first brought Christ to the nation of the Cymry, from Rome, where he was seven years a hostage for his son Caradog, whom the Romans made captive, after he was betrayed by treachery, and an ambush laid by Aregvawd Voeddawg.”—p. 54.

“The Genealogy of the Saints” is quoted to the same effect.

Now, as we have seen, the *father* of Caractacus was not Bran when he was captured by the Romans; and his father was Cunobelinus, not Bran; so that this story is incredible. And there is absolutely no evidence to support the records on which it appears are as much as five hundred years old; while there is distinct evidence that they are all of the time of Nennius—the end of the ninth century. So the tradition as to Bran, and the introduction of Christianity into Britain must be absolutely rejected as a mere fabrication. In fact the features of the case are quite sufficient to demonstrate the incredibility of the whole notion. According to the other connected records, Christianity was established in Britain during the lifetime of St. Paul! A succession of Christian monarchs from that period governed the island of Britain! Instead of Constantine being the first Christian emperor, the kings of Britain had been for centuries before his time; and in ages when Christians elsewhere were suffering persecution, they were in Britain subject to the favour of their own faith, and, of course, free from persecution. If all this were true, it would be by far the most extraordinary concatenation of events in history; but its plain an-

improbability in itself, and its contradiction to all authentic history, is quite sufficient to overthrow the credit of the whole.

It may here be observed, that the Welsh history of the introduction of Christianity into Britain is absolutely inconsistent with the account given by Venerable Bede, though the latter is, we think, quite as apocryphal as the former. The Welsh traditions represent King Bran as the first Christian sovereign, and the introducer of Christianity into Britain. They give us a succession of Christian princes after King Bran until King Lleirwg, who is supposed by Mr. Williams and other writers to be the same as "King Lucius," who, according to Bede's story, wrote to Pope Eleutherius, requesting to receive baptism, and was, according to him, the founder of the Christian Church in Britain. If the "Lleirwg," or Llever Mawr, of the Triads is meant to be the same as the "Lucius" of Bede, he holds very different positions in the two accounts. In the one he is born in a Christian land, his ancestors having for several generations been Christian kings. In the latter, he seeks baptism from Pope Eleutherius, and becomes the originator of British Christianity. The two stories are radically inconsistent. "Lucius" cannot by any means be fitted into the position of "Lleirwg," nor can "Lleirwg" meet the description of "Lucius." The introduction of Christianity into Britain is directly and plainly ascribed to "Lucius" by Bede; this is right in the teeth of the Welsh records, according to which "Lleirwg" (if that means "Lucius") had nothing whatever to do with the introduction of Christianity, which had taken place hundred and twenty years before his time. Accordingly, Welsh records are wholly silent as to any application of "Lleirwg" to Eleutherius, or as to his having received baptism from foreign missionaries. He is supposed to have been born in a Christian land, and to have founded the Archbishopric of Llandaf.

We must here cite a few passages from Mr. Williams as illustrative of the state of Britain, as described in the records, before the time of "Lleirwg," and in his time

"It is affirmed in the genealogy of Jestyn ab Gwrgant, that 'after he had been carried prisoner to Rome, returned Alfred likewise says, 'that Claudius sent him home again after many years, he died in peace, being a friend to the son Cyllin succeeded to his throne, and is described as a gracious sovereign, deeply imbued, moreover, with the influence of the Church within his kingdom: he is emphatically styled Cyllin Sant, or Cyllin the Saint; many of the Cymry were converted to the Christian

teaching of the native clergy, and were also visited by several missionaries from Greece and Rome.

"A custom had hitherto prevailed among the Cymry, of deferring to impose names upon individuals until they arrived at years of maturity, when their faculties were duly developed, so as to suggest a suitable and appropriate appellation. This custom was authoritatively changed by Cyllin, who enacted that, in future, a person's name shall be given him in his infancy. The alteration, we naturally presume, referred to baptism; and the royal enactment is so far interesting, as it implies the exercise of state authority in matters ecclesiastical, and the wide and visible progress which Christianity had already made in the king's immediate dominions. . . . Cyllin's life must have been extended to the second century. He left behind him two sons, Owain and Coel, the former of whom appears to have inherited his father's dominions. It would appear that he enjoyed a tranquil reign, and was on good terms with the Romans, whose magnificence and splendour he copied in the erection of a royal palace. He rendered many and great benefits to his Christian subjects in general, and particularly to the establishment founded by Eurgain [a college or monastery], which he is said to have endowed with wealth for the maintenance of twelve members. . . .

"When Lleirwg (Lucius) ascended the throne, he became deeply impressed with the necessity of providing more amply for the Church, regulating its external affairs as bearing upon the state in a more defined and permanent manner, and more clearly distinguishing it from ancient Druidism. With this view, he applied to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 173—180, by means of Medwy and Elvan, native Christians, requesting to be furnished with the Roman and imperial laws, in which he doubtlessly expected to find certain ordinances respecting the Church. Eleutherius in reply sent him the following letter: . . .

"The conveyance of this letter was entrusted to Dyvan and Fagan, both of British extraction, and both, most probably, descendants of some of the royal captives taken to Rome with Caradog. Dyvan, indeed, is ascertained to be the great grandson of Manawydaw, Bran's brother, and, therefore, a kinsman of Lleirwg. The selection of such persons was judicious, and well calculated to promote the design of the king.

"What Lleirwg by their aid accomplished, is briefly, though not very intelligibly, specified in the Triads. One says, that he 'made the first Church at Llandaf, which was the first in the isle of Britain, and bestowed the privilege of country and native judicial power and validity of oath, upon those who might be of the faith of Christ.' Another Triad, speaking of the three archbishoprics of the isle of Britain, states: 'The first was Llandaf, of the gift of Lleirwg, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, who first gave lands and civil privileges to such as first embraced the faith in Christ.'—pp. 63—69.

Here we have a history of a succession of Christian monarchs of Britain previous to the time of Lleirwg, and the latter is by

the Triads represented merely as the author of certain endowments of Churches and regulations in ecclesiastical matters. But the majority of the Britons are represented to have been Christians, even in the time of his grandfather Cyllin. The book of Llandaf, from which Mr. Williams derives much of his statement about "Lucius," is of uncertain authority. Its date is not stated; nor is its account corroborated by any other ancient documents. As far as Mr. Williams details its contents, they are inconsistent with the account given by Venerable Bede, in his account of the object of the mission to Eleutherius, which Bede states to have been for the purpose of obtaining baptism; while the book of Llandaf represents it to have been with a view to obtain copies of the Roman laws.

And now to come to Bede's account of "King Lucius." In the prefatory epistle to King Ceolwulph, Bede states the sources from which his history is drawn; and with reference to the earlier portion, extending from the beginning to the period when the English received Christianity, he professes to have derived his information chiefly from former writers—*A principio itaque voluminis hujus usque ad tempus quo gens Anglorum fidem Christi percepit, ex priorum maxime scriptis hinc inde collectis ea quæ promeremus didicimus.* Thus it appears that Bede, like Gildas, refers to former writers as his authorities; and it is not to be supposed that he derived any of his historical knowledge of those ages from the traditions of the Britons, inasmuch as Gildas (whose work quoted by Bede) himself derived nothing from British tradition or records. If Gildas, though a Briton, knew nothing of British traditions, still less could Bede. The Anglo-Saxons, of course, could have known nothing of the history of Britain prior to their own arrival, except from information derived from the Britons; and if there was any account whatever among the Britons of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, it must have been from the Britons. But it is quite evident that there was no knowledge amongst the Britons of the period of the introduction of Christianity. Gildas supposes, indeed, that Christianity was introduced here in the Apostolic age; and such a supposition is very reasonable. But the fact of his making this proves that the Britons had, at that time, no tradition of the introduction of Christianity by the imaginary "King Lucius" in the latter part of the second century.

And as the tradition about "King Lucius" was derived from British or domestic tradition, so it is evident that it could not have been derived from foreign tradition. In the first place, no historian or writer, before Bede, ever mentioned the fact. Gildas, Sulpicius

of Tours, Prosper, Orosius, Eusebius, Ruffinus, are all silent as to the alleged fact. The Christian apologists, who refer to the extent of Christianity as amongst its evidences, never mention so remarkable a fact as this mission—the *first* mission ever sent from a sovereign to a Christian bishop. Tertullian, who wrote shortly after the alleged event, and who spoke of British Christianity, never alluded to so unprecedented a circumstance. None of the Fathers referred to it. None of the bishops of Rome ever alluded to it, in all their manifold assertions of Papal power and jurisdiction. Innocent, Zosimus, and Leo, and Gregory the Great never spoke of it. In all the many epistles of Gregory the Great referring to the introduction of Christianity into Britain—in the correspondence with Augustine on the affairs of Britain—in the subsequent letters and decretals of the Popes—in the discussions between the Anglo-Saxon and the British Clergy with reference to Easter—there is throughout a total silence as to the fact of Britain having received its Christianity through Pope Eleutherius, or of any application having been made to Eleutherius by “King Lucius.” So that in fine, no less than *five hundred and fifty years* elapsed from the date of the alleged conversion of Britain under “King Lucius,” before any mention was made of it; for Bede wrote about A.D. 730; and this profound silence is altogether inexplicable on the supposition of the truth of the story; for there were many parties interested in making it public, and referring to it, if it had been true. And to say the least, the unsupported statement of one writer, five hundred years after an event, does not, in itself, afford any historical evidence. If it happened to be based on specified records or traditions, the case might be different; but here there is nothing of the kind.

We have seen that the story could not have been derived from British traditions or records, and that it was not derived from foreign writers or remains. Nor could it have been drawn from the records of the Church of the City of Rome; for there is not the slightest trace of any such records having been preserved. None of the epistles or acts of the early bishops of Rome have been preserved. The series of decretals begins in the latter part of the fourth century: all previous records have perished, if there ever were any; and the actions of the early bishops of Rome, and proceedings of their Church are only preserved in history—in the writings of Fathers, and in the councils. If there were any ancient records they probably perished in the persecution under Diocletian.

But, besides these difficulties, there are others specially affecting the state of Britain at that period.

It is extremely improbable that Christianity should not have made its way to Britain *before* A.D. 180—the time of Eleutherius; when,

in twenty or thirty years afterwards, Tertullian testifies that Christianity had extended into parts of Britain where the Romans had not penetrated. This implies that Christianity had been for some time in Britain, and we can scarcely suppose that it had not been introduced before A.D. 180. Irenæus, perhaps, refers to it. And there was nothing in the state of Britain to prevent the spread of Christianity there: it was a peaceful and well-regulated Roman province from the time of Agricola. If Christianity had not, under such circumstances, made its way into Britain in the early part of the second century at latest, it would be a very strange fact. And to suppose that any British king would, in the year 180, be obliged to send as far as Rome in order to obtain Baptism, is inconsistent at once with all probability, and with the position held by the Church of Rome in that age; for it is incredible that there should not have been Christian Clergy much nearer than Rome: indeed, it is certain there were, as Irenæus speaks of the "Churches" amongst the Germans, Celts, and Iberians; and in that age, though the Church of the City of Rome possessed a pre-eminence, founded on its being the imperial city, yet it had scarcely assumed such a position in the Church as the alleged mission of "Lucius" to Eleutherius would seem to indicate, and which would much better suit the notions of the eighth century than those of the second.

In addition to these objections there is this: that "Lucius" is represented by Bede as King of the Britons, at a period there certainly could have been no such person, the whole country being subject to the Roman emperors; and there is not a trace in history of any subordinate or tributary sovereigns in Britain at that time, or at any time after the final conquest of Britain by Agricola. There is no sort of evidence that the Romans permitted any one to succeed Cogidunus in the dominions they allotted to him. It is true that Archbishop Ussher saw a gold coin, and a silver coin bearing the name of Lucius; but the gold coin, which is extant in the British Museum, is a forgery; and the silver coin, which has disappeared, was probably no better than the other genuine British coins which appear to exist are those of the father of Caractacus, which have been found in great numbers, and of one other petty prince named Segovax.

It is very strange that writers, like Archbishop Stillingfleet, should not have felt themselves wholly to reject the story of "King Lucius" as an invention of the authority of Venerable Bede is, doubtless, very great.

⁵ See Rev. T. Pantin's Preface to Bishop Stillingfleet's Works, p. xv. Ed. Oxford, 1842.

as far as regards events in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, it is of the highest value; and yet even in this part of his history, there are legends which it is impossible to accept as matters of fact. His informants seem to have practised on his credulity occasionally; and it is clear that a pious fraud was committed, when he was told by some one (for we will not suppose that he was himself the author of the tale) that the British Church owed its Christianity to Pope Eleutherius, as the Anglo-Saxon did to Pope Gregory. We presume that the object of inventing this tale was to show the Britons that they ought to follow the Roman customs in preference to their own, because they had originally derived their Christianity from Rome. It is of course very easy for Ussher and Stillingfleet, and other writers who have followed them, to endeavour to reduce Bede's story of "King Lucius" to credible dimensions, by getting rid of the notions which he connects with it, that Lucius was King of the Britons, and that Christianity was then first introduced. It is easy to say that Lucius was not King of the Britons, but that he might have been some tributary prince of some one of the native tribes; and that he may have communicated in some way with Eleutherius, though not for the purpose of introducing Christianity into Britain. To make suppositions and conjectures like this is very easy; but to do so is to subvert the facts which Bede connects with the story; and if this be done, the whole story may be just as well rejected at once.

If there were any *other* evidence with reference to "King Lucius" besides the statement of Venerable Bede, and if that evidence were in some respects inconsistent with that of Bede, we might make the accounts tally by rejecting the more improbable circumstances on conjecture; but we have no such reasons to correct Bede's account, because it stands perfectly alone. No former writer, or document of any kind, corroborates it. There is no collateral evidence whatever. *After* the time of Bede, "King Lucius" was, indeed, frequently referred to, but by writers who appear to have derived the notion from Bede.

Our own conviction is, that "Lucius" was a purely imaginary personage; that the fiction was invented in the eighth century, at about the same time, and on the same principles as the spurious decretal epistles of the early Bishops of Rome. We think it is a plain and evident imposture, intended for the express purpose of advancing the influence of the See of Rome, just as "the Historical Triads" were designed for the purpose of enhancing the dignity of the Welsh people.

And now, having examined the records of early British ecclesiastical history, comprised in the Welsh Triads and in the so-

counts of King Lucius, we must notice the claims put forward by many of our writers to the presence or preaching of one or more of the Apostles in our island. Stillingfleet, Collier, and others have sufficiently shown the baselessness of those various traditions which refer us to St. Peter, or St. James the Less, or St. Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of Arimathea, or Aristobulus, as preachers of the Gospel here in the apostolic age. All these traditions are easily proved to be valueless. But the accounts of St. Paul's mission are much more deserving of attention, and have been vigorously defended by Stillingfleet and Collier, who reject so many other traditions. It may, therefore, be desirable to offer a few remarks on this subject.

The argument of Stillingfleet and Collier is briefly this: Eusebius, in his *Evangelical Demonstration*, states that the Apostles preached amongst the remotest nations, such as the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Medians, Scythians, and that some passed over the ocean to the "British islands;" and Stillingfleet adds, that Eusebius had an opportunity of gaining accurate information as to the history of the British Churches from the Emperor Constantine, who had been in Britain. We do not attach much weight to this; for Constantine was not likely to feel much interest in the antiquities of the British Church, and had no time to examine them. But besides Eusebius, Theodoret (in the fifth century) after mentioning Spain, remarks that St. Paul brought salvation to the "*islands*" in the ocean, and he expressly speaks of the "Britons" as amongst those who were converted by the Apostles. Jerome speaks of St. Paul's being in Spain, and going "from one ocean to another," and his words "as far as the earth itself." In fine, Clemens Romanus states that St. Paul preached even "to the utmost bounds of the earth," an expression which, according to the usage of antiquity, may fairly include Britain. In addition to this, it is generally admitted that St. Paul had time and opportunity to come to Britain, as he was in Rome during the period during which he dwelt two years in Rome, his being sent there, ended in A.D. 61. So that the greater part of his life may have been spent in preaching in the East; there is sufficient reason to allege that they were not the statements of the Fathers above referred to.

Such is a summary of the argument in behalf of St. Paul's mission to Britain, and we would observe on it, in the testimony of Jerome is very indefinite, and does not refer to Britain at all—that Theodoret may have taken his opinion from Eusebius; and Eusebius may have made the statements referred to by the

Romanus. The latter testimony is of the highest authority, and, as far as the words go, may certainly refer to Britain; but they may equally refer to *Spain*; and, considering that the latest date at which the epistle of Clemens Romanus could have been written was about A.D. 96, it certainly appears a strong argument that, during some part of the latter years of his life, he *did* preach in the remotest parts of the West. That he spent all the latter years of his life in the West is improbable, when we remember the declaration of St. Paul to the Philippians, ii. 24, that he would "shortly come" to them. See also the Epistle to Philemon (22). In the Second Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul says that the time of his departure is "at hand" (iv. 6); and yet it appears that he had only lately returned to Rome, from a circuit through the East and Greece (i. 18; iv. 13, 20). It is evident from this, that the latter years of St. Paul's life could not have been exclusively devoted to the West, as Bishop Stillingfleet argues. It would also be an unaccountable fact, if St. Paul had preached for any length of time in the West, there should not be extant any epistles to Western Churches. Nor is there in any of the epistles, any *allusions* even, to any Western journeys, with the single exception of his *intention* to visit Spain. If he actually visited Spain, it seems strange that the fact should not be alluded to in any way in his last epistles. It may be further added, that the time between St. Paul's release from his first imprisonment at Rome, till his death, is held by the ablest modern critics not to have exceeded *four* years, instead of eight.

But, however this may be, one thing appears very clear—that it is not probable that St. Paul should have gone to *Britain* between A.D. 61 and 69; for in 61 and 62 occurred the expedition of Suetonius against Mona, and the subsequent bloody struggle between the Romans and Britons, in which seventy thousand Romans and their confederates were put to death at Camulodunum, London, Verulamium, and other places; while eighty thousand of Boadicea's army fell in battle. And though, after this, the war was not carried on with any vigour by the Romans till the time of Vespasian, about A.D. 70, still Britain was, unlike any of the other Roman provinces of the West, the seat of war. And it is not probable that St. Paul should have visited this island, when this was the case; more especially since, if we suppose him to have preached through the peaceable countries of Spain, and perhaps Gaul, and to have revisited the East, there would have been abundant employment for his latter years, without supposing that he visited a country which was in so unsettled a state as Britain. He would not have come to Britain until he had first evangelized Spain and Gaul, and those

two countries were of such vast extent, that, judging from his preaching elsewhere, he would have been engaged for several years in preaching there; so that, remembering his visit to the East, which certainly took place before his death, and which must have taken a long time, it seems very improbable that he should have come to Britain.

Setting aside therefore, as very improbable, any notion of a mission by St. Paul, or any other Apostle, in Britain, and rejecting also the story of the conversion under the pretended "Lucius," King of Britain, and also the fabrications of the Welsh Bards, in reference to the introduction of Christianity by Bran, the father of Caractacus; we only know, as matter of historical fact, that from the time of Agricola, A.D. 80, the province of Britain was reduced to subjection to the Roman arms and laws; and that there is the same probability that Christianity penetrated there at an early period, as there is in the case of Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Germany. But from the time of Agricola, A.D. 80, till that of Tertullian, A.D. 200, we hear absolutely nothing certain about Christianity in Britain—not even whether it existed. All we do know is, that by Tertullian's time Christianity in Britain had extended into those parts not subject to the Roman dominion;—that is, into Caledonia;—from which we may infer that it had existed for a considerable time previously in this country; and the allusion in the writings of Irenæus to Christian Churches among the "Celts," may very possibly refer to Britain as well as Gaul, both countries including a Celtic population at that time.

The mention of Christianity as existing in Britain in the pages of Origen, is the only circumstance in our ecclesiastical history of the third century; but, early in the fourth, we have the martyrdom of Alban, Julius, and others—the first mention of which occurs in Gildas, about A.D. 570, and which he may have learnt from the Martyrology in use in the British Church. Venantius Fortunatus, who, in the seventh century, mentioned the martyrdom of St. Alban in his poems, probably learnt the circumstance from the writings of Gildas, as Venerable Bede may also have done; and in the interval between the time of Gildas and Bede, the legend, as was to be expected, received many additional extraordinary circumstances. The facts relating to the Synod at Arles, A.D. 314, the orthodoxy of the British bishops during the Arian controversy, their presence at Ariminum, and the poverty of three of their number (the majority being in better circumstances), the events of the Pelagian controversy, and the mission of Germanus and Lupus, in the fifth century, are all within the province of history; though there are various disputed points. The amount of historical fact, however, is very small.

Certain conclusions, however, occur to us with reference to the whole history, up to the period of the Saxon invasion.

I. It is apparent that in their religious belief, and generally in their practice, the British Church agreed with the prevalent feeling and principles of the Church generally. They were not heretical, or in any respect peculiar, but were recognised as a part of the one great Christian body extended throughout the world. The faith, as described by Irenæus, Tertullian, and the other ante-Nicene Fathers, was theirs. In the Arian controversy they took the orthodox side. The same result followed in the Pelagian controversies. There are indications in Gildas that they also shared the prevalent feeling as regarded martyrs and their remains; and their adoption of the early discipline in regard to widows, testified by Fastidius, and their acceptance of the monastic institute, introduced into the West by Martin, Bishop of Tours, are indications of their general tone of mind. Their hierarchy was exactly like that of the rest of Christendom, consisting of three orders.

As regards the Papal Supremacy, we find nothing of the kind here, or in other western countries beyond Italy. The extensive jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome (over the suburbicarian provinces) is indeed alluded to by the Synod of Arles, at which British Bishops were present. The Bishop of Rome was given certain powers of causing causes to be reheard by the Synod of Sardica in 347; and the Bishops of Britain seem to have been there also; but there was no recognition of a Papal Supremacy in this—it was merely conferring on the bishop of the imperial city certain privileges which he did not before possess; nor was this Canon acted on. In 378 the temporal sovereign enacted a law by which all bishops were made liable to be tried by the Bishop of Rome, and Britain, of course, was included amongst the rest; but this law was not acted upon, as is evident from the history of the African Church in the next century. The first interference in the affairs of the British Church by the Bishops of Rome was in the time of the Pelagian controversy, when Celestine is said to have commissioned Germanus and Lupus, Gallican bishops, to visit Britain. The authorities are rather various on this point, some ascribing the mission to the Synod of Gallican bishops; but it does not seem improbable that Celestine may have interfered, because he and his predecessor Zosimus had induced the Bishops of Arles to accept the delegation of authority from the See of Rome, and had thus made the first step towards universal jurisdiction. There is nothing whatever inconsistent with the spirit of the fifth century in the supposition that Germanus was sent with the authority of the See of

Rome into Britain. It was at this period that Zosimus endeavoured to extend his jurisdiction to Africa, alleging in its support the Canon of Sardica, which he represented as a Canon of the Synod of Nice. On the detection of his deceit, the African Bishops, headed by St. Augustine, passed Canons prohibiting any such jurisdiction as that claimed by Zosimus under penalty of excommunication. In Gaul, however, the Bishops of Arles accepted in this century the delegation of powers from the See of Rome; and it is very possible therefore, that a Gallican bishop going to Britain to meet a rising heresy, might have been authorized by the See of Rome as well as by the Gallican synod of bishops. Probably, if the Roman dominion had continued in Britain, or if Christianity had remained settled there, the Popes would have endeavoured to appoint a Vicar here as they did in Gaul, and Spain, and Illyricum; and very possibly they might have succeeded in the attempt, and a commencement might thus have been made of ordinary jurisdiction.

We apprehend that it would be difficult to prove that the British Church was in any material point different from the rest of the Western Church in the time of Gregory the Great. Its customs were certainly different in various points from those of Rome; and there are many reasons for thinking that they were derived from those of the old Gallican Church, with which the Britons were connected by immediate vicinity, by a common language, and by a common derivation, the Celtic race prevailing in each of the two countries previously to the invasion of the Saxons and the Franks.

The people of Wales and the Bretons form the remains of the people who once overspread the greater part of Britain and G—relics of the aboriginal population of the West. There is a deep interest attaching to all that concerns the history of the most ancient race; but its national dignity stands in no need of a fable and exaggeration to enhance it. A race whose forefathers stood in heroic opposition to the Roman legions—to the emperors, the Cæsars—may be permitted to indulge in those feelings of national pride in which Welshmen, to do them justice, are deficient; but the fables of Geoffry of Monmouth, or the inventions of the Bards, only tend to invite criticism, and extravagance, to diminish the respect due to the far-*truer* race of the CYMRU.

ART. II.—*History of the War of the Sicilian Vespers.* By MICHELE AMARI. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the EARL OF ELLESMERE. 3 vols. London: Bentley. 1850.

LATE events have given a peculiar and painful interest to Sicily and her people: and yet, perhaps, we are wrong, in attributing any especial importance to the Sicilian question. For, without entering into the merits of the late struggle between the insurgents and their conquerors, we may safely assert that there is no spot on the face of the earth where a Bourbon has trodden, from the day of Hugh Capet's successful treason to the present time, without leaving his foot-prints of blood; and that there is no people or potentate under heaven that has not sufficient reason and just cause to dread the very name of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs; always, of course, excepting the Emperor of Russia and the Pope of Rome. These worthies, the one from his political, the other from his religious antagonism, to the best and truest interests of our country, have found a constant and useful auxiliary in the foreign minister of the Queen of England.

Leaving, however, this august trio to that consideration which they deserve and receive at the hands of every true-hearted Englishman, let us proceed to the examination of the very exciting volumes before us. We had, at first, used the epithet "*interesting*:" but, on second thoughts, have felt compelled to substitute the phrase which we have adopted. For though there is much of stirring event and striking incident in this work, and though it contains a masterly narrative of an important war, abounding with many caustic remarks and eloquent passages, there is a decided want of *interest*, properly so called. And this arises not from any fault in the writer, though in the warmth of his Sicilian provincialism and southern enthusiasm he is sometimes rather carried away by his feelings, but from an essential defect in his subject. Almost all the persons who play a conspicuous part in the drama are so atrociously wicked, or so ineffably childish, that we can feel no sympathy either with their success or their defeat. Thus all the sovereigns, with scarcely an exception, are avaricious and cruel, monsters of tyranny and perfidy, whilst the patriots for the most part are worthy disciples of their royal instructors.

The insurrection and massacre, properly known as that of the Sicilian Vespers, awakens in our mind little else but horror and disgust, which is in no way removed by the atrocious tyranny that preceded and provoked it.

The character of Peter of Arragon : his duplicity, his barbarity, his ingratitude, is not in our opinion rendered worthy of admiration by his courage, his perseverance, and his policy.

His son James is an embodiment of perfidy. And his brother Frederick far too wanting in constancy of purpose, or consistency of principle, to win our respect.

The Angevin monarch, Charles the First of Naples, combines that selfishness and superstition, which so frequently characterise his family—a family, the animus of which finds its truest exponents in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the pollution of the Palatinate.

But in darkest colours, a darkness that may be felt, though lurid with flame and crimson with blood, stand out the Roman Pontiffs and their emissaries.

The work, however, has its many powerful lessons, lessons which the present age may profit from, if it is so inclined ; some of which we shall slightly indicate in the cursory notice which we are able to bestow upon it :—

“ After its occupation by Charlemagne,” says Mr. Amari, “ and the Othos, the greater part of Italy had remained subject to the feudal supremacy of the Emperors of the West ; but these mighty men gave place to feeble successors ; the turbulence of the great feudatories distracted the empire ; and the German dominion soon became, at best, merely nominal on this side of the Alps. Meanwhile, the Church increased in power, and with the scriptural doctrines of liberty and equality, encouraged the Italians to throw off the yoke. Industry, commerce, science, and literature sprang up anew in Italy, to change the destinies of the world. Fostered by them, from the confused multitude of serfs, vassals, and lesser nobles, arose a new order—the people, sole basis of equal rights and civil freedom. Hence, when the feudal system changed into feudal anarchy, the latter, encountering this new order, gave rise, in the eleventh century, to the mercantile republics.”—Vol. i. p. 17.

“ Sicily, and the peninsula south of the Garigliano, though differing little from the rest of Italy in race, language, traditions, and manners, were subjected to a different form of government. While in the rest of Europe, the Northern races, losing the virtues of barbarism retained only its vices, Sicily, like Spain, was under the dominion of the Saracens, who, if not civilised, were enlightened, and full of the activity and energy of a recently regenerated people. The mainland province now invaded by the barbarians, now reconquered by the Greek Em-

perors, split itself into a multitude of states, under various polities. Some of them were adopting the forms of the rising Italian republics, when a handful of Norman adventurers, summoned as defenders, made themselves masters of the soil, and established the feudal system. Crossing into Sicily, toward the close of the eleventh century, they drove out the Saracens, who were odious to the natives as foreign rulers differing from them in race and religion, and founded there a new principality. They were the first to introduce feudality, which, as it was already beginning to decline in the rest of Europe, here arose in a more equitable and milder form, being further modified by the virtues and ability of Roger, the leader of the conquerors, by the influence of the great cities, by the powers grasped by the Church on the head of Christian virtues, by the amount of allodial lands, by the wealth and number of the Saracens, subdued rather than exterminated, and even by that of the Christian inhabitants of Sicily. Thus Count Roger, as ruler of a free people, rather than chief of a turbulent baronage, and invested with the authority of pontifical legate (which is, even to the present day, an inherent privilege of the Sicilian crown), governed his new state firmly and orderly. It was raised to the rank of a kingdom by the second Roger, son of the count, who, by combined force and policy, wrested Apulia and Calabria from the other Norman princes, and then gallantly defended them with Sicilian arms against the barons, who there enjoyed greater powers, the Emperor and the Pope. Upon this he was hailed by the parliament, King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and Prince of Capua; and at length, either of favour or necessity, recognised by the Pope. He centred the power of the magistracy in the crown, restrained the barons, established wise internal regulations, revived industry, and employed his arms with success beyond the limits of his kingdom.

"The newly-founded Sicilian monarchy had two opposing powers to contend with; these were the baronage (which, although not sufficiently powerful to set at nought the regal authority, was yet daring enough to provoke it), and the court of Rome. The latter involved our princes in the contests of Italy, now calling them to her aid, and now laying claim to their provinces, and openly combating them. Nevertheless the monarchy, based on a firm foundation, resisted these assaults from within and from without, strengthened itself by improved laws under the reign of the second William, and might, perhaps, after a long period of neutrality, have raised a true national standard in Italy, subdued the Emperor and the Pope, and occupied and protected the whole country to the foot of the Alps, had it not passed, by marriage, from the Norman line to the House of Suabia, which at that time wielded the sceptre of the empire."—Vol. i. pp. 21—24.

Then followed the long and deadly contest between the Pope and the House of Suabia, which ended in the entire annihilation of the latter. At the death of the great Emperor, Frederick II., the reigning Pope, Innocent IV., redoubled his efforts

for their destruction : and succeeded in preventing his son Conrad from being elected Emperor, and in order to deprive him of his southern dominions he proclaimed, as he had in the time of Frederick, liberty to the people : he stirred up the barons, exhorted the bishops and clergy, preached remission of sins to all who would rise in rebellion against their sovereign, and in his briefs, and by his legates, endeavoured to arouse a spirit of disaffection, promising to all orders and conditions of men, peace, prosperity, and every other result of mild and just government under the protection of the Church. There were not wanting causes of complaint against the reigning house : the Suabian dynasty is indeed charged with rigour and avarice : we are, however, inclined to think that such rigour may have been necessary for the maintenance of order, and the protection of person and property, in an age and country where insubordination was general, and lawlessness universal : and no doubt can exist but that, even supposing the imperial avarice not to have been *produced* by the necessity of obtaining funds for carrying on the contest against Rome, it was vastly increased by that cause. Subjects of discontent there always will be, but we doubt extremely whether the Sicilians and Neapolitans were justified in their feelings of disaffection, much less in their practices of treason. The result would seem to condemn them.

For the present, the intrigues of the Pope and the insubordination of the people were overpowered by the zeal of the Ghibellines, and the talents of Manfred, an illegitimate son of the late Emperor. After a reign, however, of little more than two years, Conrad died, leaving an only child, an infant, named Conrad, but known in history by the childish diminutive of Conradin. His father confided him, as an infant and an orphan, to the paternal care of the Pontiff, who, in the ruthless and unchristian spirit which has so often characterized the See of Rome, a spirit naturally breathing itself into the constant energy of life from the errors of her church and the claims of her Bishop, renewed his assaults more furiously than ever, both by force and fraud, upon the heritage of the helpless and fatherless child.

At this juncture the conduct of the Sicilians is utterly inexcusable. They had a noble opportunity of saving their country, their honour, and their king. Had they rallied round the defenceless innocent whom the Providence of God had appointed for their future ruler, they might have secured all their existing franchises, and obtained all those that were wanting ; they might have consolidated the Sicilian constitution, obtained the entire freedom of their country from foreign domination, ensured the love and gratitude of their prince, and established a mutu

good-will and devotion alike beneficial to the ruler and the ruled.

Instead of doing this they quarrelled miserably among themselves, and at length established what has been aptly termed the Republic of Vanity. This bubble polity was, after a brief existence, destroyed by Manfred, whom we have already mentioned as the illegitimate son of Frederick the Second, and who was thus uncle to the infant Conradin. For a time, the Papal arms had been universally victorious on the continent. Manfred, however, and some few partisans of the Suabian dynasty still held out. That able prince fought his ground most bravely, and, watching his opportunity, succeeded in reconquering the kingdom of Naples.

"Thus," says our author, "Manfred subdued all the inhabitants of the mainland and of Sicily, and governed, for a time, in the name of Conradin; but, unwilling to resign to a mere child the sceptre he had reconquered by his own valour, he promulgated the report of the death of his nephew in Germany; and whether his word were believed or no, he assumed the crown in Palermo, as sole heir of Frederick, on the 11th of August, 1258.

"Manfred held the reins of government with a strong hand, and, finding conciliation impossible, combated the court of Rome with desperate energy. He placed himself at the head of the Ghibeline party, which he revived in Lombardy, and fomented in Tuscany. He found partisans even in Rome, which was not yet subdued by the Popes; and, being governed by a senator, had recently elected to that office one Brancalione, a man of lofty spirit, who, from community of hatred, had allied himself to the Ghibelline king. The court of Rome, finding itself, under these circumstances, unequal to maintain the conflict, now hastened to put into execution a long-conceived design. So early as on the decease of Frederick II., Pope Innocent, conscious of the want of vigour in the pontifical arm to wield the sceptre of Sicily and Apulia, had turned his eyes to the west in search of some potentate who would conquer them with his own forces, and hold them with the title of king in fief from the Church, upon condition of paying her tribute both in money and in military service; by which means he would raise in Italy a powerful champion of the Church and head of the Guelph party. Thus, while proclaiming liberty to the people of southern Italy and Sicily, he bargained for them as for a flock of sheep: first, with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England; then with Charles, Count of Anjou and Provence, brother of Louis IX. of France; and, finally, with the youthful Edmund, son of the aforesaid Henry. The still existing epistles of the monarchs, and bulls of Innocent and of his successors, reveal and confirm all these practices, carried on for sixteen years by the court of Rome with the utmost caution, unless when driven to precipitancy by fear or indignation. With unwearied zeal

the Pope dispatched briefs and legates to urge on the sovereigns—used every effort to win over their courtiers, and lavished the tithes of all Christendom to aid the conquest of Sicily and Apulia. To this end he published a crusade, and commuted for it the vows of princes and nations to take part in the holy war in Palestine. Often, during these negotiations, the court of Rome, either from want of means, from the necessity of self-defence, or from impatience to occupy some of the provinces of Apulia, borrowed money upon the security of the property of the Transalpine churches, and compelled their prelates to satisfy the claims of the creditors, threatening those who showed reluctance with the weight of its censures. Sometimes the Pope granted bulls of investiture in exchange for vast sums of money; sometimes his eagerness for the destruction of Manfred made him suspend these lucrative practices; and mean while the enterprise was postponed, as beyond the powers of those who meditated it, and rendered almost desperate by the strength and talents of Manfred.”—Vol. i. pp. 40—43.

That excellent monarch, St. Louis, whose sublime and eminent virtues, virtues which would have shone bright even in a constellation of good and great men, but which appearing as they do in one of his family, stand forth like gems in the darkness, and render him the Abdiel of his race, held out for a long time against the pleadings of papal craft. He was ready to protect the Church, to fight for the Church, to die for the Church; but his simple piety could not perceive the righteousness of the unjust and outrageous aggression proposed by the supreme pontiff. At length, however, he was won over by the wiles and prayers of the Pope, who represented Manfred as a monster of cruelty and licentiousness, half Saracen and half heretic, ruling with avaricious and lawless tyranny over a suffering and Christian people.

So St. Louis gave his sanction to the enterprize of his brother, Charles of Anjou; and in the Angevin prince the Pope found a suitable instrument wherewith to effect his purposes.

“And now all haste was made to prepare arms and forces for the war against Manfred. . . . Having thus gathered from all quarters the means of defraying the cost of the preparations, the warriors, whose object was gain, and the crusade their pretext, assembled under the adventurous banner of Anjou, some as mercenaries, some leading bands of followers at their own expense, like a stake in a speculation or a lottery, with the hope of a return in territorial possessions in the conquered kingdom. They amounted to thirty thousand, between horse and foot; and yet they are designated in history as an army, not, as they were in truth, a band of freebooters, congregated beyond the Alps, to pour down upon Italy, to slay for the sake of plunder, and to assume the semblance of authority, and stigmatize resistance as rebellion.

“After a perilous sea-voyage, to avoid the formidable army of Manfred, Charles landed in Italy with a handful of followers; and, in June,

1265, he assumed for a time the office of senator of Rome, by the consent of the Pope. In the autumn his forces crossed the Alps, meeting with no opposition from the Italian Ghibellines, some of whom were intimidated, and others bought over. Thus fortune, which overthrows all human counsels at a breath, at this juncture forsook Manfred. The divisions of Italy were injurious to him, as the prospect of innovation produced a revival of the Guelph party. The power of the Church was likewise against him; but it was the fickleness of his barons which wrought his ruin, together with the disaffection of the people, caused by the frequency and weight of the imposts, the often-repeated excommunications, and all the evils engendered by the struggle with Rome."—Vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

Deserted by the headstrong baronage and discontented people, more capable of discerning the faults than of appreciating the merits of their ruler—Manfred was left with but few followers to oppose the vast and warlike force of the foreign invader. Gathering, however, an army of Germans and Italians, of as many Apulians as were faithful to his cause, and of the Saracens of Sicily, who had been removed to the mainland, and who, hated by all besides, clung to him alone, he did all that indomitable energy could do to strengthen his forces, and endeavoured, with the utmost skill, to gain time from the enemy. His efforts were, however, unavailing. The winter had set in with great severity. Charles of Anjou had been crowned at the Vatican on the 6th of January, 1266: and the failure of means left him but two alternatives,—to advance at once upon Manfred, or to disband his forces immediately. He adopted the former. His advance was rapid, and accompanied with rapid success.

"Only at Benevento was there fighting; for Manfred was there, and Charles would listen to no conditions of peace. There the Germans and the Sicilian Saracens fought bravely; the rest fled; and after a fearful carnage the impetuosity of the French carried the day. Manfred thereupon rushed upon the ranks of the enemy to seek for death, nor did he seek it in vain. His corpse was found amongst the thousands of the slain, and over it the hostile soldiers raised a pile of stones; but even this humble sepulture was denied him by the hatred of the pontifical legate; and, for his last obsequies, the remains of the Suabian hero were flung to the dogs on the banks of the Verde.

"Naples applauded the conqueror; rebellion, the defeat of the army, and the death of the king, caused the submission of the remainder of Apulia and Calabria, as well as of Sicily; the gallant Saracens alone held out in Lucera. The treasures of the vanquished were hastily divided between Charles, Beatrice, and their knights; the soldiers of fortune obtained lands and dignities; and the people, who in changing their rulers rarely change their destinies for the better, hoped, as usual, to reap benefit, deeming that peace would bring with it a diminution of

the taxes imposed for the maintenance of the obstinate conflict with the Court of Rome."—Vol. i. pp. 55, 56.

How far this expectation was realized, we learn from the sequel, which gives an account of oppression so grinding, cruel, unrelenting, and destructive, that the particulars are hard to be believed. We do, however, fully believe them, not only from Mr. Amari's high character for fidelity, honesty, and accuracy, but from the full and unmistakable evidence of entire and unswerving truthfulness, which these volumes display. No one can read them without believing every statement of fact which they contain.

And here we must pause to observe, that had the Sicilians done their duty by Conradin in the first place, they would neither have fallen under the sway of Manfred, nor that of the house of Anjou; and that had they, after acknowledging Manfred as their king, stood by him, they would not have undergone the miseries to which they were afterwards subjected. Manfred may have been arbitrary, and even in some degree rapacious—as great princes, and all great men, were tempted to be in those good old times, which our mediævalists hold up to us as the ages of faith, and days of universal blessedness,—a sort of foreshadowing, it would seem, of the Millennium: but he was, take him all in all, an able and a good ruler; and whatever his faults may have been, he was as an angel of light compared with the miscreant who succeeded him.

Charles had not long enjoyed his easy conquest, when an unexpected adversary rose up against him in the almost forgotten Conradin, rightful heir to the throne. The exiled Italians from all quarters, expelled by the dominance of their enemies, and those who remained at home, oppressed by the hostile faction, by the Pope or by the foreigners, turned their eyes to him; whilst foreign princes gave him their assistance. He had now just emerged from extreme youth into early manhood; and in less than a year after the conquest of Apulia and Sicily, Charles found himself in danger of losing his so easily acquired dominions. As so successfully did Conrad and his partisans carry on their plan that in the same year, 1267, the young prince descended up Verona at the head of a German army of four thousand horse and several thousand foot. Don Henry of Castile, one of his firmest allies, was tumultuously elected in Rome to the office of senator; every where the Ghibellines arose in arms; and Sicily broke out into open insurrection against King Charles.

Had the Sicilians even now fought boldly, and unitedly *loyally*, for their lawful sovereign Conrad, there can be no doubt but that he would have achieved their deliverance, and estab-

the throne upon a firm, lasting, constitutional, and independent basis ; but with that factious selfishness, and restless folly, and headstrong vehemence, and childish impatience, which so often are to be discerned in their conduct, they spent in internal quarrels the greater part of that energy which should have been directed against the common enemy. It was just one of those cases in which we see the narrow-mindedness as well as narrow-heartedness of selfishness, and the practical wisdom as well as moral beauty of loyalty and self-devotion. Had the Sicilians thought more of their prince, and less of themselves ; more of his interests, and less of their own ; and more of their duties, and less of their deserts ; they would have triumphed. As it was, the enterprise of Conradin, after a temporary success, altogether failed ; and the Sicilians were subjected, as they deserved to be, to the merciless vengeance of the French tyrant. We pity the helpless and the innocent victims of his cruelty, and that of his myrmidons ; but we think that no amount of punishment would have been excessive or ill-bestowed upon any able-bodied Sicilian man, who, after rising in defence of the noble young Suabian, failed to support him to the last drop of his blood. So that, in fact, Providence, in our opinion, ordained that Charles of Anjou should, however unintentionally, punish the Sicilians for their treason to their lawful and gallant young prince.

We pass over the events of the war, and proceed to the two last scenes in Conradin's brief career of glory.

"Charles, unused to the sudden outbreaks of Italy, was terrified on beholding half the peninsula rising in favour of Conradin, Sicily lost, Apulia infected with the spirit of rebellion, and Conradin, whom the want of means had at first arrested at Verona, victorious on the Arno, gathering strength at Rome by the assistance of Henry of Castile, and, heedless of anathemas, advancing in a menacing attitude against the kingdom at the head of 10,000 horse, and a still greater array of foot, made up of Germans, Spaniards, Italians, and exiles of Apulia. Nor could Charles muster an army equally numerous ; but his troops were for the most part French, better disciplined, and commanded by more experienced leaders, and he boldly made head against the enemy near the frontier. They joined battle at Tagliacozzo, in the plain of San Valentina, on the 23rd of August, 1268 ; and fortune had already declared for Conradin, when the third division of the French army, led by the veteran Alard de Valary, and William prince of the Morea, appeared on the field, and with great slaughter broke the ranks of those whom the confidence of victory had thrown into disorder. The chiefs of Conradin's army were taken prisoners, and their followers slain by thousands. Charles, finding several Romans amongst them, not content to take their lives alone, in revenge for his deposition from the office of senator, in the first burst of his indignation, commanded that their feet

should be cut off; but afterwards, fearing that they should drag themselves to Rome to increase the hatred of its inhabitants against him by their miserable plight, he revoked the order. They were shut up in a house, and burned alive. And this was the champion of the Church! Conradin was recognised as a fugitive at Astura, and taken by treachery. His partisans, though still strong in numbers, were dismayed by this defeat; they disbanded themselves, each seeking only his own safety, and thus all were lost. Charles of Anjou retained his kingdom, as he had gained it, by a single battle; but the means which he adopted at once to secure and revenge himself are painful to record.

"I will begin by Conradin, although, before his blood was shed, that of his subjects had already flowed in torrents. Some attribute the evil counsel concerning him to Clement, whom others exonerate; my own belief is, that the pope and the king, urged on by indignation for the fear he had caused them, and anxiety for the future, were agreed in desiring the death of the youth. They were not executioners in a dungeon, but representatives of the nation, before the eyes of God and of the people, who defiled themselves with the guilt of the murder thus enjoined. King Charles summoned a parliament of barons, syndics, and burgesses of the cities of Apulia; every judicial form was mockingly observed; so that it seems like a foretaste of later times to read the logic by which, as usual in such cases, that singular court condemned Conradin and his followers to death. One Guidone da Suzara, a famous professor of civil law, who was not a subject of Charles, nor ambitious of his favour, alone dared to oppose the sentence; the consciences of the rest smote them, and the well-disposed sorrowed in their hearts; even the French execrated the monarch's cruelty; but the king's will was known, the judges trembled, and opposition was vain. A youth of sixteen, last scion of so long a line of emperors and kings, himself rightful sovereign of Sicily and Apulia, was led forth to execution, in the market-place of Naples, on the 29th of October 1268, followed by a string of victims, that the vengeance of the tyrant might be more ample on those who had roused him from his repose. By the side of Conradin walked the young Duke of Austria, the beloved companion of his childhood; both were fair and comely, and with an intrepid countenance and firm step advanced towards the scaffold. It was covered with scarlet, in semblance of regal pomp, and sullenly guarded by armed soldiers; the market-place was crowded with people, while, from the roof of a tower, Charles, like a crouching tiger, watched the scene. Conradin ascended the platform, showed himself to the spectators, and having listened to the sentence which pronounced him a sacrilegious traitor, nobly protested against it before God and the people. At his words a murmur ran through the multitude; then all were silent, paralyzed with fear, and, pale and terrified, fixed their eyes on Conradin. He gazed around upon the sea of horror-stricken countenances with a smile of bitter scorn, then raised his eyes to heaven, and bade farewell to every earthly thought. Roused by the sound of a falling stroke, Conradin beheld the severed head of the Duke of Austria lying on the

scaffold; he hastily raised it from the ground, pressed it to his bosom, kissed it repeatedly, embraced the bystanders, even to the executioner, then laid his head upon the block, and the axe fell. It has been related, that he had previously flung down his glove, in token of the transmission of the investiture of the two kingdoms to Peter of Arragon, son-in-law of Manfred; also, that the Count of Flanders, the husband of one of Charles's daughters, unable to endure the sight of this unholy sacrifice, with his own hand slew Robert of Bari, who framed and pronounced the sentence."—Vol. i. pp. 65—69.

The horrors which followed this atrocious murder seem almost incredible to those who perceive the altered state of feeling and conduct which has resulted from the blessed influence of that Holy Book whose lessons supported, enforced, and brought home by our Church, have made us the greatest as well as the happiest people of the earth. Yes! the fierce passions of mankind have been bridled, and even Popery itself compelled to adopt a more Christian tone, by the open publication of God's message to man. From our Church, as from the tabernacle in the desert, the blaze of divine glory has shed its living rays, so that they alike who hate and who deny the truth have been compelled to bow before it. We say not that the change is sincere; in many cases we believe that it is the very reverse, that the pent-up malice of men's hearts only rankles the more deeply because it cannot show itself as it was wont to do of old. Yet though it be hypocritical, we should recollect that "hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue;" and the existence of that homage proves the existence and the influence of that to which it is paid. Were Rome to succeed in destroying the English Church, and silencing the oracles of God which sound in her shrines, she would soon throw off the mask which sits so ill upon her countenance; and fire, and sword, and spoliation, and pollution would be the tokens of her presence and her power. Let us spend a few minutes in considering the conduct of her worthy son, Charles of Anjou, and his pious followers, that we may see the sort of *crusade* which she would like to publish, and in what manner the Holy See carries on its Holy Wars.

"They confiscated, they plundered, they slew, they blinded, they tortured, till Charles himself checked the inhuman zeal which was reducing the kingdom to a desert. . . . But for the Sicilians there was no mercy. He dispatched some of his French barons to bring them to the slaughter, the foremost of whom was William l'Estendard, a man of war and bloodshed, who held pity in contempt; more cruel, says Saba Malaspina, than cruelty itself, drunk with blood, and thirsting for it the more fiercely the more he shed. He crossed the strait with a

company of valiant Provençaux, augmented it, to our shame be it spoken, with brave Sicilians, and crushed without resistance the partisans of Conradin, to whom not a shadow of hope remained. Only in Agosta, a thousand armed citizens, with a band of two hundred Tuscan horse, defended themselves resolutely, aided by their impregnable position, so that William, having pitched his camp before it, wearied himself a long time in fruitless efforts, which redoubled his natural ferocity. He was at length able to gratify it without a battle, six traitors having been found to open a postern by night, and thus the intrepid garrison fell defenceless into his hands. He regarded neither valour, nor innocence, nor any human consideration. His men at arms traversed the city, despoiling every quarter with rapine, violation, and slaughter, ransacking even the cisterns and granaries for victims. But the first onslaught, which satiated the fury of the soldiers, did not extinguish it in the bosom of the king's representative. He summoned to the work of butchery an executioner of giant strength; the citizens of Agosta were brought before him bound: and he dispatched them with a ponderous sword. When he was weary, brimming goblets of wine were brought to him, which he swallowed, mixed with the blood and sweat with which he was streaming, and then with renewed strength resumed his horrid task. . . . This slaughter was imitated and emulated in other places."

But a truce to these horrors. If our readers desire further particulars, they will find them vividly painted in the volumes under review.

But some will perhaps say, that these enormities were not justly chargeable on the Popes, or their system of faith and practice. We answer, that they were. The Papal system had substituted base counterfeits for almost all the holy things of God; for inward sanctity, outward formalism—for obedience to God's law, obedience to the Pope's commands—for Christian love to mankind in general and the brethren in particular, hatred of heathens, heretics, and all those who refused implicit obedience to the Roman See—for exalting devotion, degrading superstition—for the worship of the Creator, that of the creature—for the one Mediator, thousands of impostors—for the one Sacrifice, meritorious, atoning, and expiatory, innumerable devices of man's invention—in short, the Papal system had rendered the Word of God of none effect by its traditions.

Again, the Popes urged on these wars, and in no measured language devoted the unhappy people who fell under their wrath to the fury and the pleasure of the conqueror, kindling up the contest when it would have otherwise ceased, appropriating the revenues of distant churches to the use of its ministers of vengeance, and showing neither mercy nor pity towards even the

most helpless and innocent of those who had incurred its displeasure.

On many occasions we perceive the direct action of Popery through its supreme chief or his subordinates. Thus in a later portion of this work we are told that when the so-called crusaders invaded the dominions of Peter of Arragon,

"At the beginning of May this formidable host entered Rousillon. It advanced, divided into six bands, or rather armies; one of which, under the banner of the Church, was commanded by the legate, who, exasperated because in the occupation of Perpignan, and all the country, Elna alone resisted, encouraged the soldiers to put all the inhabitants to the sword; for, when perpetrated against the enemies of the Church, such acts either were no sin, or he would absolve them from it. The crusaders, therefore, spared neither age, sex, nor religion in this ill-fated town; they violated the nuns in the convents, slew the priests and the women after subjecting them to their pleasure, and dashed the infants against the walls."—Vol. ii. p. 192.

Other traits of a similar nature are recorded of this legate, nor was his conduct in any way singular; and though of course there are brilliant exceptions, *they are exceptions*. And here we would throw out a suggestion, which has frequently occurred to us in reading the history of the middle ages,—that though there have been excellent men in the service, and even in the see of Rome, the sanctity, which undoubtedly is to be found in those times, flourished, so far as it did flourish, with such rare exceptions, not in the actual Church of Rome herself, but in those other Churches which she had unjustly subjected to her authority.

But to take up once more the thread of our narrative. From 1268 to 1282 the Sicilians suffered all that a people could suffer from the cruelty and rapacity of Charles and his subordinates, and the universal lawlessness, inhumanity, and licentiousness of the French and their companions. We have not space for the details of the ingenious and systematic oppression practised by the government and its officers during this time, nor for the many sufferings endured by the natives at the hands of their conquerors; for all of which we must once more refer our readers to the work itself.

Much discussion has of late arisen as to the origin of the Vespers, and Mr. Amari has taken much trouble to clear the subject from the many fables associated with it by after ages. He has done his work carefully and well; but we do not exactly coincide in the result at which he has arrived.

Our view of the case is as follows.—Peter of Arragon, ever since the murder of Conradin, had cast longing eyes upon the

crown of Sicily, which he claimed in right of his wife, Constance, daughter of Manfred. During the twelve years which intervened between that event and the popular outbreak at Palermo, he was preparing in every way for the enterprise which he meditated. John of Procida likewise had his share in the result for which he laboured, by effecting an alliance between Peter and the Greek Emperor, menaced by Charles's preparations, by intriguing with the Sicilian barons, and by endeavouring to arouse the Sicilian Commonalty. Charles was about to invade the Greek empire with an immense host; whilst he prepared for this, Peter prepared likewise his forces, the destination of which he concealed, intending to pounce upon Sicily and Apulia, as soon as Charles should have landed with all his disposable forces in the East; when, far from the scene of action, entangled in a difficult war, and unable to succour his garrisons, he would have been unable to resist Peter's invasion, supported as his cause would be by the secret wishes of the barons, and the vengeance of the people. The outbreak at Palermo was, we concur with Mr. Amari in believing, quite unpremeditated; in fact, we do not see how it could have been otherwise. We conceive that the suddenness of the revolution took Peter and the conspirators by surprise, and that the resistless fury of a people goaded to madness anticipated and outran the as yet undeveloped plot.

We proceed to transcribe in full the account which Mr. Amari has given of the commencement of that fearful movement known to future ages as the Sicilian Vespers. It will not bear abridgment.

"The Sicilians endured the yoke, though cursing it, until the spring of 1282. The King of Arragon's military preparations were not yet completed; nor, even if partially known in Sicily, could they inspire any immediate hope. The people were overawed by Charles's immense armaments destined against Constantinople; and forty-two royal castles, either in the principal cities, or in situations of great natural strength, served to keep the island in check. A still greater number were held by French feudatories; the standing troops were collected and in arms; and the feudal militia, composed in great part of foreign sub-feudatories, waited only the signal to assemble. In such a posture of affairs, which the foresight of the prudent would never have selected for an outbreak, the officers of Charles continued to grind down the Sicilian people, satisfied that their patience would endure for ever.

"New outrages shed a gloom over the festival of Easter at Palermo, the ancient capital of the kingdom, detested by the strangers more than any other city, as being the strongest and the most deeply injured. Messina was the seat of the king's viceroy in Sicily, Herbert of Orleans; Palermo was governed by the justiciary of Val di Mazzara,

John of St. Remigio, a minister worthy of Charles. His subalterns, worthy both of the justiciary and of the king, had recently launched out into fresh acts of rapine and violence. But the people submitted. It even went so far that the citizens of Palermo, seeking comfort from God amid their worldly tribulations, and having entered a church to pray, in that very church, on the days sacred to the Saviour's passion, and amidst the penitential rites, were exposed to the most cruel outrages. The ban-dogs of the exchequer searched out amongst them those who had failed in the payment of the taxes, dragged them forth from the sacred edifice, manacled, and bore them to prison, crying out insultingly before the multitude attracted to the spot, 'Pay, *paterini*, pay!' And the people still submitted. The Tuesday after Easter, which fell on the 31st of March, there was a festival at the church of San Spirito. On that occasion a hideous outrage against the liberties of the Sicilians afforded the impulse, and the patience of the people gave way. We will now record all that the historians most deserving of credence have transmitted to us concerning this memorable event.

"Half a mile from the southern wall of the city, on the brink of the ravine of Oreto, stands a church dedicated to the Holy Ghost, concerning which the Latin Fathers have not failed to record, that on the day on which the first stone of it was laid, in the twelfth century, the sun was darkened by an eclipse. On one side of it are the precipice and the river; on the other, the plain extending to the city, which in the present day is in great part encumbered with walls and gardens; while a square enclosure of moderate size, shaded by dusky cypresses, honey-combed with tombs, and adorned with urns and other sepulchral monuments, surround the church. This is a public cemetery, laid out towards the end of the eighteenth century, and fearfully filled in three weeks by the dire pestilence which devastated Sicily in 1837. On the Tuesday, at the hour of vespers, religion and custom crowded this then cheerful plain, carpeted with the flowers of spring, with citizens wending their way towards the church. Divided into numerous groups, they walked, sat in clusters, spread their tables, or danced upon the grass; and whether it were a defect or a merit of the Sicilian character, threw off for the moment the recollection of their sufferings, when the followers of the justiciary suddenly appeared amongst them, and every bosom thrilled with a shudder of disgust. The strangers came, with their usual insolent demeanour, as they said, to maintain tranquillity; and for this purpose they mingled in the groups, joined in the dances, and familiarly accosted the women, pressing the hand of one, taking unwarranted liberties with others; addressing indecent words and gestures to those more distant; until some temperately admonished them to depart, in God's name, without insulting the women, and others murmured angrily; but the hot-blooded youths raised their voices so fiercely, that the soldiers said to one another, 'These insolent *paterini* must be armed that they dare thus to answer!' and replied to them with the most offensive insults, insisting, with great insolence, on

searching them for arms, and even here and there striking them with sticks or thongs. Every heart already throbbed fiercely on either side, when a young woman of singular beauty, and of modest and dignified deportment, appeared with her husband and relations bending her steps towards the church. Drouet, a Frenchman, impelled either by insolence or licence, approached her as if to examine her for concealed weapons, seized her, and searched her bosom. She fell fainting into her husband's arms, who, in a voice almost choked with rage, exclaimed, 'Death, death to the French!' At the same moment a youth burst from the crowd which had gathered round them, sprang upon Drouet, disarmed and slew him; and probably, at the same moment, paid the penalty of his own life, leaving his name unknown, and the mystery for ever unsolved, whether it were love for the injured woman, the impulse of a generous heart, or the more exalted flame of patriotism, that prompted him thus to give the signal of deliverance. Noble examples have a power far beyond that of argument or eloquence to rouse the people, and the abject slaves awoke at length from their long bondage. 'Death, death to the French!' they cried; and the cry, say the historians of the time, re-echoed like the voice of God through the whole country, and found an answer in every heart. Above the corpse of Drouet were heaped those of victims slain on either side; the crowd expanded itself, closed in, and swayed hither and thither in wild confusion: the Sicilians, with sticks, stones, and knives, rushed with desperate ferocity upon their fully-armed opponents; they sought for them, and hunted them down; fearful tragedies were enacted amid the preparations for festivity, and the overthrown tables were drenched in blood. The people displayed their strength, and conquered. The struggle was brief, and great the slaughter of the Sicilians; but of the French there were two hundred,—and two hundred fell.

"Breathless, covered with blood, brandishing the plundered weapons, and proclaiming the insult and its vengeance, the insurgents rushed towards the tranquil city. 'Death to the French!' they shouted, and as many as they found were put to the sword. The example, the words, the contagion of passion, in an instant aroused the whole people. In the heat of the tumult Roger Mastrangelo, a nobleman, was chosen, or constituted himself, their leader. The multitude continued to increase; dividing into troops they scoured the streets, burst open doors, searched every nook, every hiding-place, and shouting 'Death to the French,' smote them and slew them, while those too distant to strike added to the tumult by their applause. On the outbreak of this sudden uproar the justiciary had taken refuge in his strong palace; the next moment it was surrounded by an enraged multitude, crying aloud for his death; they demolished the defences, and rushed furiously in, but the justiciary escaped them: favoured by the confusion and the closing darkness, he succeeded, though wounded in the face, in mounting his horse unobserved, with only two attendants, and fled with all speed. Meanwhile, the slaughter continued with increased ferocity; even the darkness of

night failed to arrest it, and it was resumed on the morrow more furiously than ever; nor did it cease at length because the thirst for vengeance was slaked, but because victims were wanting to appease it. Two thousand French perished in this first outbreak. Even Christian burial was denied them, but pits were afterwards dug to receive their despised remains; and tradition still points out a column surmounted by an iron cross, raised by compassionate piety on one of those spots, probably long after the perpetration of the deed of vengeance. Tradition, moreover, relates, that the sound of a word, like the *Shibboleth* of the Hebrews, was the cruel test by which the French were distinguished in the massacre; and that, if there were found a suspicious or unknown person, he was compelled, with a sword to his throat, to pronounce the word *ciciri*, and the slightest foreign accent was the signal for his death. Forgetful of their own character, and as if stricken by fate, the gallant warriors of France neither fled, nor united, nor defended themselves; they unsheathed their swords, and presented them to their assailants, imploring, as if in emulation of each other, to be the first to die: of one common soldier only is it recorded, that, having concealed himself behind a wainscot, and being dislodged at the sword's point, he resolved not to die unavenged, and springing with a wild cry upon the ranks of his enemies, slew three of them before he himself perished. The insurgents broke into the convents of the Minorites and Preaching Friars, and slaughtered all the monks whom they recognised as French. Even the altars afforded no protection; tears and prayers were alike unheeded; neither old men, women, nor infants were spared; the ruthless avengers of the ruthless massacre of Agosta, swore to root out the seed of the French oppressors throughout the whole of Sicily; and this vow they cruelly fulfilled, slaughtering infants at their mother's breasts, and after them the mothers themselves, and with a horrible refinement of cruelty, ripping up the bodies of Sicilian women who were with child by French husbands, and dashing against the stones the mingled blood of the oppressors and the oppressed."—Vol. ii. pp. 177—186.

These devilish atrocities deprive the Revolutionists, in our eyes, of that sympathy which we should otherwise feel, for a cruelly oppressed people throwing off the yoke of a foreign tyrant whose only claim to the throne rested upon the audacious usurpation and relentless malignity of the Roman See.

On went the rebellion, spreading from town to town, from village to village, from valley to valley, till the whole island was in open insurrection. The merciless animosity of the Sicilians, and the cruelty with which they had been treated, and which they now so fiendishly avenged, may be seen from the fact, that Amari mentions only one case in which a French family was spared; and that, as being the only one that had shown mercy in the time of Angevin ascendancy:—

"But the fate of William Porcelet merits eternal remembrance. He was lord or governor of Calatafimi, and, amid the unbridled iniquity of his countrymen, was distinguished for justice and humanity. On the day of vengeance, in the full flush of its triumphant fury, the Palermitan host appeared at Calatafimi, and not only spared the life of William and of his family, but treated him with distinguished honour, and sent him back to Provence; a fact which goes to prove, that for the excesses committed by the people, ample provocation had not been wanting."—Vol. i. pp. 199, 200.

We had hoped to have given copious extracts from the later and more pleasing portion of the work; but we find ourselves already cramped for room, ere we have finished the first volume. We can, therefore, only briefly indicate the united and ferocious determination with which the Sicilians expelled the foreign domination; the gradual assumption of the lead in public affairs by the nobles; the invitation given by the whole nation to Peter of Arragon, then warring in Tunis, to ascend the vacant throne; the raising of the siege of Messina by the new monarch—Messina which had been nobly defended by its citizens, under the command of the glorious old noble Alaimo de Lentini, against Charles of Anjou, who besieged it with all his forces by land and sea.

From this time Sicily maintained a deadly contest with the House of Anjou and the Court of Rome, for the space of twenty years, during which the islanders performed prodigies of valour, both by land and sea, and ended by securing the independence of their country. The narrative of this long and desperate struggle is most brilliantly and graphically written; but, as we observed before, there is little to command our respect or arouse our sympathy. With a few noble exceptions, such as those of Alaimo de Lentini and Blasco Alagona, no sooner do we begin to feel an interest in any hero, than we find him conspiring against either his king or his country, as the case may be; or, if not guilty of treason to either prince or people, making up for his deficiency in these particulars by acts of the most horrible barbarity towards his enemies or his captives.

Peter, the first Arragonese monarch, is certainly a great man, but he is also a great villain. His conduct of the war both in Italy and Spain is most masterly; and the manner in which he conciliates the proud, confirms the doubtful, and gains over the refractory, with a stern unbending dignity, accompanied but not tempered by policy, is very striking. On the other hand, his fraud, cruelty, heartlessness, and ingratitude, are equally disgusting.

At one time it was proposed to settle the dispute between

Peter and Charles by single combat. After endeavouring to clear up this somewhat obscure point, our author adds, with a sarcasm which is quite delicious,

"But, possibly, the challenge was nothing more than an appeal made to public opinion after the fashion of the times, as a Charles and Peter of the present day might do by proclamations, putting forward humanity, legitimacy, the balance of power, the benefit of commerce or the good of the people."—Vol. ii. p. 20.

As Charles found himself unable to conquer Sicily, and indeed had much difficulty in maintaining himself on the main land, many towns of which opened their gates to the Sicilians, the Pope proclaimed a crusade against Sicily, and formally deposed Peter from the thrones of Arragon and Catalonia, which his successor bestowed upon Charles of Valois. The efforts however of the French against these realms were totally unavailing, and in 1285 Peter died, bequeathing his Spanish dominions to his son Alfonso, and Sicily, with its dependencies, to his second son James, according to the succession appointed by the Sicilian parliament.

James had ruled Sicily, as viceroy, ever since his father's departure for Catalonia, and he was therefore crowned king without opposition or delay. He was a man of great ability, but no principle; he commenced his reign by an act of vindictive ingratitude, and concluded it by the vilest perfidy.

Amongst his first acts was the execution of that great and good man Alaimo de Lentini. To him had been owing, under Providence, the successful defence of Messina. He was one of Peter's early and zealous partisans. By his courage and temper he had crushed a dangerous conspiracy, and suppressed a rising rebellion. Afterwards, however, partly from the insane vanity and ambition of his wife Macalda, partly from the jealousy of his brother nobles, partly from the fact that the king owed him his throne, this loyal patriot incurred the hatred and suspicion of both Peter and James. The latter sent him a prisoner to the former, and on his father's death demanded him from his brother, by Bertram de Canellis, a Catalan, whom he had sent to Alfonso for that purpose. The king of Arragon at first resisted, but Bertram persisting, and almost accusing him of complicity with the treason of which he accused Alaimo and his nephews, at last gained his point.

"The prisoners having been given up to him, he embarked them under a strong escort, and caused them to confess themselves to a Minorite friar, before, as he said, encountering the perils of so long a voyage, beset with enemies and pirates. They set sail from Catalonia on the 16th of May, 1287, and on the 2nd of June, at the distance of

fifty miles from Maretimo, the crew gladly hailed the shores of Sicily, when Bertram summoned the prisoners on deck.

"Turning to Alaimo, he bade him gaze his fill on the welcome sight of his country; whereupon the noble old man exclaimed, 'O Sicily! O my country! how have I longed for thee! and yet happy would it have been for me, if from the time of my first infant wailings I had never beheld thee more!' The Catalan hesitated a few moments, perhaps from pity, and then replied, 'Hitherto you have heard only my mind, noble Alaimo; now that of the king must be heard and obeyed;' and he unfolded a written scroll, which Adenulf read. It was a mandate of the king, stating, that 'Whereas Alaimo of Lentini, Adenulf of Mineo, and John of Mezarina, had aforetime planned a vast and iniquitous conspiracy against the island and the Royal House of Sicily, and were guilty of sundry other misdeeds; and whereas their living on in confinement was judged to be of great peril to the state, the peace of which it was incumbent upon him to preserve even by the utmost rigours of justice, the king committed to Bertram the charge of seizing them in Catalonia, and flinging them overboard on the first sight of the shores of Sicily.'

"Alaimo showed neither surprise nor fear of death; nor did he utter word of complaint, or dwell vainly on the past; only he resented the refinement of cruelty which had selected such a scene for such a punishment, and denied him sepulture in the land of his fathers. Yet with Christian resignation he prayed for the king, and even for his executioners. 'I have lived,' said he, 'a life of sorrow and suffering even to my old age, and now I close it without honour. I lived not for myself, but for others, and for others I must die. My misdeeds, (and here, perchance, he thought of the exaltation of Peter, and the death of Walter,) my misdeeds have been greater than they are deemed by man, and I have deserved a more cruel death than this; let it, at least, bring peace to my country, and put an end to suspicion.' He then himself asked for the piece of linen cloth which was to be the instrument of death as well as the bier and shroud of the hero of Messina. The executioners swathed and fastened it round him, and flung him into the sea, the two young men shared his fate. The guilty vessel cast anchor at Trapani, and the news of the death of Alaimo spread horror throughout Sicily. All remembered his noble birth, his lofty intellect and courage in matters of war and policy, the power to which he attained, and the insane arrogance of Macalda which caused his ruin; his friends trembled, and the cautions whispered that the king must surely have had weighty cause for what he had done. These rumours are mentioned in somewhat obscure language by Neocastro, who records with sympathising grief the execution and the memorable words of Alaimo, perhaps the best, and certainly the greatest man, of whom Sicily had to boast in the revolution of the Vespers."—Vol. ii. pp. 243—246.

In spite of this atrocious crime, James made a good king, and

an able commander, and under his rule Sicily prospered both at home and abroad. In the course of time, however, Alphonso of Arragon died, and James set sail for Spain, leaving his brother Frederick viceroy of the island. It had been intended, both by Peter and the Sicilians, that in the event of James's succeeding to the throne of Arragon, Frederick should succeed to that of Sicily, a result which finally occurred, though not in the time or manner proposed. James, on his accession to his ancestral dominions, lost all sympathy with his island kingdom, and determined to betray the Sicilians for the purpose of procuring peace and safety in Spain. Pope Boniface endeavoured also to gain over the infant Don Frederick, and for this purpose proposed an interview with him. The Palermitans, who, as well as the rest of the Sicilians, were warmly attached to the young prince, dissuaded him from accepting the invitation, but in vain.

"He embarked on board the fleet with Procida . . . with Loria, and with many other of the Sicilians most renowned in council or in field . . . Boniface now assumed the guise of paternal benignity. When Frederick knelt before him, he raised him up, taking his head between both hands, he kissed him affectionately, and seeing how vigorously and gracefully he bore the weight of his armour, he began to compliment him, saying: 'It is easy to see, fair youth, that from a child you have been inured to this heavy burden.' Then, turning to Loria, he asked him, without any appearance of anger, whether he were that enemy of the Church, famous for so many bloody battles? To which Loria replied, 'Father, such was the will of the Popes.'

"After this cordial reception they proceeded to business. As the price of the abandonment of Sicily, the Pope promised Frederick to wife the young Catherine de Courtenay, daughter of Philip, titular Emperor of the East, with her the right to that empire, and, to assist him towards its reconquest, a military force, and, within four years' time a sum of 130,000 ounces of gold. It really appears that Boniface had not miscalculated, and that the youth, tempted by sounding words, and by the allurements of beauty, though unseen by him, inclined to give up into the hands of the enemy the people to whom he was bound by ties far stronger than those of his viceregal office."—Vol. iii. pp. 15—17.

Be this as it may, no practical result followed from this conference, and if Frederick wavered for a moment, he soon became more sincerely attached than ever to the cause of Sicily, and never again hesitated in his faith to her children.

James, on the contrary, despite the earnest entreaties of the Sicilians, who sent two embassies to him on the subject, entered into a treaty, by which he relinquished his claims to the crown of Sicily, and promised, if needful, to assist the see of Rome in

subjugating the indomitable islanders. Deserted, betrayed by their king, the Sicilians nobly determined that nothing should induce them to yield; they might be exterminated, but they would not be subdued. With this view they at once offered the vacant throne, with fresh limitations of the royal authority, to Frederick. The prince accepted the crown with the conditions affixed, and showed by his future conduct the wisdom of his people in making him their king. He had, it is true, many faults, or rather, we should say, weaknesses, but they were faults which difficulty, adversity, and danger had a natural tendency to subdue, or at least, decrease. Wanting in judgment, rash, and unable to decide for himself without the suggestion of others, he was brave, chivalrous, kind, warm-hearted, and generous; and we feel therefore disposed to award him the rank of a hero, despite his early vacillation, and the occasional errors of his later years.

James of Arragon fulfilled his perfidious promise, and invaded Sicily at the head of a powerful force. Though partially successful, however, he was unable to effect his purpose of reducing the island, and at length retired from Sicily, leaving Robert, Count of Artois, in command of the allied forces.

Amongst the many painful occurrences of this year was the treason of John of Procida, and John Loria, who deserted the Sicilian cause for the service of the perfidious King of Arragon.

"And thus the two Neapolitans whose names had been so famous in the Revolution of the Vespers together, left Sicily as enemies, closely bound to each other by community of fate and of ambition; companions first in exile, then in hopes, and in the support of the new dynasty in Sicily, lastly in treason. Loria, brought up from a child at the court of Peter of Arragon, was a man of boundless aspirations and great military talent, a renowned general, and the first admiral of his time; but ruthless and blood-thirsty, avaricious, haughty, and of insatiable rapacity. He restored the naval superiority of Sicily; taught the Sicilians the art of victory; and was the most powerful support of the infant state."—Vol. iii. p. 85.

The achievements of Loria whilst in command of the Sicilian fleet form some of the most stirring scenes of this strikingly dramatic work. We had intended transcribing more than one of them to these pages, and are only preventing from doing so by the want of space. They were as gallant naval actions, and are as brilliantly described, as any thing we know of in the circle of history. After the flight of Loria, his vassals rose in arms, but the outbreak taking place before the arrival of James, and Loria not being there to lead the insurrection, it was easily put down. Subsequently, John Loria, his nephew, was made prisoner by the

Sicilians, and, despite of the offers made by James, executed as a traitor. The uncle, however fearfully avenged his death, when, in the rout of the Sicilian fleet at Capo d'Orlando, he shouted as the watchword of indiscriminate slaughter, "Remember John Loria!"

With the brave, but cruel and rapacious admiral, the dominion of the sea departed from the Sicilians; and nothing but the most determined and indestructible energy of patriotism could have preserved them against the allied forces, firstly, under James of Arragon, then, Robert of Artois, and lastly, Charles of Valois.

At length it became clear to all reasonable men that the conquest of Sicily under present circumstances was utterly impracticable, and a treaty was at length concluded, in which the gallant Frederick was acknowledged King of Trinacria, and received in marriage Eleanor, daughter of Charles the Second, of Naples.

Amongst the many noble passages of this last war is the defence of Messina, and the patient endurance as well as undaunted courage shown by the citizens of that place, who thus a second time saved their country from slavery.

In taking leave of these volumes and their author, after this very cursory review of the work, we beg to thank Mr. Amari for having made a valuable addition to the standard literature of the historical world, and to assure him that by his deep research and patient accuracy, as well as by the power of his eloquence, and the graces of his style, he has produced no merely ephemeral composition, but one which deserves to obtain, and will we have no doubt acquire, the position of a KTHMA ΕΣ ΑΕΙ.

ART. III.—*A Plain Christian's Manual ; or Six Plain Sermons on Early Piety, the Sacraments, and Man's Latter End ; Uncontroversial, but suited to the Present Time.* By JOHN WOOD WARTER, B.D., Christ Church, Oxford, Vicar of West Tarring, Sussex, &c. London : Rivingtons.

MR. WARTER appears from his title-page to feel that there is a kind of apology due for publishing a work at present which is not "controversial;" or, at least, that the world may expect from every writer on religious topics some direct practical reference to existing dissensions. And Mr. Warter has, without doubt, judged aright of the tone and feeling now most generally prevalent, in consequence of the prolonged struggles of party. Yet we cannot but think that great as is the demand for controversial teaching in these times of trouble, the necessity for simple, plain, practical, uncontroversial teaching, like that of which Mr. Warter has afforded so excellent a specimen in the little volume before us, is greater than ever, and we are persuaded that this is deeply felt by a large proportion of the community. To ourselves it is a positive refreshment to turn aside from marking the contests of human passion, and the manifold speculations of modern religionism which are daily passing before our eyes—to the calm, and simple, and old-fashioned piety, which meets us in Mr. Warter's pages, where Hooker, and Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Hall, Dr. Donne, Sir Thomas Browne, and other old English worthies, supply to the reader many a deep thought, and many a beautiful image.

Perhaps few writers in the present day have so carefully studied the writings of our elder divines, or so cordially entered into their spirit as Mr. Warter. His publications have invariably evinced an extraordinary acquaintance with, and almost an enthusiastic admiration for them; for not only are they quoted with an aptness and a copiousness which proves the extent of the study bestowed on them; but even the style in which Mr. Warter's works is composed, is modelled on that of the seventeenth century. It is not so much the style of the present day, as that of the English translation of the Bible, or of the writers of the times of James and Charles the First. And in imbibing the principles of the greatest writers of the seventeenth

century, we need not say that his views are as remote from Puritanism as they are from Popery. Men who have trained themselves in the school of Bramhall, and Jeremy Taylor, and Hammond, have learnt from them to adhere to the Church of England, amidst all the clouds and darkness which may overshadow her temporal or spiritual prospects. They remember that holier and more learned men than themselves—men who have never been surpassed in high qualifications for the service of the Church—did remain steadfast in an age when error and schism not only abounded within the communion of the Church of England, but were actually for many years triumphant, and legally established; and when the pretensions of Rome were just as great; and the arguments and persuasion of her advocates just as insinuating; and the instances of apostasy just as frequent, as they have ever been since. Yet, amidst all the adversity of their Church, its faithful sons maintained steadfastly their religious convictions, and never relinquished the defence of that system of Apostolic truth which was enshrined in the Liturgy and Formularies of the Church of England. Mr. Warter has evidently derived from the same source as those holy men, a spirit of confidence in the Church of England, as a faithful and an honest guide, and a resolution to abide by her teaching under all circumstances. The following passage comprises sentiments which must meet a response in the heart of every real Churchman.

“No controversial teaching is inculcated here, but the teaching of the Prayer Book is insisted upon and understood in that plain, honest sense, in which the holy men who drew it up intended that it should be. Men they were, not easily deceived themselves, but scrupulously devout, and guiltless of the thought of deceiving others. Single-minded men, their desire was, that the TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS should be known unto the people, that they might live accordingly; and to the best of their ability they set it forth in that book which the generation of our fathers held in reverence, and which their sons will revere as long as they hold to the faith of the ‘Holy Church throughout all the world.’

“‘Christ and his apostles,’ said Lord Clarendon, ‘left their declaration of what we are to believe, and what we are to do, so clearly stated, that we cannot dangerously mistake.’ And so, if we were not prejudiced, it would be. And when it is otherwise, and men desert their mother Church, and will not receive plain truth, even here, usually, and after a term of years, there is a returning; and when opposition is over, and the asperities of preconceived notions are rubbed off, they are apt to fall down and worship as their fathers did before them. And, under existing turmoil and contentious disputations, I have hope in the end. No storm is lulled at once but by a miracle; neither will this storm

subside till it has wrought the good intended, and cleared the atmosphere of some practical misbelief or other.

"Therefore, individually, I am no way timorously solicitous about the event of the late or present theological contests. *Magna est Veritas et prævalebit!* Christian doctrine is Christian doctrine, and development is but a name. Let the unwise, if they cannot remain where they are, fall back on Rome, 'as people being ashamed steal away when they flee in battle;' but 'he that believeth shall not make haste,' but take his time, and yet do valiantly for the Church of his fathers. The timorous alone 'flee seven ways,' with Rome and its consequences before them. Well said Philip Henry, 'I am too much of a Catholic to be a Roman Catholic!' And I say,—I will take good care, the Lord being my helper, that the pure doctrines of our faith be preached within the boundaries of this parish, as long as I am the duly appointed minister of it, notwithstanding any decision, ecclesiastical or civil, to the contrary."—Pref. pp. iii—vi.

The volume before us consists of a series of six sermons on subjects of the most simple and practical character,—with one exception, where the writer enters on a subject of some difficulty, and of high moment in every point of view,—the question of repelling persons from the Lord's Supper. The first discourse applies the history of Job very beautifully to impress the benefit and blessings of early piety. We must quote a few words at the opening of this sermon, where, having spoken of "early piety," he describes it as—

"A possession than which earth hath none greater, inasmuch as it is twice blessed, being the blessing both of children and of their parents. Moreover, like the possessions of this world, it passeth not away, but endureth ever, if it ripen well, and continue unto the end. In other words, if EARLY PIETY settle down into solid and well-grounded religious faith and practice, it passeth the grave and the gate of death, and is consigned over to everlasting habitations, and to 'the inheritance of the saints in light.' Certain it is,—there is nothing more certain,—that from a child (as St. Paul said to Timothy) to have 'known the Holy Scriptures,' is 'able to make' a man 'wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' And our blessed Lord's own words, applied to Christian Baptism, wherein children are made regenerate, or, born anew, assuredly look this way: 'Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God.' Bright as are the stars in the heavens, and lovely as are the loveliest spots on earth, yet is there nothing brighter, nothing lovelier, than a child brought up 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' Witness the history of 'the child Samuel,' that 'ministered unto the Lord before Eli!' Of whom it is recorded that he 'grew, and the Lord was with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground.' Witness that all-blessed childhood of our only Lord and Saviour; so beautiful!

so attractive! and which should be the model and the pattern for us all; and how of Him it is said, that 'he went down with' his parents, 'and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them, and increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.' Surely from that time forth the estate of childhood was blessed, and the beauty of **EARLY PIETY** shone forth, never to be forgotten more!"—pp. 3—5.

In the course of the same sermon, we have the following distinct and sound teaching on the subject of Baptism.

"Then, Christian brethren, admitting that all children are born in sin, and that the stain of Adam's transgression passeth upon all that are born into this world of sadness, of sickness, and of sorrow; let us all be mindful as parents; let our children be admitted, as soon as may be, within the borders of the Covenant, from whence afterwards they can only be cast out by their own transgression; 'for it is certain, by God's Word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.' So that the first step towards **EARLY PIETY** is Christian Baptism, in the which most sacred rite our most merciful Father, which is in heaven, doth regenerate infants with his Holy Spirit, receive them for his own by adoption, and incorporate them into his Holy Church, purchased by the blood of his only and all-beloved Son. As one [Barrow] said, 'It hath been the doctrine constantly with general consent delivered in and by the Catholic Church, that to all persons, by the holy mystery of Baptism duly initiated into Christianity, and admitted into the communion of Christ's body, the grace of the Holy Spirit is communicated, enabling them to perform the conditions of piety and virtue which they undertake, and continually watching over them for accomplishment of those purposes; which Spirit they are admonished not to resist, to abuse, to grieve, to quench; but to use it well, and to use its grace to the working out their salvation.' Clearly, then, the first duty of a parent is to bring the child to the font."—pp. 11, 12.

The same sermon applies the well-known passage, in which our Lord is represented as blessing children, to the foundation of an argument on behalf of infant baptism, which appears to be very satisfactorily managed, and to be adapted to the comprehension of the rural congregations to which it was addressed. The argument deduced from circumcision is, as Mr. Warter observes, "not easily put in a popular discourse;" but to our mind it is placed in an intelligible point of view in this discourse. The argument is appropriately wound up with the following practical application.

"And so 'the kingdom of grace, the Church, consisteth of children in age or in manners, of them and such as they are; and the kingdom of glory, or heaven, shall be filled with infants blessed by Christ, and

with men become as little children.' Such Christ receiveth, as He did the infants in the text; and the sooner the better, Christian brethren, we come to the understanding of this matter, that, to receive the kingdom of God 'as a little child,' is in the obedience of the faith, with all humility and lowliness, to submit to the Gospel, to receive the doctrines, to obey the precepts. In this sense practice is knowledge, and we all know that knowledge is power. Happy any who is, so to say, Jacob no longer, but the Israel of God! Happy any unto whom the Lord hath said, 'As a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed!' Sure I am if any *doth* follow his Lord in the way, his understanding shall be enlightened, 'and his flesh' shall come 'again like unto the flesh of a little child, and he shall be 'clean.' In our Lord's own words, 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.'—pp. 35—37.

"Certainly, to reach heaven at the last, we must use all diligence, and good thrift is it that our thoughts and conversations be always there. But we must not mingle the 'dross' of earth with 'pure gold.' We must be ambitious, not of what is of the earth, earthy, but of what is heavenly in temper; lest there be no entrance found there for such as are not like to little children, but are unprepared to perfect praise. Be assured our 'inward parts' are not hid from Him with whom we have to do; and if, in the stead of the humbleness and the innocency of the little child, there be found in us the very reverse of this—that is to say, unscrupulous ambition, and pride, and hypocrisy, and anger, and wrath, and clamour, and envy, and malice, and revenge, and whatsoever else there be contrary to childlike simplicity—in that case, unless we be 'converted, and become as little children,' the everlasting doors of heaven will be closed against us. Thou Christian man, on whom the privilege of Baptism hath passed, or ever thou didst know thy right hand from thy left, remember well, 'The Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart.' It is the little one in spirit that shall be blessed the most; the youngest, so to say, like David—not Eliab, not Abinadab, not Shammah—but the lowly one of heart, the child! As 'the Lord said, Arise, anoint him; for this is he.' Such have, verily, 'an unction from the Holy One.' His they are, and Him they serve with a perfect and unreserved submission, and they are blessed everlastingly. And hence said David himself when he had sinned and repented him of his sin, and knew that he was accepted, 'I refrain my soul, and keep it low, like as a child that is weaned from his mother: yea, my soul is even as a weaned child.'—pp. 38—40.

In the third sermon, the doctrine of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper, and the connexion of these Sacraments, are very ably traced, and expounded in the language of our elder divines, amongst whom Hooker is here, as in other places, the chief author referred to. The excuses and objections commonly made by uneducated persons, in reference to the reception of the Lord's

Supper, are very truly detailed, and very ably met in the fourth sermon. The preacher there points out to his people, that the best preparation for the Holy Sacrament is a godly life. May we be permitted to express a doubt, whether the necessity of a penitential and humble frame of mind is sufficiently insisted on? It appears to us, that in the case of such doubts and difficulties, as to the amount of preparation requisite, the simplest and the safest course is to refer to the description of the preparation comprised in the last answer of the Church Catechism. Every true penitent comes within the conditions there laid down, and every Christian must at all times be a penitent and nothing more. The preparation for the Sacrament is simply the same preparation which would be requisite for death, and should therefore never for a moment be intermitted in life; so that the Christian should *at all times* be prepared to partake of the Holy Communion. The special preparation for the Sacrament, which appears to consist in a due sense of the sacredness of the rite, is thus described by Mr. Warter:—

“ But, besides this, a special preparation is at all times necessary as we would ‘grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’ Holy and heavenly things,—spiritual manna, which, so to say, is angels’ food,—and ‘the blood of Christ which is verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper’ under the symbol of consecrated wine,—these emblems of death so precious, and pledges of life to the godly receiver, must not be taken as common food, but as sacred viands. That preparation, which by God’s grace ends in sanctification, is to be ever in the pious communicant’s thoughts. And because it was not so in the thoughts of the profane Corinthian communicants, it turned to their harm, in some cases was their death. As St. Paul told them in his teaching, ‘Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body,’ that is to say, ‘eateth and drinketh just judgment and condemnation to himself, not considering the greatness of this mystery, and making no difference betwixt this sacred bread, which is sacramentally the body of Christ, and the other common and ordinary bread.’ And the result was as I said, many were ‘weak and sickly,’ and ‘many’ slept,—were stricken with death itself; whereas, had they eaten and had they drunk in faith, like Elijah the prophet of the Lord, they might have gone on to their lives’ end ‘in the strength of that meat’ which cherisheth the souls of God’s people, and of which it can be verily and truly said: ‘This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die.’”—pp. 75—77.

We now come to the discourse on “Repelling from the Lord’s

Supper," which evinces much careful consideration; and after pointing out the duty of Christian ministers to invite all who can be induced to avail themselves of that privilege, rather than to repel any; and after referring the legal difficulties which interfere to prevent the exercise of such a power of repelling—concludes by pointing out the possibility of cases occurring, in which persons of grossly and notoriously sinful habits, offensive to the congregation, might present themselves; and the duty of Christian ministers in this case, to obey the rules of God's Law, and the directions of their Church, without regarding any legal penalties or difficulties in which they might be involved in consequence.

Such sentiments may be very offensive to those in the present day who admit no exercise of conscience to the Christian, except as it may accord with the decisions of the temporal power and the law of the land—who invest the civil magistrate with an infallibility which they deny to the Pope. Such persons, as we refer to, profess a very great abhorrence of Popery, wherever it may be found; but they would erect a Popery more offensive and more ridiculous than any other system that bears the name. To these sycophants the word of the temporal magistrate is a law which is of more practical authority than the word of God, because it is held to be an infallible exposition of it. Religion, according to them, depends on the changing will of parliament, and may be varied at the pleasure of a body, consisting of men of all creeds and views. Of course, it would be a work of supererogation to ask where the belief of such reasoners is to be found. The State has great authority, by the Law of God, in all matters concerning religion; but it has no authority *against* God's law—and the conscience is relieved from all necessity of obeying it, when its decisions are clearly contrary to that higher law. It will enforce its determinations by temporal penalties, as far as it deems advisable; but it can have no right to contradict the Laws of God; and the same liberty of conscience and judgment which is claimed as the birthright of every Christian, is a right of which he cannot be divested by Popery, whether it appears in the guise of temporal or of spiritual power.

ART. IV.—*The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By JOHN RUSKIN.

It is one of the most marked tendencies of the present time, to seek anxiously for new forms and combinations of knowledge, new developments of intellectual life. The civilized and educated world are as eager for a new intellectual pleasure, as the Persian monarch is reported to have been for a new gratification of sense. One of the last and most fashionable is the study of architecture. It is no longer a mere collection of dry rules, a computation of the precise number of inches to be occupied by modules and cavettos, a perpetual repetition of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, varied by scarcely intelligible disquisitions upon proportion, or by the tame extravagancies of Vitruvius and his followers, who at one time compared their columns to trees, and at another to men and women. It has grown up in a few years from one of the most meagre and technical of all studies, to be a pursuit full of interest and variety. It has taken life, and form, and colour. It has spread its roots and its branches every where. Besides its obvious connexion with utility and with beauty, it has its own history and its own system of metaphysics. It has been twisted into a connexion with the religious controversies of the day. It penetrates every where. Most young clergymen have some knowledge of the date, and some feeling for the beauty of their parish church. Most young ladies, and a great many young gentlemen, can tell a decorated from a perpendicular window. It breaks out in the most unexpected places. It is said that in one of Her Majesty's regiments the dulness of country quarters is diversified by ecclesiological researches. Not long ago an enthusiastic undergraduate braved the wrath of proctors, and incurred those penalties which the university denounces against those of its pupils who drive one horse before another, by going in a tandem to "rub a brass," which he alleged was too distant to be reached by the more legitimate conveyance of a one-horse gig. The number and variety of late works upon this subject is prodigious; the beauty of their illustrations truly remarkable. Every shop window displays architectural glossaries and introductions, and few drawing-room tables are without them. The promoters of archaeological research shrink from no labour. The industry of Mr. Parker is giving us a complete descriptive list of all the architectural remains in England; the parish churches

alone must be several thousands. Nor has the subject wanted a graver illustration. Some of the hardest and strongest thinkers of England have employed their acute and practised minds on this subject. Professors Whewell and Willis have used their powerful faculties to explain the laws and the history of architectural science. Nor has practice been wanting. A very large proportion of our ecclesiastical edifices have enjoyed the advantages and suffered the dangers of restoration. London itself, the most dingy and gloomy of capitals, is fast assuming a new character. The vast and costly "New Palace of Westminster" shows sufficiently that we do not shrink from expense or labour in carrying out our architectural ideas.

And, indeed, without going so far as to say of the study of architecture what Sir Symons D'Ewes, that most perfect of prigs, said of the perusal of old law records, that it is "the most ravishing and satisfying part of human learning," we may safely say that few pursuits afford so many and such varied sources of gratification. It yields something for every taste, and falls in with every occupation. To the tourist it affords a new supply of interesting objects; to the artist some of his most valued materials; to the poet an abundant store of the associations dearest to verse. The man of detail may measure mouldings; the metaphysician may speculate upon the subtle theories which attempt to explain that difficult subject—the manner in which the human mind has striven to impress itself upon outward objects; to cut out human thought in stone. For the antiquarian or historian architectural knowledge is of course indispensable. The earliest histories of all nations are their buildings. Books of stone were before those of paper or parchment. The records of the monarchs of Egypt and Assyria are still to be read upon the ruins of Thebes and Nineveh. Architecture, the oldest of the fine arts, has been the mother and the nurse of the rest. Nor is it less closely connected with utility. Real architectural knowledge cannot be separated from a study of the principles of sound construction—a matter so strangely neglected among ourselves. The inhabitants of Manchester are generally accounted a prudent and practical race; yet it has been lately declared by an eminent architect, that if he were required to erect a building that should burn with the greatest possible speed and certainty, he could suggest no better plan than that on which the warehouses of Manchester are constructed. It is not too much to say that no persons accustomed to the correct methods of construction in use among our ancestors, would have committed an architectural solecism so great and so disastrous in its consequences.

It is a natural result of the variety of attractions presented by

the study of architecture, that it should draw to itself a great diversity of minds, should be looked at from very different points of view, and be pursued with very different aims. We have at present three principal schools of architectural amateurs, which, though they of course run into each other, are still in the main distinct. There is an ecclesiological, an antiquarian, and an artistic school. The first treats of architecture chiefly as subservient to the ends of religious worship; the second aims mostly at an accurate knowledge of the existing remains of ancient buildings, not without a certain tendency to slight modern imitations; the third takes for its chief object the buildings themselves, as expressions of the human mind, as works of beauty and grandeur.

The artistic school is by much the least prominent; the two great influences which have of late promoted the study of architecture, are the ecclesiological and the antiquarian. It cannot be said that they carry on their common studies in a spirit of absolute harmony. They have distinct societies and a different nomenclature. They speak different languages; and while one party shrinks from the absurdity of saying "plain decorated," or "late early," the other finds it altogether inconsistent to describe a building as an "early middle-pointed church," or an arch as "round-headed, first pointed."

We owe much to the Ecclesiologists. They first set the example of a conscientious imitation, as well as study of the ancient examples; and it is to them we owe chiefly the efforts that have been made for the satisfactory restoration of our ancient churches, and the erection of modern ones in a more worthy and dignified manner. Yet it must be confessed, that with the fervour natural to beginners, they pursued their favourite study with more zeal than knowledge, and ran headlong into the usual mistakes of inexperience—a premature generalization, and a narrow exclusiveness. They very early confined all excellence to one style in architecture, and they soon began to limit it to one modification even of that. Having persuaded themselves that Gothic architecture expresses the spirit of Christianity, they not merely neglected, but seem to have positively disliked every other. All that was not Gothic, including, of course, all the church architecture of the first ten centuries, was denounced as "Pagan," as if false doctrine could be hidden in the fluting of a column, or under the curl of an acanthus leaf. It is the natural tendency of exclusive feelings to become still more narrow as they are indulged. Accordingly, as their zeal against architectural heresies grew fiercer by indulgence, they began to proscribe all but one favourite style of Gothic. It was not, to be sure, quite settled

which that was to be. One writer pretty plainly intimated, that what is technically called the early English style, was communicated by a special inspiration to the Cistercians, whose abbays afford many of our most beautiful specimens of that style¹. On the whole, however, "middle pointed" was the most in repute. One writer in the "Ecclesiologist," in the excess of his zeal for purity of style, went so far as to hint a wish to demolish the venerable Norman nave of St. Albans, that it might be replaced by "loveliest middle pointed," an extravagance of exclusiveness for which he was, with great reason, reprehended by the Editor of that journal.

An over-hasty generalization is to be expected in all new studies. Having laid down, as a first principle, that modern architects are to be guided by the rules observed by the builders of the middle ages, the students of ecclesiology deduced from the observations of a limited number of examples canons which appear to have been, in many cases, altogether capricious, and bitterly persecuted in their reviews any architect who ventured to deviate from them in the minutest particular. If an instance was adduced to contradict the canon, an answer was always ready. If the example was brought from Ireland, the objector was told that the rules of English and Irish ecclesiology were different; if from Kent, then the Kentish churches were very anomalous, and by no means to be set up as precedents. It was early laid down that it was quite irregular to have two lancet windows in the east end of a church, and equally wrong to insert *three* in the western façade. Now the former practice is common in Ireland, and in England most of the *large* churches, built during the early Gothic period, have western triplets, so that there certainly can have been no symbolical reason against the practice, yet the positive assertions of the ecclesiologists seem to have prevailed; and for the last few years few architects have ventured on the heresy of a western triplet.

As was to be expected, the ecclesiological party rushed eagerly into the mysteries of symbolism. In a pursuit where a little ingenuity will commonly enable the student to make any thing out of any thing, they were not likely to be disappointed. Some of these symbolical speculations were sufficiently singular. One was that the Romanesque, or round arched style, typified the church militant; the Gothic, or pointed, the church triumphant. This appears hardly consistent with the other theory, that the self-

¹ Such a revelation would not be without precedent in the case of the Cistercians, whose habit is supposed to be copied from the dress in which the Virgin Mary appeared to St. Stephen Harding, to the considerable discomfort of the Order in summer, as the dress in question is very warm.

contained arch and horizontal lines of the Romanesque express repose, and the vertical lines of the Gothic an upward aspiration. It was by some supposed that those mysterious little openings in churches, commonly called lychnoscopes, and which, if not intended for ventilation, seem to have been contrived expressly for the exercise of archæological acuteness, were designed to represent the wound in the side of our Saviour, and the name of *Vulne windows* was, in consequence, imposed upon them. Unfortunately for this theory, many churches have two, one on each side.

The study of architecture, in a purely antiquarian sense, can hardly be thought to be generally very interesting. The accumulation of details, without referring them to some general principle or theory, can only suit that small class of minds who love labour for its own sake. And yet the study of details is quite as indispensable to success as in any other art or science. In no branch of human knowledge can we be safely ignorant of the accumulated experience of those who have preceded us. We sometimes see it complained of that architects do not invent a new style of architecture. It would be almost as easy to invent a new language. Such an invention in the first case, as in the second, would most likely be principally distinguished for its meagreness and its poverty. The nearest approaches to new styles of architecture with which we are acquainted, have been made by Sir John Soane and by Mr. Nash, with what success is well known to every one who has walked up Regent Street. The artistic or æsthetical study of architecture, the attempt to apprehend and to express the hidden causes of beauty and grandeur in the temples of Greece and Egypt, or the cathedrals of England and France, may well seem replete with attractions. Yet it requires for its successful prosecution, more vigour of intellect and greater powers of mind than are the common portion of mankind. Among ourselves it has lately been followed with zeal, with originality, and with genius:—the names of Ferguson, Petit, Ruskin, and Freeman must rank high amongst those who have undertaken the difficult task of analysing and explaining in words the subtle causes of the delight and improvement which the beholding of visible objects can give to the eye and to the mind. In truth, no architectural criticism that is worth any thing can dispense with either of these two great requisites, a minute antiquarian knowledge, and a quick apprehension and close study of æsthetical principles. Both these qualifications for his task Mr. Freeman possesses in a very high degree. His accurate study of details has not diminished his power of deducing general

laws, nor do his speculations make him regardless of the facts upon which they ought to be founded. His theory does not fly away with his facts. Though he speaks with too indignant a contempt of the mere dry antiquarian school, he has certainly not neglected to provide himself abundantly with their most technical learning.

The history of architecture, like civil history, or the history of philosophy, is a history of continuous progress. From the earliest known buildings, to the latest Gothic, there exists a regular order of succession, which is natural, not capricious, and which could not be inverted. Each succeeding architect, though probably himself unaware of what he did, helped on the progress of the general change in the art. Wars, revolutions or invasions, might check or modify, but they could not stop it. The details might become rude, and the execution barbarous, but the general progress still went on. From the earliest style with which we are acquainted, the Egyptian, down to the latest Gothic, the progress of architecture may be summed in one sentence—it was a fusion of the parts into one whole. In the Egyptian buildings the separate parts are marked with a distinctness which causes them often to appear grotesque to our eyes. The Greeks modified this harshness, and brought their temples to a far more perfect harmony. The Romans introduced the arch, a construction which, of necessity, implies a much stricter subordination of the parts to the whole. When the migration of nations ceased, and feudal society was founded on the ruins of the ancient world, the Teutonic builders took up the Roman architecture with unexampled energy, and developed it into the various forms of Gothic. Each of these, as is well shown by Mr. Freeman, is characterized by an increasing tendency to sink the parts in the whole, till at length the column itself, which had been (if it may be said without a pun) the main prop and stay of the architect from the beginning of the world, was abandoned, and the building became one series of panelling. Mr. Ruskin avows his astonishment at the boldness of those who dared this great innovation; but in the course of architectural progress the change was inevitable, and it came on so gradually that it was probably hardly perceived by those who made it.

The history of architectural progress differs from general history in this important particular, that it is not a history of an indefinite progress, which still continues, and of which the end cannot be foreseen, but of a limited and definable process, which has attained its end and worked itself out. "The great dynasty of mediæval architecture" fell, not as Mr. Ruskin assures us, "because it was untrue to its own laws," but because it had run

its natural course. Gothic architecture died not by disease, but of the natural decay of old age². When the art had run out its natural course, and expanded itself into all its legitimate developments, the desire for novelty, perhaps the necessity for it, still remained. It is difficult for a vigorous school of art to be content with the mere reproduction of the models of an existing style. What Mr. Ruskin calls the Lamp of Life will be wanting where the artist does not feel that he is creating not only the work, but in some measure the style itself in which he works. And nothing was left but to deviate into the corruptions of mere eccentricity, or to return to some earlier school of art. For a time architects wanted in all the extravagancies of the latest Gothic and of the Renaissance; but the attempt was unsatisfactory: they astonished rather than pleased; they "felt the weight of too much liberty," and they willingly sought refuge from the difficulties of their position in the dry rules and barren lifelessness of pseudo classical art.

The strict regulations of the revived Roman style were opposed alike to common sense and to ancient precedent; yet they were delivered and received as oracles. Architecture, stitched up in the stays of Vitruvius, lost its health, its grace, and its vigour, almost its life; the architect ceased to be an inventor, and became a copyist, and the science of ornamental building ceased to be part of the great history of the human mind.

During the long progress of Gothic architecture, there can be little doubt that each successive fashion was regarded by its inventors as a great improvement upon the ruder art of earlier times. We know that they demolished without scruple the works of their predecessors to make way for their own. But we are far removed from the temporary influences which affected *them*, and may well be supposed to be capable of considering the question upon its intrinsic merits, and of awarding our preference to that style to which it is really due. The infinite diversities of taste are to be discerned in this as in all other matters; each style has its advocates; and among the most competent and enthusiastic critics one gives his highest praise to what is a subject of contempt, and almost of dislike, to another. The middle, or "decorated" period of Gothic, would probably be thought by most persons to combine the greatest number of excellencies. It is difficult not to feel an enthusiastic admiration for the boldness and freedom with which it scorned the received conventionalities

² In our own perpendicular, the most logical development of Gothic, we see the approaches of a natural death, the stiffening of old age; in the French *Flamboyant*, rather the monstrous growths of disease, but of a disease which had its origin in the feebleness of exhaustion.

of art, and went straight for its inspiration and teaching to no meaner mistress than to nature herself. The magnificent formality of the early Gothic foliage was discarded; the artist took his ornaments from the vegetation that made beautiful his native fields and forests; he copied the vine, the oak, and the maple. For the wrinkled and frittered drapery which we find in the Parthenon, and which descended through the Romans to the middle ages, he substituted the more simple and dignified folds of nature. The same movement pervaded Europe. In Italy, Giotto, in whose time Gothic architecture was introduced into Tuscany, freed painting from the fetters of his Byzantine predecessors. It is not perhaps too much to connect this emancipation of the human mind in the wide regions of art with the struggles for ecclesiastical reform and liberty with which they coincide in date. The middle ages, like bodies which are remote from us, often seem to have stood still, when they were in fact in rapid motion; and he who studies the subject, however slightly, will be astonished to find what a quantity and vigour of thought must have been bestowed upon architecture in those times.

If we have rightly considered the course of Gothic architecture to be a progress to a definite end, the fusion of the parts in the whole, it will seem natural that they, whose tendency is to regard architecture as a scientific study, with whom a building is rather a subject for reasoning than for impulsive taste, should be favourably disposed towards the later Gothic, when the principles of the style were carried out to their fullest development. Both Mr. Petit and Mr. Freeman, our most ingenious speculators upon the laws of mediæval architecture, appear to regard some modification of our own perpendicular as their ideal of Gothic. Their scientific conceptions of the art are best pleased with those buildings in which the tendencies of the style are most fully carried out. This has perhaps been done in the purest, most vigorous, and most consistent manner by the practical and business-like William of Wykeham.

But this logical completeness is not without a weighty counterpoise of disadvantage, in the frequent sacrifice of æsthetical beauty. Mr. Freeman himself tells us that, in the fusion of the parts into the whole, the beauties and ornaments which belong to the parts must be lost also; and it can hardly be denied that in piquancy, variety, and picturesqueness of effect, the earlier Gothic buildings far surpass the later. As has happened with many schools of conventional literature, architects became cold, and lame, and lifeless, in their struggle for systematical correctness.

To this style Mr. Ruskin shows no mercy. All the vials of his wrath are emptied upon it. He has upon this subject used some

language to which we can scarcely think he will adhere upon consideration. Our English perpendicular is "an impotent and ugly degradation." "All that carving upon Henry the Seventh's chapel simply deforms the stones of it." Even the magnificent chapel of King's College is characterised "as a piece of architectural juggling." The church of St. Ouen, at Rouen, which Mr. Freeman selects as the most perfect Gothic type extant, fares no better. Its "glorious lantern" is described as "one of the basest pieces of Gothic in Europe," "its entire plan and decoration resemble and deserve little more credit than the burnt sugar ornaments of elaborate confectionary."

In truth, Mr. Ruskin seems to take very much a painter's view of architecture. Hence the extraordinary value which he sets upon the Italian schools of Gothic, an estimate in which few northern critics will agree with him. It is impossible to escape the conclusion, that he is unduly fascinated by the beauty and splendour of colour which the abundance of marbles, and the beauty of their climate, has given to the buildings of Venice and Tuscany. But the architectural critic is not so to be put off, he requires a design abstractedly beautiful; and, if we are to have what Mr. Ruskin so emphatically pleads for, any style or rules in architecture at all, we must learn to think of and to judge them as expressed in black lines upon white paper, without reference to material, to colour, or to historical associations. And the Italian Gothic is undoubtedly bad Gothic. The style was never thoroughly mastered or rightly naturalized south of the Alps; it bears every where the marks of a feeble imitation; no where those of spontaneous life. Its builders caught the forms of northern architecture, but they missed its spirit. In an imperfect style, by a most prodigal use of their sumptuous materials, they have erected some of the fairest buildings of the earth. Had they well understood the style in which they worked, their buildings would have been much more beautiful. We ask no better evidence than Mr. Ruskin has himself supplied. He has given a daguerreotype of the upper story of the Campanile of Florence. Can any one who has not seen the original, see in the representation any thing like a justification, or even an explanation, of the praise which Mr. Ruskin bestows upon this tower, as the most beautiful building on the earth? Or to him who has seen it, does the print recal the faintest idea of the surpassing loveliness of the original? Or let it be compared with the great tower of Lincoln, and then say which architect had the most vivid sense of the grandeur and beauty of architectural form? The fascination of the Florentine tower lies in its colour. But architecture is above all, and emphatically, a science of form.

Colour is a grace and a beauty ; it ought never to be the principal object of the architect's attention.

It is impossible to read Mr. Ruskin's writings, without regretting the habit which he indulges of stating his opinions in their extreme form. He seems to think that he can never say a thing strongly enough. And this not only in matters of importance, and where a man may feel some certainty of being in the right, but, as we have seen, in matters of mere taste ; and where men who have thought deeply and written ably upon the subject differ from him altogether. And the same excessive earnestness he shows about things which cannot but seem trifling. His style, if the expression may be used, wants perspective, every thing is painted in the strongest colours, and he expresses what assuredly he does not feel, the same ardour of conviction about small things and great. He is almost as fine upon a ribbon as upon a Raphael. With what a " tempest of splendour " does he scorch and shrivel up an unfortunate ribbon, which has offended him by its too frequent occurrence in architectural decoration. While we agree in the general criticism, we cannot help feeling that there is a certain incongruity in the expression of it.

" Inscriptions appear sometimes to be introduced for the sake of the scroll on which they are written ; and in late and modern painted glass, as well as in architecture, these scrolls are flourished, and turned hither and thither, as if they were ornamental. Ribbons occur frequently in arabesques,—in some of a high order, too,—tying up flowers, or flitting in and out among the fixed forms. Is there any thing like ribbons in nature ? It might be thought that grass and sea-weed afforded apologetic types. They do not. There is a wide difference between their structure and that of a ribbon. They have a skeleton, an anatomy, a central rib, or fibre, or framework of some kind or another, which has a beginning and an end, a root and head, and whose make and strength affects every direction of their motion, and every line of their form. The loosest weed that drifts and waves under the heaving of the sea, or hangs heavily on the brown and slippery shore, has a marked strength, structure, elasticity, gradation of substance ; its extremities are more finely fibred than its centre, its centre than its root ; every fork of its ramification is measured and proportioned ; every wave of its languid lines is lovely. It has its allotted size, and place, and function ; it is a specific creature. What is there like this in a ribbon ? It has no structure : it is a succession of cut threads all alike ; it has no skeleton, no make, no form, no size, no will of its own. You cut it and crush it into what you will. It has no strength, no languor. It cannot fall into a single graceful form. It cannot wave, in the true sense, but only flutter ; it cannot bend, in the true sense, but only turn and be wrinkled. It is a vile thing ; it spoils all that is near its wretched film of an existence. Never use it. Let the flowers come loose if they

cannot keep together without being tied; leave the sentence unwritten if you cannot write it on a tablet or book, or plain roll of paper. I know what authority there is against me. I remember the scrolls of Perugino's angels, and the ribbons of Raphael's arabesques, and of Ghiberti's glorious bronze flowers: no matter; they are every one of them vices and uglinesses."

In these violent expressions upon all possible subjects, there is more harm than a mere waste of power. They detract greatly from the authority of the writer, and are likely to interfere in no small measure with the high and noble aim to which he has set himself.

Any work on art by Mr. Ruskin can hardly fail to be of far more than ordinary value. To no man has been given a keener or a deeper sense of the beauty and the glory of this visible universe, or a more worthy utterance to express them, so far as words may do it. The pomp and prodigality of his eloquence are well enough known; to describe them adequately would require language not less forcible and beautiful than his own. In the difficult and noble task of painting in words the fair features of nature he is very hardly to be surpassed. A more exquisite description of scenery than the following, it would be indeed hard to find. It has been already often quoted, and the reader has probably read it before; he will *therefore* willingly read it again.

"Among the hours of his life to which the writer looks back with peculiar gratitude, as having been marked by more than ordinary fulness of joy, or clearness of teaching, is one passed, now some years ago, near time of sunset, among the broken masses of pine forests which skirt the course of the Ain, above the village of Champagnole, in the Jura. It is a spot which has all the solemnity, with none of the savageness, of the Alps; where there is a sense of a great power beginning to be manifested in the earth, and of a deep and majestic concord in the rise of the long low lines of piny hills; the first utterance of those mighty mountain symphonies, soon to be more loudly lifted and wildly broken along the battlements of the Alps. But their strength is as yet restrained; and the far-reaching ridges of pastoral mountain succeed each other, like the long and sighing swell which moves over quiet waters from some far-off stormy sea. And there is a deep tenderness pervading that vast monotony. The destructive forces and the stern expression of the central ranges are alike withdrawn. No frost-ploughed, dust-encumbered paths of ancient glacier fret the soft Jura pastures; no splintered heaps of ruin break the fair ranks of her forests; no pale, defiled, or furious rivers rend their rude and changeful ways among her rocks. Patiently, eddy by eddy, the clear green streams wind along their well-known beds; and under the dark quietness of the undisturbed pines, there spring up, year by year, such company of

joyful flowers as I know not the like of among all the blessings of the earth. It was spring time, too; and all were coming forth in clusters crowded for very love; there was room enough for all, but they crushed their leaves into all manner of strange shapes only to be nearer each other. There was the wood anemone, star after star, closing every now and then into nebulae; and there was the oxalis, troop by troop, the dark vertical clefts in the limestone choked up with them as with heavy snow, and touched with ivy on the edges—ivy as light and lovely as the vine; and, ever and anon, a blue gush of violets, and cowslip bells in sunny places; and in the more open ground the vetch, and camfrey, and mezereon, and the small sapphire buds of the *Polygala Alpina*, and the wild strawberry, just a blossom or two, all showered amidst the golden softness of deep, warm, amber-coloured moss. I came out presently on the edge of the ravine; the solemn murmur of its waters rose suddenly from beneath, mixed with the singing of the thrushes among the pine boughs; and, on the opposite side of the valley, walled all along as it was by grey cliffs of limestone, there was a hawk sailing slowly off their brow, touching them nearly with his wings, and with the shadows of the pines flickering upon his plumage from above; but with a fall of a hundred fathoms under his breast, and the curling pools of the green river gliding and glittering dizzily beneath him, their foam globes moving with him as he flew."

One knows not whether most to admire in this passage the minute and accurate fulness of details, or the certainty and felicity with which they are used to express general truths, and to indicate the hidden sources of beauty and power. The colours of the flowers and the ripples of the river are set before the eye, but we are not suffered to forget that these slight and delicate ornaments are but another manifestation of that power which has raised up the cliffs of the mountains, as a man wrinkles the folds of a garment. And this is eminently characteristic. Mr. Ruskin's enthusiasm is far from being wild or unregulated, nor in his love for the accidents of art does he ever lose sight of its higher and more essential qualities as an expression of the highest truths. It may, perhaps, be questioned, whether his systematic view of art, as a representation of nature, may not, in some degree, have affected the accuracy of his architectural theories.

It would be altogether to misconceive the purpose and the object of Mr. Ruskin's work to suppose that it was written, either as a display of literary ability, or as the mere pastime of an artistical dilettanteism. He has very different and much higher purposes. To a man who reflects at all, and who considers out of what materials and by what process the minds and characters of individuals, and of nations are built up, it may well afford matter for speculation to consider in what manner we deal with the outward beauty and appearance of those objects of daily use,

which we touch and see continually, among which we habitually move and live. It is hardly too much to say that the works of man are, in this age and country (with a few exceptions, mostly borrowed from the examples of an age which we call barbarous), absolutely ugly. The stamp of that "formalised deformity, that shrivelled precision, that starved accuracy, that minute misanthropy," which Mr. Ruskin finds in our domestic architecture, is painfully impressed upon almost every thing that we make, from a suburban villa to a fire-shovel. It is not necessarily so. Nations whom we despise as dull and unintelligent are able to make their common appliances and utensils of life good and pleasant to look upon. Toss a bundle of Asiatic garments and utensils into a heap, and you have a picture; but what artist who could help it would copy our steel fenders or papier mâché trays? Our best ornaments are importations, or copies. What we lose in this way cannot be estimated. In the moral world, as in the physical, no impression is utterly lost. Every sight that a man sees has some effect upon the general turn of his thoughts and feelings. It may be such as to make him familiar with the forms of beauty, and thereby to soften and to exalt him; or such as to blunt and degrade his taste by a perpetual acquaintance with ugliness and deformity. Let it be recollected, that the bulk of the people of England are dwellers in cities, where they can hardly see the sun or the sky itself, and that if they want the opportunity of catching some ideas of grace and beauty from the works of man, must be without the feeling altogether. Whatever tends to humanize, to educate, and to refine our vast city population, cannot rightly be thought of mean importance. And good architecture does this, and more than this; it tends powerfully to create those local attachments, which, on a larger scale, we call patriotism, and the want of which is not the least ugly symptom of the deep-seated malady of our time. The inhabitants of Bolton or Manchester can never regard their interminable lines of dingy warehouses with the pride and affection with which the citizen of Florence or Bruges looked up to the towers of his native town.

Nor is this all. Our practice of making bad ornaments tends, and that not a little, to degrade the workmen who make them. The improving effects of a good work of art are at least as great upon the workman as upon the beholder. It may be said, without extravagance, that it is twice blessed. "It blesses him that gives and him who takes." It is no slight matter for the health and contentment of mind of the vast numbers of artisans who are employed in these arts, which are more or less decorative, that they should have that to do which may give some oppor-

tunity for mental action in the doing, some sense of a satisfied taste for beauty in the completion, and thus make the workman happy in his work. The great and master evil of our own time, the dissatisfaction of every man with his own condition, would be much mitigated, if all who could afford it, dwelt, as men did of old, in houses of solid and enduring beauty, wrought as those were by workmen who knew and felt the value and excellence of their work.

This unfortunate state of the national taste is very generally recognised, and some desultory efforts are made to improve it. We hear on all sides of art manufactures and exhibitions. But in all these things we have begun at the wrong end. It is architecture that has in all times been the nurse of all the other fine arts, and it must be so now. If people are inured to meanness and tawdriness, to deception and falsity in their greatest works, they are little likely to avoid them in their smallest. "We shall not manufacture art," as Mr. Ruskin most truly tells us, "out of pottery and printed stuffs." What we want most of all in this matter is truth and honesty, and earnest endeavour to do what is really good of its kind. So long as we count the bricks and stones that we bestow upon our palaces and places of worship, and strain eagerly to get the greatest possible show out of the least amount of materials and of labour, we shall have no true, or honest, or healthy art.

In the work before us Mr. Ruskin has endeavoured to separate and to explain those principles which ought to guide the architect—his leading stars in the midst of that chaos of styles with which he now finds himself surrounded; and this he has done with an especial reference to the necessities of our own time. These principles he calls with a quaintness—not without its use in arresting the attention of the reader—*Lamps*; and of these lamps he reckons seven:—of Sacrifice, of Truth, of Power, of Beauty, of Life, of Memory, and of Obedience. Three of these, the Lamps of Sacrifice, Truth, and Memory, seem to be for the most part rather different aspects of the same light, than altogether distinct luminaries; they all enforce the great principle, that *we are to do our best* in design, in material, in workmanship; that all architecture, where this is not done, is bad architecture. But in this matter let us hear Mr. Ruskin.

"Let us have done with this kind of work at once; cast off every temptation to it; do not let us degrade ourselves voluntarily, and then mutter and mourn over our short comings; let us confess our poverty or our parsimony, but not belie our human intellect. It is not even a question of how *much* we are to do, but of how it is to be done; it is not a question of doing more, but of doing better. Do not let us

boss our roofs with wretched, half-worked, blunt-edged rosettes; do not let us flank our gates with rigid imitations of mediæval statuary. Such things are mere insults to common sense, and only unfit us for feeling the nobility of their prototypes. We have so much, suppose, to be spent in decoration; let us go to the Flaxman of his time, whoever he may be, and bid him carve for us a single statue, frieze or capital, or as many as we can afford, compelling upon him the one condition, that they shall be the best he can do; place them where they will be of most value, and be content. Our other capitals may be mere blocks, and our other niches empty. No matter: better our work unfinished than all bad. It may be, that we do not desire ornament of so high an order: choose, then, a less developed style, as also, if you will, rougher material; the law which we are enforcing requires only that what we pretend to do and to give shall both be the best of their kind; choose, therefore, the Norman hatchet work, instead of the Flaxman frieze and statue; but let it be the best hatchet work; and, if you cannot afford marble, use Caen stone, but from the best bed; and if not stone, brick, but the best brick; preferring always what is good of a lower order of work or material, to what is bad of a higher; for this is not only the way to improve every kind of work, and to put every kind of material to better use, but it is more honest and unpretending, and is in harmony with other just, upright, and manly principles, whose range we shall have presently to take into consideration."

It will be easily seen that this principle, as the Lamp of Truth, condemns all that base use of sham materials and sham decorations, that luxury of plaster cornices and composition marbles, in which modern architects so much please themselves. It will likewise enforce a solid and enduring construction, so that our memory may be transmitted with our buildings to after ages, and their times linked to ours, by the benefits which we have bestowed on them. And this is the Lamp of Memory. To all those who consider at all upon what foundations are built the strength and the happiness of nations, we would earnestly commend the following eloquent passage.

"I cannot but think it is an evil sign of a people when their houses are built to last for one generation only. There is a sanctity in a good man's house which cannot be renewed in every tenement that rises on its ruins: and I believe that good men would generally feel this; and that having spent their lives happily and honourably, they would be grieved at the close of them to think that the place of their earthly abode, which had seen, and seemed almost to sympathize in, all their honour, their gladness, or their suffering,—that this, with all the record it bore of them, and all of material things that they had loved and ruled over, and set the stamp of themselves upon—was to be swept away, as soon as there was room made for them in the grave; that no respect was to be shown to it, no affection felt for it, no good to be drawn from

it by their children ; that though there was a monument in the church, there was no warm monument in the hearth and house to them ; that all that they ever treasured was despised, and the places that had sheltered and comforted them were dragged down to the dust. I say, that a good man would fear this ; and that, far more, a good son, a noble descendant, would fear doing it to his father's house. I say that if men lived like men indeed, their houses would be temples—temples which we should hardly dare to injure, and in which it would make us holy to be permitted to live ; and there must be a strange dissolution of natural affection, a strange unthankfulness for all that homes have given and parents taught, a strange consciousness that we have been unfaithful to our fathers' honour, or that our own lives are not such as would make our dwellings sacred to our children, when each man would fain build to himself, and build for the little revolution of his own life only. And I look upon those pitiful concretions of lime and clay which spring up in mildewed forwardness out of the kneaded fields about our capital—upon those thin, tottering, foundationless shells of splintered wood and imitated stone—upon those gloomy rows of formalised minuteness, alike without difference and without fellowship, as solitary as similar—not merely with the careless disgust of an offended eye, not merely with sorrow for a desecrated landscape, but with a painful foreboding that the roots of our national greatness must be deeply cankered when they are thus loosely struck in their native ground ; that those comfortless and unhonoured dwellings are the signs of a great and spreading spirit of popular discontent ; that they mark the time when every man's aim is to be in some more elevated sphere than his natural one, and every man's past life is his habitual scorn ; when men build in the hope of leaving the places they have built, and live in the hope of forgetting the years that they have lived ; when the comfort, the peace, the religion of home have ceased to be felt, and the crowded tenements of a struggling and restless population differ only from the tents of the Arab and the gipsy by their less healthy openness to the air of heaven, and less happy choice of their spot of earth, by their sacrifice of liberty without the gain of rest, and of stability, without the luxury of change."

The same principle pervades what Mr. Ruskin calls the Lamp of Power, the necessity of weight and mass, of strong shadow and deep recess, in short, of abundant material, of size, and solidity. This is the very heart and root of the matter ; if we are to have any architecture worth the name, we must abandon our favourite practice of stretching our materials to the utmost, and of erecting buildings just strong enough to hold together. We must work patiently and for posterity.

We now come to the Lamp of Beauty, and on this head we must confess we differ altogether from Mr. Ruskin. He holds, if we rightly understand him, that there can be no beauty except that which arises from the imitation, more or less close, of natu-

ral objects, or at least of lines which are to be found in nature. We can hardly suppose that the author himself would, upon reflection, be quite satisfied with a theory which has involved him in disquisitions upon the more or less frequent occurrence in nature of the crystals of salt or bismuth. In this matter *à priori* speculations can go for very little; nearly every thing must depend upon the testimony of our sensations. We cannot *prove* a thing to be beautiful. Let us try Mr. Ruskin by a test which he has himself furnished. He affirms that the Campanile of Florence is the most beautiful of buildings, and he gives us a daguerreotype view of it. With the trifling exception of the flowered capitals, what is there in the view which at all reminds us of any object in nature? Or let any man look at the east end of Lincoln cathedral, or any other fine specimen of the geometrical Gothic, and then say if that does not present one of the highest types of architectural beauty, or if it be like any thing in nature. Nor will it avail to say that many of our most beautiful geometrical arrangements are but combinations or fragments of circles, and that that form is always before us in the sweep of the horizon, in the orbs of the great lights of heaven. For it is not by the possibility of finding something in nature *in some degree* like what is beautiful in architecture that we ought to judge, but by the effect and disposition of the whole. And in a pure style of architecture we shall find a general tendency to those geometrical forms which are so sparingly exhibited in nature. In truth, if architecture depended exclusively for its beauty on the reproduction of natural forms, it would follow that the more closely the members of a building copied those forms, so much the greater would be their beauty. We ought to build columns like trees, and vaulting ribs like their branches. Yet this practice, which to a certain extent is sufficiently common in the latest German Gothic, is a sure mark of degradation, and there is perhaps no baser piece of architecture in the world than that arch in the beautiful triforium of Westminster, of which the shafts have been tormented into the form of palm-trees.

This theory of Mr. Ruskin is, we think, another instance of what we have before had occasion to remark, that he often looks upon his subjects rather with the eye of a painter than of an architect. The truth seems to be, that the proper and peculiar beauty of architectural objects consists in the expression of excellence of form, not as it is presented to us in the visible objects of the outward universe, but as it is conceived by the human mind. As there are sciences, which are conversant only with the abstractions of the mind, as the lines and circles of the theoretical mathematician have no existence but in his understanding, no

types in the world of matter, so in architecture the eye may be pleased and the taste satisfied by ordered arrangements of geometrical figures altogether unlike any thing in nature, and deducing the rules of their arrangement from the laws of the mind itself. Architecture might perhaps be described to be the expression of human thought in stone. And the manner in which beauty is conceived by man is far remote from that in which it is expressed in nature. Man works with far less plastic materials and is bound by far more rigid laws. His conceptions take naturally the shape of those geometrical figures, and are bounded by the rigidity of those mathematical lines which in natural objects scarcely occur at all. For more subtle and delicate beauties he must go to nature, one of the many ways in which we are taught how absolute is our dependence upon a power great beyond the utmost reach of our weak conceptions.

Of the "Lamp of Life," the title sufficiently expresses the scope and purpose. And this also is to be referred to that great principle, which we have before mentioned as the main source of all that is worth having in art; the earnest endeavour of the artist to do his best, the struggle to realize to the utmost that the means in his power permit the ideas that his mind forms of beauty and grandeur. Where this is, the work has life, and however rude or imperfect, it is sure to have some merit; it is a real expression of human thought; it has given some honest pleasure to the maker, and so long as it stands it will continue to give the same to those who behold it. Where this is not, the work may be vast, elaborate, expensive, but it will be cold, tame, and dead; that which has excited no enthusiasm in the maker will never do so in the spectator. In how few of our own buildings do we feel that the architect has really done the best that he could, that he has set himself seriously to work to gather and select all the materials of beauty which lay within his reach, that he has never been satisfied of doing well enough, where he might have done better! Our architects seldom or never work up to their full strength. But in this matter they are unfavourably circumstanced. It is an indispensable condition for a living architecture that it should be in some degree original and progressive, that it should not be too rigidly bound by precedent. In no work of imagination can any result worth having be got by copying those who have gone before. To rise at all, we must aim at the highest things, and make our ultimate object no less than the utmost conceivable grandeur and beauty. We should copy Gothic, not because it is Gothic, but because it is beautiful; and we ought to try earnestly to do better. Beautiful as our own Gothic buildings are, one may surely conceive others still more beautiful. They are not wanting in faults

which we should avoid, any more than in excellencies which we ought to copy. Now, a modern architect, even if he choose the Gothic style, will find himself grievously hampered by precedents. He builds, in what is to a certain extent even now a foreign and exotic style, and what is worse, he is perpetually subject to the censures of critics, for the smallest departure from existing examples—censures which may most seriously affect his interests ; hence he works timidly, and with more reference to what is, than to what ought to be, and thinking at least as much of precedent as of principle. Of what is called Classical Architecture it seems needless to speak ; that has been long ago by its too careful nurses swaddled into a mummy.

This principle of originality is not in reality, though it may at first sight so appear, at all opposed to the next and the last of Mr. Ruskin's architectural principles, the Lamp of Obedience. Under this head he explains and enforces the necessity, if we would have any architecture, or indeed any art at all that is really worth having, of selecting and adhering to some one style of architecture. It is impossible that the architect, who is liable to be at any time called upon to compose in almost every style that has ever been known, from Chinese to Egyptian, should ever know the full resources of any. He is distracted by the multiplicity of objects which are before him. He is always learning the rudiments of his art, and has neither leisure nor knowledge to be really original in any thing. A man who should pique himself upon habitually writing half a dozen languages, would hardly have a very genial style in any. And the same observation will hold good as to every workman employed in building. Unless his eye and his taste are trained in some one style, they will never be efficiently trained at all. Good decorative work is not so easy that it can be done by a divided attention ; it needs the full exertion of the undiminished energies of most men. If the selection of a single style be necessary for the healthy life of architecture among us, it is no less so for that of painting and sculpture. For these arts have always depended, if not for their existence, at least for their vigour and animation, upon the first. And this necessarily, for paintings and statues are but the ornaments of our houses and temples ; nor will they ever fit in comfortably or have free space to develop themselves where the architect has not provided it. The modern method of painting pictures for pieces of furniture, whose greatest praise is to fetch high prices in an auction-room, will never give rise to a worthy or dignified style of art. Such a school is certain to be seduced by that great Circe of painters—colour. The results of such a practice are well seen in the Dutch school of painting, and without going so far as Mr.

Ruskin, who some where delivers an opinion that the greatest service which could be rendered to art with respect to the paintings of the Dutch masters, would be to collect the whole of them into one grand gallery and then burn it to the ground, we think that few would be disposed to regard it as an elevated or adequate utterance of the truths which it is given to artists to express.

With respect to the choice of style, Mr. Ruskin appears, on the whole, to prefer that which it is likely would unite in its favour the great majority of suffrages,—the early English decorated. It seems, indeed, only natural to select a style which is adapted to our climate and to our materials, and the models of which are always before our eyes. The style in question possesses also the very important advantage, that it admits of being ornamented, either with conventional or natural foliage; nor is there, probably, any other style which can so easily both do without ornament or use it in the most lavish manner. It is another instance of the strong, and, indeed, unreasoning love which our author bears to the buildings of Italy, that he actually enumerates three of the Italian mediæval styles, as competitors with our own best age of Gothic. And yet it is difficult to see upon what principles of criticism the Pisan Romanesque can be considered as any thing but an imperfect and undeveloped style; or the Tuscan or Venetian Gothic as otherwise than very imperfect imitations (that they are imitations cannot be denied) of the Teutonic architecture. And this, we must repeat, is not a question of the beauty or grandeur of particular buildings, which depends so much upon their position, their material, or such other considerations; but of what is a very different matter—the abstract excellence of style. It is very characteristic of Mr. Ruskin's excessive love for the Italian styles that we find him actually citing with admiration a want of exact correspondence in measurement, which, it appears, occurs in the cathedral of Pisa between parts answering to each other, and to the eye doing so exactly. It is difficult to understand how any beauty can arise from a difference which is not perceptible, nor does there seem to be any reasonable doubt that the builders *intended* to make the corresponding parts really equal. They failed, most likely, for want of sufficiently accurate working drawings, yet they came near enough for all purposes of importance: the fault is a trifling one, and takes little or nothing from the merit of the structure, but it is not a merit.

Under the head of the Lamp of Memory, Mr. Ruskin has given a very ingenious, and, we think, a correct explanation of that so much oftener used than understood term, "The Picturesque." Ac-

According to him, the picturesque consists in "parasitical sublimity;" that is to say, in that sublimity which arises out of the surface of the object represented, and not out of its more essential characteristics. In proportion, then, as the eye and the attention are drawn to the surface of any object rather than to its internal and inherent qualities, as the outside hides the inward structure, it is picturesque. The picturesque character depends upon what is excrescential as distinguished from what is essential, and the more the excrescences are developed, the more strongly it is marked. Thus the mane of the lion, which makes him so picturesque a subject, is no necessary part of the animal, his habits or mode of life would be in no respect altered should he lose it; his essential qualities lie in his *form*, which the mane very much disguises. Hence this quality is properly called picturesqueness, for it is evidently much more easy to represent the outward surface of any thing than its inward qualities, to describe it by its accidents, than in its essence. And for the same reasons, as this is the easiest and most obvious style, it is also the least noble and dignified.

In the same chapter Mr. Ruskin has treated a subject which, from its great practical importance, deserves some notice, that of restoration, a process which, in more or less measure, all our ancient ecclesiastical edifices seemed destined to undergo. Our author, as we have seen, is not much in the habit of limiting his propositions, and he lays it down that *all* restoration is impossible. "It means the most total destruction that a building can suffer; a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with a false description of the thing destroyed." And he tells us that a necessity for restoration is a necessity for pulling the building down. So far as these observations apply to sculptures, we conceive them to be altogether just. So long as a fragment of an old statue will remain in its niche, it ought to be sacred from the touch of modern hands. But to the restoration of buildings in their main and essential parts, that is, in their masonry and mouldings, these observations do not seem properly to apply. Mouldings being formed by combinations of geometrical lines may certainly be exactly copied, if sufficient care be taken, and what is weathered in one place may usually be restored from some other part which remains perfect. Even if it were not so, it would often become necessary to restore the outside of a building, in order to preserve the interior. We cannot suffer our churches to fall down, they must be repaired in some manner; and can there be any doubt that that should be done as like to the original as is possible? It continually occurs that the window

tracery of churches falls out, while the rest of the structure stands good; it must be replaced in some fashion. Moreover, an accurate restoration is the very best school, both for the architect and the workman. It is no doubt true, that infinite damage has been done, and is now being done, by hasty, unnecessary, ill-considered, and imperfect restorations; but restorations are very often not matters of choice, but of sheer necessity.

It has been already said that Mr. Ruskin has aims higher than those of the mere dilettante artist, or the self-asserting man of letters. We believe that to him that will be the most grateful criticism which most tends to help and further his objects. And nothing, we think, would so much tend to increase his authority, and thereby promote his views, as that he should modify what we have so often had unwilling occasion to remark, his habit of stating his opinions with needless vehemence. His earnestness of thought, his vigour of conception, his energy of expression, like all excellent qualities, have their temptations and their dangers. To correct this habit would hardly be very difficult; and we are persuaded that its existence interferes seriously with the promotion of those ends to which he has addressed himself.

Nor are those ends light or trifling. When it is considered what large classes of men, and those, too, often highly educated men, pass their lives in the practice of what are called the decorative arts, in the making of what is, or at least is supposed to be, ornamental—when we think of the thousand of pictures which are at this moment being exhibited in London only—it cannot appear a small matter that so great an amount of work should be done, and so many lives spent, honestly, conscientiously, and happily; that so vast a quantity of thought and mind should tend, like the verse of him who has just gone down to the grave full of years and honours,

“To soothe and cleanse, not madden and pollute.”

Nay, more, that the outward shows of visible things may be made the instruments to lift us above themselves, and that from the sight of the fleeting objects of this transitory world, we may rise to the contemplation of those things which are everlasting.

ART. V.—*The Life and Correspondence of the late ROBERT SOUTHEY. In Six Volumes. Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY.* London: Longman, Brow, Green, and Longman. 1849, 1850.

ROBERT SOUTHEY was one of that chosen band whose appointed lot it is to exhibit the power of the human mind and will in a life-long struggle against adverse circumstances; to create in the midst of a hostile world an exceptional position for themselves; and, in the absence of the adventitious advantages of wealth or worldly station, to exercise a powerful influence upon the destinies of mankind,—a member of that apostolate of genius, whose mission it is, “being poor,” to “make many rich.” Men of this class are to universal humanity what the prophets of old were to the nation of Israel; their office is not only to instruct the generation in which their lot is cast, but to predict the destinies of future ages; to cast their bread upon the waters of time’s tide, to be found after many days; to speak words often unheeded by the world’s ear, which yet are not suffered to fall to the ground. The school in which such men are fitted for their office is not the common school in which the ordinary craftsmen and labourers are trained, by whose routine performances the mechanism of society is kept in motion; theirs is a discipline as extraordinary as their vocation. To the unreflecting observer, it appears as if the lot of such men were unusually severe; and involuntarily the thought suggests itself what this or that man of the class alluded to might not have achieved, had he not been hampered and crippled by the intricacies of his course, and the perplexities of his position. Such a view of the irregular and often painful career of men of great eminence and public usefulness, however, arising from an incorrect appreciation of man’s nature, and scarcely excusable in a pagan philosopher, is wholly unworthy of the Christian thinker. The seeds of evil inherent in all the children of Adam, spring up with greater vigour in powerful than in weak or ordinary natures, and require, if the luxuriant growth of sin is to be arrested, a more powerful check to be imposed on them,—a check of which, according to the appointed order of God’s Providence, the force of external circumstances forms not the least important part. The conflict between the internal, unregulated power of the mind and will,

and the pressure brought to bear upon it by the outer world, produces those anomalies of position and eccentricities of action which characterize the early history of almost every man of genius; while in the after periods of life it is made apparent whether that discipline has been set at nought in a spirit of proud rebellion, or submitted to with meekness and humility. The result is, in the former case, the display of gigantic powers, but powers misused to the injury of their possessor and of mankind at large,—the gloomy defiance of the misanthrope and the atheist against every law human or divine; in the latter case, it is the application of powers not less gigantic, though less striking in the form and manner of their action, to the furtherance of the happiness and improvement of mankind, and to the advancement, more or less directly, of the purpose and kingdom of God,—accompanied in the individual himself by a sense of inward contentment, the natural fruit of life's vocation conscientiously fulfilled.

To the latter, the beneficent and the blessed class of master-minds, did he belong whose "Life and Correspondence" is now lying before us, in a series of six volumes, edited by his son. In saying the "Life and Correspondence," we simply follow the title-page of the work; and we must at once enter our protest against the supposition, that we admit this as a correct description of its contents. Strictly speaking, the publication of the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey has no claim to be considered as any thing more than fragments from the correspondence of Robert Southey, constituting materials for a history of a life which remains yet to be written. In making this reservation, we do not, however, wish to be understood as intending to cast any censure upon the Editor, or to depreciate the value of the biographical stores which he has communicated to the world. The son, who was undoubtedly the most proper person to collect the correspondence, and to decide what portions of it should be given to the public, with a due regard to those sanctities of private life, which ought never to be violated for the sake of gratifying public curiosity, was by the very fact of his relationship to the mighty departed, the most unfit person to work up those materials into a history of his father's life. The *pietas* of the son and the office of the critic and the judge, are in their nature incompatible; while an encomiastic narrative, such as filial affection might have indited, would have carried with it no greater weight than the laudatory inscriptions on tombstones, which do more credit to the feelings of the survivors, than justice to the character of the departed.

To do Mr. Charles Cuthbert Southey justice, he does not in his preface profess to do more than we have here indicated, and

if his title-page might lead us to expect more, that one leaf, rather than the design and execution of the work itself, must bear the blame. With great modesty, he disclaims the possession of "any peculiar qualifications" for such an undertaking as the history of his father's life; he exactly circumscribes the limits of what he proposes to do, as a contributor of materials:—

"My object has been, not to compose a regular biography, but rather to lay before the reader such a selection from my father's letters, as will give, in his own words, the history of his life; and I have only added such remarks as I judged necessary for connexion or explanation; indeed the even tenor of his life, during its greater portion, affords but little matter for pure biography, and the course of his literary pursuits, his opinions on passing events, and the few incidents of his own career, will all be found narrated by himself in a much more natural manner, than if his letters had been worked up into a regular narrative."—*Preface*, vol. i. p. vi.

Still further to enable the reader to appreciate the value of the materials placed in his hands, Mr. Charles Outhbert Southey has appended to the last volume a few retrospective observations touching the principles on which, and the manner in which, he has executed his task; observations which we think it but fair to give in his own words:—

"In selecting from the masses of correspondence which have passed through my hands, there has necessarily been considerable labour and difficulty, the amount and nature of which can only be understood by those who have been similarly employed. One of my chief difficulties has been to avoid repetition, for the same circumstance is commonly to be found related, and the same opinions expressed, to most of his frequent and familiar correspondents; so that what a Reviewer calls "significant blanks and injudicious erasures," are very often nothing more than what is caused by the cutting out of passages, the substance of which has already appeared in some other letter, and, according to my judgment, more fully and better expressed. It may probably be observed, that my selections from the correspondence of the later years of his life are fewer in proportion than of the former ones; but, for this, several reasons may be given. A correspondence is often carried on briskly for a time, and then dropped almost entirely—as was the case between Sir Walter Scott and my father, although the friendly feelings of the parties were undiminished; in other cases the interchange of letters continued, though they contained nothing sufficiently interesting for publication. With others, again, as with Mr. Rickman, Mr. H. Taylor, and Mr. Bedford, the correspondence increased in frequency, and necessarily the interest of single letters diminished, as it was carried on by a multitude of brief notes; and this, which in these two cases resulted from facilities in franking, it seems likely will be so general a result of the new postage system, that in another generation there will

be no correspondences to publish. With respect to the correspondence with Mr. Wynn, much to my regret, I was unable to procure any letters of later date than 1820, owing to their having been mislaid; since his decease they have been found and kindly transmitted to me by his son; but, unfortunately, it was too late for me to make any present use of them.

"In addition to these causes, it may also be mentioned, that his correspondence with comparative strangers and mere acquaintances occupied a continually increasing portion of his time. The number of letters he received from such persons was very great, and almost all had to be answered, so that but little time was left for those letters he had real pleasure in writing. Every new work he engaged in entailed more or less correspondence, and some a vast accession for a time, and these letters generally would not be of interest to the public. The *Life of Cowper* involved him in a correspondence of considerable extent with many different persons: many of these letters I could have procured, and some were sent to me; but they were not available, from the limits of this work, neither would their contents be of general interest. I may, however, take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to those gentlemen who have sent me letters of which I have not made any use, but for whose kindness I am not the less obliged.

"While, however, I have necessarily been obliged to leave out many interesting letters, I feel satisfied that I have published a selection abundantly sufficient to indicate all the points in my father's character—to give all the chief incidents in his life, and to show his opinions in all their stages. I am not conscious of having kept back any thing which ought to have been brought forward—any thing, excepting some free and unguarded expressions which, whether relating to things or persons, having been penned in the confidence of friendship and at the impulse of the moment, it would be as unreasonable in a reader to require, as it would be injudicious and improper in an editor to publish. And if in any case I may have let some such expression pass by uncanceled, which may have given a moment's pain to any individual, I sincerely regret the inadvertency."—Vol. vi. pp. 394—396.

It only remains to be stated, that although Robert Southey does not appear to have kept copies of his letters to his numerous correspondents—for the present publication is made from the originals transmitted by the parties to whom they were addressed, or by their representatives—he seems himself to have contemplated the plan of an epistolary autobiography. Indeed, as far as the first fifteen years of his life are concerned, he himself, in his forty-seventh year, embodied his reminiscences of them, together with a full account of his birth and parentage, in a series of letters addressed to his friend Mr. John May, with the avowed object of composing, in this manner, an autobiographic memoir of himself. But while he disported himself, with all that innocent hilarity

of spirit which he possessed in so remarkable a degree, and which is one of the surest indications of a well-spent life and a happy old age, in the recollection of the small troubles and the childish adventures of his boyhood, his courage failed him when he approached that period of his life, in reviewing which the sense of personal responsibility could not but have greatly interfered with his narrative, and placed him in the inconvenient position of being at once judge and prisoner at the bar, his own prosecutor and his own advocate. To this cause, no less than to the unwillingness to open afresh wounds of affliction which time had healed over, we are disposed to attribute the abandonment of the projected autobiography by Southey himself; and we think, that in relinquishing the undertaking he was guided by a correct instinct. For a man who has attained a position of moral eminence, in which he is a spectacle to all and an example to many, to trace out before the world the erratic course of his years of indiscretion and inexperience, in a tone, we will not say of approbation, but of palliation, or of leniency of judgment, would be to render an ill service to the cause of religion and morality—by furnishing a plausible excuse to the *servum pecus* to imitate the faults, while uninfluenced by the impulses, and unprotected by the compensating excellencies, of the man of genius. On the contrary, to retail the follies and delinquencies of youth in their naked deformity, after the manner of the “*confessions*” of J. J. Rousseau, although without their turpitude, would be an act unbecoming the wisdom and the rectitude of maturer and graver years. Robert Southey did wisely, therefore, for more reasons than those apologetically set forth by his son, in not proceeding any further with his autobiographical letters to Mr. John May, but leaving the tenor of his life, the tendency of his sentiments, and the tone of his mind and heart, to be collected from his chance correspondence after he should have been gathered to his fathers. That he anticipated, and even intended, that such a use should be made of his correspondence, is evident from some of the very letters now published, in which he adverts to this plan as a substitute for the continuation of the memoirs of his own life, the completion of which he appears to have contemplated, at intervals, for several years after they had been broken off.

In July, 1826, five years after the discontinuance of the autobiographical correspondence with Mr. John May, he thus writes to his friend Grosvenor C. Bedford:—

“ I wish to show you some things, and to talk with you about others ; one business in particular, which is the disposal of my papers whenever I shall be gathered to my fathers and to my children. That good office would naturally be yours, should you be the survivor, if the business

of the Exchequer did not press upon you, like the world upon poor Atlas's shoulders. I know not now upon whom to turn my eyes for it, unless it be Henry Taylor. Two long journeys with me have made him well acquainted with my temper and every-day state of mind. He has shown himself very much attached to me, and would neither want will nor ability for what will not be a difficult task, inasmuch as that which is of most importance, and would require most care, will (if my life be spared but for a year or two) be executed by my own hand. You do not know, I believe, that I have made some progress in writing my own life and recollections upon a large scale. This will be of such certain value as a post obit, that I shall make it a part of my regular business (being, indeed, a main duty) to complete it. What is written is one of the things which I am desirous of showing you. If you ever look over my letters, I wish you would mark such passages as might not be improper for publication at the time which I am looking forward to. You, and you alone, have a regular series which has never been intermitted. From occasional correspondents plenty of others, which, being less confidential, are less careless, will turn up. I will leave a list of those persons from whom such letters may be obtained, as may probably be of avail."—Vol. v. pp. 254, 255.

And shortly after he writes to Henry Taylor himself:—

"The growth and progress of my own opinions I can distinctly trace, for I have been watchfully a self-observer. What was hastily taken up in youth was gradually and slowly modified, and I have a clear remembrance of the how, and why, and when of any material change. This you will find (I trust) in the Autobiography which I shall leave, and in which some considerable progress is made, though it has not reached this point. It will be left, whether complete or not (for there is the chance of mortality for this) in a state for the press, so that you will have no trouble with it. There will be some in collecting my stray letters, and selecting such, in whole or in part, as may not unfitly be published, less for the sake of gratifying public curiosity, than of bringing money to my family."—Vol. v. p. 266.

It is both curious and characteristic that the pecuniary value of his projected autobiography, as the means of increasing the scanty provision which he had been enabled to make for his family, should have been the uppermost thought connected with this subject in the mind of a man who felt, and had reason to feel, "the conviction that, die when he might, his memory was one of those which would smell sweet, and blossom in the dust." Such being the nature of the collection from which we are left to gather our materials, we shall now endeavour to transfer to our pages a slight sketch of the picture presented to us in these volumes of Robert Southey, the man, the author, the politician, the champion of the Church of England. As a man, there can be but one opi-

nion, that Robert Southey will, in the eyes of all parties, be a great gainer by the publication of these letters, and by the light which they throw upon his personal and domestic history. The impression prevalent in the public mind, of the earlier period of his life, has hardly been as favourable as that which the present authentic data cannot fail to produce. Large allowances must be made for the unpropitious nature of his early education, which was in no sense calculated to regulate his mind or to form his character. Under the auspices of a maiden aunt, whose idol was her drawing-room furniture, her world the playhouse, and stage-players almost her only society,—with no regular tuition, and no better vehicles than playbills, fairy tales, and dramatic pieces, for that desultory information which, like all children of active mind, he failed not to pick up for himself,—it is not wonderful that the boy should have grown up without any clear ideas of religious truth, and without any deep or solemn religious feelings, even though his aunt did make a practice of occupying her pew at the parish church. His early reading was all in the world of fiction, not in the realities either of the visible or of the invisible world; all his associations of a light and frivolous kind,—barring always the stern severity of his aunt on such points of domestic discipline as she held it essential to enforce in the indulgence of her own peculiarities; the sentiments which he imbibed, the language in which he learned to clothe his thoughts, all overwrought, extravagant, fantastic. His scholastic beginnings were, if possible, of a more unfavourable kind; the first schoolmaster on whom devolved the task of educating the infant mind of the future author of the Book of the Church, was a dissenting minister of the General Baptist Denomination, with a Socinian creed, whose chief recommendation was that he kept religion carefully out of sight in his school. The master of the next “seminary” to which he was consigned, a genius in astronomy, with a drunken wife, who had formerly been his maid-servant, devoted his time to the construction of a huge orrery, and left his school-room to the charge of an ill-conditioned, half-grown son of his, between whom and the father a fight ensued, on the school being broken up by the appearance of the itch among the pupils. The chief acquirement which young Southey brought away was the difficult art of steering his course among a number of boys of coarse and tyrannical habits, accustomed to no other restraint among one another or from their superiors, than that of brute force. Such was the foundation on which the education of his later boyhood was built; and if the schools to which he was subsequently sent, as a day-boarder, were not of an equally objectionable character, they were certainly not calculated to correct the injury which

must have been inflicted on his mind by the training of his infant years. The rest may easily be imagined, and is soon told. After passing from hand to hand in a course of inefficient tuition, young Southey was sent to Westminster, where his extra-scholastic acquirements, his knowledge of plays, and of other branches of poetic literature, and his aptitude for composition, both in prose and verse, assigned him among the boys a higher standing than his classical attainments warranted, the result of which was his speedy expulsion from the school for the prominent part he had taken in the editorship of a periodical lampoon upon the authorities, under the ominous title "*The Flagellant*." The bankruptcy of his father, which happened at this time, as the *dénouement* of years of embarrassment, did not prevent his removal to Oxford, a maternal uncle interposing his good offices; but his stay there was not of long duration. Rejected at Christ Church, where his name had been put down, in consequence of his Westminster antecedents, he was entered at Balliol. To give an idea of the nature and success of his academic labours, it will be sufficient to transcribe the note addressed to him by his tutor, himself half a democrat, and an admirer of American independence:—

"Mr. Southey, you won't learn any thing by my lectures, Sir; so if you have any studies of your own, you had better pursue them."—Vol. i. p. 215.

His tutor's suggestion that he might have studies of his own, was correct enough. A vast variety of literary projects occupied his mind, tragedies and epics of divers kinds were on the stocks, and the theories and events of the French revolution furnished matter for plentiful political and metaphysical speculation. While thus engaged, the undergraduate of Balliol made the not very astonishing discovery that his opinions would offer an insuperable bar to his subscription of the Articles, and consequently to his entrance into Holy Orders, the very object for which his uncle had undertaken to defray the expenses of his education at the University. To avoid the total disappointment of his kind relative's expectations, he contemplated for a short time the study of physic, and mingled chemistry with his poetry; but from the horrors of the dissecting-room his muse shrank with invincible nausea, and convinced him that, however Apollo himself might succeed in both lines, he must renounce the healing art, and confine himself to the art of song. An attempt to obtain, through the intervention of his friend Bedford, a situation in a Government Office, was nipped in the bud by the unenviable notoriety which he had gained as a philosopher of the revolutionary school.

While he was in this uncomfortable state of mind, Robert

Southey fell into an acquaintance, which soon after ripened into an intimacy, with an *alumnus* of the sister university, of equally unsettled opinions, and still more unstable character, whom his friends had just ransomed from the hands of the recruiting sergeant, the mystic poet and misty metaphysician Samuel Taylor Coleridge. This completed the discomfiture of the plans for future settlement in an honourable career, which had led his kind uncle, the Rev. Herbert Hill, to send him to Oxford, and the long vacation, which riveted their inauspicious friendship, gave birth to the wild and sufficiently notorious scheme of a *Pantisocratic* republic, to be constituted, on principles of the purest *Aspheteism*, in the transatlantic world. The discovery of this notable project, and of the success which he had had in securing for his partner in the new Utopia one of four fair and penniless sisters, willing to embark in the prospect of love in a bower on the banks of the sweetly-sounding *Susquehanna*, deprived Robert Southey of his temporary home in the house of his maiden aunt, Miss Tyler, who marked her disapprobation, not unnaturally, though somewhat unseasonably, by turning her nephew into the street on a dark and rainy night.

Thus thrown on his own resources, Robert Southey found a friend and patron in Joseph Cottle, a young bookseller, himself a dabbler in poetry, at Bristol. The bibliophile Mæcenas became the purchaser of Joan of Arc, and otherwise forwarded the endeavours made at this critical juncture by Robert Southey to turn an honest penny, by bringing his talents into the market. Among other schemes set on foot with this view, was the announcement of a series of lectures by the two brother *Pantisocrats*, Southey and Coleridge, the latter selecting moral and philosophical subjects, and the former taking the historical line, as may be seen from the following prospectus:

"Robert Southey, of Balliol College, Oxford, proposes to read a course of Historical Lectures, in the following order:—

"1st. Introductory: On the Origin and Progress of Society.

"2nd. Legislation of Solon and Lycurgus.

"3rd. State of Greece from the Persian War to the Dissolution of the Achaian League.

"4th. Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Roman Empire.

"5th. Progress of Christianity.

"6th. Manners and Irruptions of the Northern Nations. Growth of the European States. Feudal System.

"7th. State of the Eastern Empire, to the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks; including the Rise and Progress of the Mohammedan Religion, and the Crusades.

"8th. History of Europe, to the Abdication of the Empire by Charles the Fifth.

" 9th. History of Europe, to the Establishment of the Independence of Holland.

" 10th. State of Europe, and more particularly of England, from the Accession of Charles the First to the Revolution in 1688.

" 11th. Progress of the Northern States. History of Europe to the American War.

" 12th. The American War.

" Tickets for the whole course, 10s. 6d., to be had of Mr. Cottle, Bookseller, High Street."—Vol. i. pp. 234, 235.

Southey's lectures were not only well attended, but faithfully delivered, at the times appointed, which was more than could be predicated of the brother apostle of *Aspheteism*, S. T. Coleridge. The view which he took of life at this period—he was in his twenty-first year—and the extent of his hopes and aspirations, is somewhat amusingly portrayed in the following extract from a letter to his brother Thomas :

" I am giving a course of Historical Lectures, at Bristol, teaching what is right by showing what is wrong ; my company, of course, is sought by all who love good republicans and odd characters. Coleridge and I are daily engaged. . . . John Scott has got me a place of a guinea and a half per week, for writing in some new work called 'The Citizen,' of what kind I know not, save that it accords with my principles : of this I daily expect to hear more.

" If Coleridge and I can get 150*l.* a-year between us we purpose marrying, and retiring into the country, as our literary business can be carried on there, and practising agriculture till we can raise money for America—still the grand object in view.

" So I have cut my cable, and am drifting on the ocean of life—the wind is fair, and the port of happiness I hope in view. It is possible that I may be called upon to publish my Historical Lectures ; this I shall be unwilling to do, as they are only splendid declamation."—Vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

The unpromising career which Southey had thus opened for himself in his native city, was presently cut short by the interference of his uncle, who held a Chaplaincy at Lisbon, and who prevailed on his nephew to accompany him thither on a six months' visit, in the hope of rescuing him from his *Asphetic* associates, including his lady love, the romantic Edith Fricker. In this hope, however, he was disappointed. The only benefit which Robert Southey derived from this expedition, was a knowledge of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, which exercised a great influence subsequently upon the choice of his literary undertakings. When the six months were expired, he returned to England, where, for a time, he attempted the profession of the

law, with what success he himself shall tell. In December 1799, after a two years' trial to reconcile himself to a study against which the whole bent of his mind rebelled, he writes to his friend Grosvenor :

" In my present state, to attempt to undergo the confinement of legal application were actual suicide. I am anxious to be well, and to attempt the profession : *much* in it I shall never do : sometimes my principles stand in my way, sometimes the want of readiness which I felt from the first—a want which I always know in company, and never in solitude and silence. Howbeit I will make the attempt ; but mark you, if by stage writing, or any other writing, I can acquire independence, I will not make the sacrifice of happiness it will inevitably cost me. I love the country, I love study—devotedly I love it ; but in legal studies it is only the subtlety of the mind that is exercised. However, I need not philippicise, and it is too late to veer about. In '96 I might have chosen physic, and succeeded in it. I caught at the first plank, and missed the great mast in my reach ; perhaps I may enable myself to swim by and by. Grosvenor, I have nothing of what the world calls ambition. I never thought it possible that I could be a great lawyer ; I should as soon expect to be the man in the moon. My views are bounded—my hopes to an income of 500*l.* a year, of which I could lay by half to effect my escape with. *Possibly* the stage may exceed this. . . . I am not indolent ; I loathe indolence ; but, indeed, reading law is laborious indolence—it is thrashing straw. I have read, and read, and read ; but the devil a bit can I remember. I have given all possible attention, and attempted to command volition. No ! The eye read, the lips pronounced, I understood and re-read it ; it was very clear ; I remembered the page, the sentence,—but close the book, and all was gone ! Were I an independent man, even on less than I now possess, I should long since have made the blessed bonfire, and rejoiced that I was free and contented."—Vol. ii. pp. 33, 34.

In the following spring, his medical advisers enjoined change of climate, and he gladly accepted an invitation from his uncle to pay another visit to Portugal, during which he finally abandoned the idea of following the legal profession, and gave himself up to the pursuit for which nature appeared to have intended, and to which circumstances had moulded him, the pursuit of literature, for its own sake, and as his only profession.

Before we proceed to follow him in that career which, as being suited to his taste, he pursued with a steadiness of application rarely to be met with in the history of literary genius, it is proper that we should advert to certain redeeming features in the character of the young man, whose strangely erratic course we have thus far traced. In the midst of the instability of purpose with

which he applied himself, or rather failed to apply himself, to those studies which, according to the intention of his relatives, were to have opened the door to his advancement in life, he continued to toil in the employment which was congenial to his mind with the most persevering energy, and that in spite of the barrenness of the pursuit in a pecuniary point of view. His refusal to enter into holy orders proceeded from the most conscientious feelings, and not, as the sequel proves, from any captious objection against the Church or her doctrines. He felt himself, most unaffectedly, disqualified for an office which he regarded with becoming reverence. From his participation in the schemes of Pantisocracy he withdrew as soon as his eyes were opened to their impracticable nature, and even during the time that the plans were in agitation, he never ceased to employ himself usefully, as far as he had the opportunity. When his fortunes were at the lowest ebb—at one time he was so far reduced that he actually went without a dinner for want of a sixpence to pay for the scantiest meal—he sustained his privations with honourable fortitude, and exerted himself manfully to retrieve his fallen fortunes. A deep sense of rectitude, and an anxious desire to settle down to some occupation which should be at once suitable to his talents and conducive to his support, pervaded his conduct; and while we may justly censure many of the opinions he entertained, and be unable to suppress a smile at vain aspirations of mingled enthusiasm and inexperience, or to withhold our pity from the fruitless efforts which he made to accommodate himself to uncongenial employments, we never lose our respect for him, because he never, for a moment, lost his self-respect. The disapprobation which some parts of his course are calculated to excite, is ever qualified, on the one hand, by the consideration that the fruit was far less evil than such an education as he had received might have led us to expect; and, on the other hand, by the evidence which his subsequent career affords of his having been unconsciously guided all through by a correct instinct to that which, after all, was his true vocation. It is in this light that he himself viewed, in after life, a period of his existence on which it was impossible for him to look back with satisfaction. Writing to Chaunsey H. Townsend, he observes:

“The stages of your life have passed regularly and happily, so that you have had leisure to mark them with precision, and to feel them, and reflect upon them. With me these transitions were of a very different character; they came abruptly, and, when I left the University, it was to cast myself upon the world, with a heart full of romance, and a head full of enthusiasm. No young man could have gone more widely astray, according to all human judgment; and yet the soundest judgment could not have led me into any other way of life in which

I should have had such full cause to be contented and thankful."—
Vol. v. p. 78.

The view which we have taken of this portion of Southey's career, is confirmed by the honourable testimony borne to the blameless excellency of his character, by his uncle, the Rev. Herbert Hill, on his return to England from his first visit to Lisbon; a testimony which can hardly be suspected of partiality, seeing how completely his nephew had at that very time disappointed his almost parental solicitude:—

" ' He is a very good scholar,' he writes to a friend, ' of great reading, of an astonishing memory: when he speaks he does it with fluency, with a great choice of words. He is perfectly correct in his behaviour, of the most exemplary morals, and the best of hearts. Were his character different, or his abilities not so extraordinary, I should be the less concerned about him; but to see a young man of such talents as he possesses, by the misapplication of them, lost to himself and to his family, is what hurts me very sensibly. In short, he has every thing you would wish a young man to have, excepting common sense or prudence.' "—Vol. i. pp. 273, 274.

One part of his conduct at the period of his life to which this testimony more particularly applies, has called forth a greater diversity of judgment than almost any other passage of his life, certainly than any other part of his private history,—his clandestine marriage with Edith Fricker, on the eve of his departure for Lisbon on the urgent invitation of his uncle. As a question of ethics, the case was one of conflicting duties, and as such it must be viewed, in order to form a fair judgment upon it. The concealment from his uncle, whom he had already so grievously disappointed by the unprofitable issue of his college career, and who was at this very time taking pains to extricate him from a position full of embarrassments, was no doubt blamable, and must to Southey himself have been not a little painful. At the same time, the difficulty in which he was placed was not small. To have shaken off his engagement with Edith Fricker, would have been highly dishonourable, and wholly unjustifiable, as there was nothing, beyond her poverty, that rendered an alliance with her improper or undesirable. Southey himself was the son of a linendraper, who had become bankrupt; marriage with the daughter of a large sugar-pan manufacturer, whom the war had ruined, and whose orphan family had been left in a state of poverty, in which they did the best they could for their own maintenance by honourable industry, could hardly be called a *mésalliance*. He became acquainted with Edith through his college friend Lovell, who had married one of the sisters, and the ac-

quaintance appears to have ripened into mutual affection, and a positive engagement, some time before the Susquehanna scheme was brought on the *tapis*; he neither offered himself, nor was he accepted in the off-hand manner in which Samuel Taylor Coleridge convinced a third sister, Sarah, that she ought to bestow her heart and hand upon him; and the whole of Southey's subsequent conduct, the readiness with which he saddled himself with the widow of his friend Lovell, and with the worse than widow and orphan, of the magnificent Coleridge, as well as the long life of uninterrupted domestic happiness, clouded only by such afflictions as the Great Disposer of all things saw fit to lay upon them—may well be accepted as evidence that the clandestine marriage resolved upon at a most critical moment, was not an ill-advised step taken under the influence of rash and ungovernable passions, but the performance of a duty which could not honourably have been omitted or postponed. At least, it must be admitted that there were many considerations which might justly lead Southey to regard the matter in this light. The day fixed by him for this romantic wedding was the day on which it was appointed that he should sail for Lisbon with his uncle. Immediately after the ceremony had been performed, they parted, and Edith Frierer wore her wedding-ring suspended round her neck, and preserved her maiden name, until rumour gave publicity to the union. Of his feelings on the occasion, Southey thus writes in confidence to his friend Bedford:—

“ ‘ Here I am, in a huge and handsome mansion, not a finer room in the county of Cornwall than the one in which I write; and yet have I been silent, and retired into the secret cell of my own heart. This day week, Bedford! There is a something in the bare name that is now mine, that wakens sentiments I know not how to describe: never did man stand at the altar with such strange feelings as I did. Can you, Grosvenor, by any effort of imagination, shadow out my emotion? . . . She returned the pressure of my hand, and we parted in silence.—Zounds! what have I to do with supper!’ ”—Vol. i. p. 255.

The considerations by which he was induced to act as he did, he thus explained to his friend Cottle, on hearing that the secret had oozed out:—

“ ‘ My marriage is become public. You know my only motive for wishing it otherwise, and must know that its publicity can give me no concern. I have done my duty. Perhaps you may hardly think my motives for marrying at that time sufficiently strong. One, and that to me of great weight, I believe was never mentioned to you. There might have arisen feelings of an unpleasant nature, at the idea of receiving support from one not legally a husband; and (do not show this to

Edith) should I perish by shipwreck, or any other casualty, I have relations whose prejudices would then yield to the anguish of affection, and who would love, cherish, and yield all possible consolation to my widow. Of such an evil there is but a possibility; but against possibility it was my duty to guard.'—Vol. i. p. 258.

We have been thus particular in regard to this transaction, because we think that the commencement of a wedded life, which no other shadows ever darkened, except those which the hand of a loving Father, chastening in mercy, cast over it, at intervals by bereavements, and at the close by a still sadder affliction, deserves to be rescued from an obloquy which has been thoughtlessly thrown upon it, upon an insufficient view of the bearings of the transaction. There can be no doubt in the mind of any impartial person, that on this, as on every important occasion in the course of his life, Southey acted upon the most conscientious motives, and that, if he committed any error, it was one of judgment and not of the heart. What the world calls imprudent, was never so considered, at least never eschewed as such, by him, if it was demanded by any deep and generous feeling of the heart. Let him be convinced that a thing was in itself right and proper to be done, and he would at once proceed to do it without a moment's hesitation,—such was his reliance on the correctness of his moral sense, such the independence of his character, and, in justice to him we must add, his firm faith in the good providence of God, which, he never for a moment doubted, was sure to prosper the right and the generous course. Of this, many proofs are scattered up and down through his life. It was the greatness of the man, as much as his peculiarity, that he felt his way to what was right, with a nice and exceedingly sensitive moral instinct, and acted upon his convictions, regardless of all inferior and selfish considerations, with the boldness of a lion, and with a trust in God which nothing could shake.

At no time would he, to serve any selfish or mercenary purpose of his own, swerve from that which in his opinion was the right path. If the sentiments which he advocated were not at all periods of his life the same, it was because his convictions had undergone a change. There never was a more unfounded charge than that which party spirit has brought against Southey, that he was bought over to the opinions of which in his later years he was the champion. The letters now published, written from time to time in the intimacy of friendship, not only account for all the alterations in his views in the most natural manner, but contain, moreover, many proofs of the extent to which he kept himself independent even of the party with whose general views he coincided, and in whose service seemingly he wrote.

The accusation is the more ridiculous, as he never obtained any substantial reward at all adequate to the eminent services which he rendered to that party with whose sentiments his own happened to coincide. Neither the small pension of 160*l.*, which he obtained at an early period, and by which he was hardly a gainer, as he resigned for it the allowance generously made him by his friend Wynn, nor the paltry 100*l.* or 120*l.*, which formed the remuneration of the Laureateship, can by the most malignant be tortured into a bribe sufficient to purchase a man of Southey's calibre, supposing him to have been as crouching and venal as he was upright and incorruptible. As to the increase to his pension bestowed on him in his 61st year, at the recommendation of Sir Robert Peel, the grant of it was preceded and accompanied by circumstances which, more than any thing else, prove how completely superior Southey was to all those lures by which men are captivated and enslaved in the political world. But this part of his story had better be told by Mr. Charles Cuthbert himself:—

"One morning, shortly after the letters had arrived, he called me into his study. 'You will be surprised,' he said, 'to hear that Sir Robert Peel has recommended me to the King for the distinction of a baronetcy, and you will probably feel some disappointment when I tell you that I shall not accept it, and this more on your account than on my own. I think, however, that you will be satisfied I do so for good and wise reasons;' and he then read to me the following letters, and his reply to them."

Sir Robert Peel to R. Southey, Esq.

"Whitehall Gardens, Feb. 1, 1835.

"My dear Sir,—I have offered a recommendation to the King (the first of the kind which I have offered), which, although it concerns you personally, concerns also high public interests, so important as to dispense with the necessity on my part of that previous reference to individual feelings and wishes, which, in an ordinary case, I should have been bound to make. I have advised the King to adorn the distinction of baronetage with a name the most eminent in literature, and which has claims to respect and honour which literature alone can never confer.

"The King has most cordially approved of my proposal to his Majesty; and I do hope that, however indifferent you may be personally to a compliment of this kind, however trifling it is when compared with the real titles to fame which you have established,—I do hope that you will permit a mark of royal favour to be conferred in your person upon the illustrious community of which you are the head.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, with the sincerest esteem,

"Most faithfully yours,

"ROBERT PEEL."

"This was accompanied with another letter marked *private*.

Sir Robert Peel to R. Southey Esq.

" Whitehall, Feb. 1, 1835.

" My dear Sir,—I am sure, when there can be no doubt as to the purity of the motive and intention, there can be no reason for seeking indirect channels of communication in preference to direct ones. Will you tell me, without reserve, whether the possession of power puts within my reach the means of doing any thing which can be serviceable or acceptable to you; and whether you will allow me to find some compensation for the many heavy sacrifices which office imposes upon me in the opportunity of marking my gratitude as a public man, for the eminent services you have rendered, not only to literature, but to the higher interests of virtue and religion?

" I write hastily, and perhaps abruptly, but I write to one to whom I feel it would be almost unbecoming to address elaborate and ceremonious expressions, and who will prefer to receive the declaration of friendly intentions in the simplest language.

" Believe me, my dear Sir, with true respect,

" Most faithfully yours,

" ROBERT PEEL.

" P.S.—I believe your daughter is married to a clergyman of great worth, and, perhaps, I cannot more effectually promote the object of this letter than by attempting to improve his professional situation. You cannot gratify me more than by writing to me with the same unreserve with which I have written to you."

Robert Southey, Esq. to Sir Robert Peel.

" Keswick, Feb. 3, 1835.

" Dear Sir,—No communications have ever surprised me so much as those which I have this day the honour of receiving from you. I may truly say, also, that none have ever gratified me more, though they make me feel how difficult it is to serve any one who is out of the way of fortune. An unreserved statement of my condition will be the fittest and most respectful reply.

" I have a pension of 200*l.* conferred upon me through the good offices of my old friend and benefactor, Charles W. Wynn, when Lord Grenville went out of office; and I have the Laureateship. The salary of the latter was immediately appropriated, as far as it went, to a life insurance for 3000*l.* This, with an earlier insurance for 1000*l.*, is the whole provision that I have made for my family; and what remains of the pension after the annual payments are made, is the whole of my certain income. All beyond must be derived from my own industry. Writing for a livelihood, a livelihood is all that I have gained; for having also something better in view, and therefore never having courted popularity, nor written for the mere sake of gain, it has not been possible for me to lay by any thing. Last year, for the first time in my life, I was provided with a year's expenditure beforehand. This exposition might suffice to show how utterly unbecoming and unwise it would be to accept the rank, which, so greatly to my honour, you have

solicited for me, and which his Majesty would so graciously have conferred. But the tone of your letter encourages me to say more.

"My life insurances have increased in value. With these, the produce of my library, my papers, and a posthumous edition of my works, there will probably be 12,000*l.* for my family at my decease. Good fortune, with great exertions on the part of my surviving friends, might possibly extend this to 15,000*l.*, beyond which I do not dream of any further possibility. I had bequeathed the whole to my wife, to be divided ultimately between our four children; and having thus provided for them, no man could have been more contented with his lot, nor more thankful to that Providence on whose especial blessing he knew that he was constantly, and as it were immediately, dependent for his daily bread.

"But the confidence which I used to feel in myself is now falling. I was young, in health and heart, on my last birth-day, when I completed my sixtieth year. Since then I have been shaken at the root. It has pleased God to visit me with the severest of all domestic afflictions, those alone excepted into which guilt enters. My wife, a true helpmate as ever man was blessed with, lost her senses a few months ago. She is now in a lunatic asylum; and broken sleep, and anxious thoughts, from which there is no escape in the night season, have made me feel how more than possible it is that a sudden stroke may deprive me of those faculties, by the exercise of which this poor family has hitherto been supported. Even in the event of my death, their condition would, by our recent calamity, be materially altered for the worse; but if I were rendered helpless, all our available means would procure only a respite from actual distress.

"Under these circumstances, your letter, Sir, would in other times have encouraged me to ask for such an increase of pension as might relieve me from anxiety on this score. Now that lay sinecures are in fact abolished, there is no other way by which a man can be served, who has no profession wherein to be promoted, and whom any official situation would take from the only employment for which the studies and the habits of forty years have qualified him. This way, I am aware, is not now to be thought of, unless it were practicable as part of a plan for the encouragement of literature; but to such a plan perhaps these times might not be unfavourable.

"The length of this communication would require an apology, if its substance could have been compressed; but on such an occasion it seemed a duty to say what I have said; nor, indeed, should I deserve the kindness which you have expressed, if I did not explicitly declare how thankful I should be to profit by it.

"I have the honour to remain,

"With the sincerest respect,

"Your most faithful and obliged servant,

"ROBERT SOUTHEY."

"Young as I then was, I could not, without tears, hear him read, with his deep and faltering voice, his wise refusal and touching expres-

sion of those feelings and fears he had never before given utterance to, to any of his own family. And if any feelings of regret occasionally come over my mind that he did not accept the proffered honour, which, so acquired and so conferred, any man might justly be proud to have inherited, the remembrance at what a time and under what circumstances it was offered, and the feeling what a mockery honours of that kind would have been to a family so afflicted, and, I may add, how unsuitable they would be to my own position and very straitened means, make me quickly feel how justly he judged, and how prudently he acted."—Vol. vi. pp. 253—259.

The statement of his circumstances, which Southey had thus unreservedly made, remained not long unregarded. Two months after Sir Robert Peel thus writes:—

Sir Robert Peel to R. Southey, Esq.

" Whitehall, April 4, 1835.

" My dear Sir,—I have resolved to apply the miserable pittance at the disposal of the Crown, on the Civil List Pension Fund, altogether to the reward and encouragement of literary exertions. I do this on public grounds: and much more with the view of establishing a principle, than in the hope, with such limited means, of being enabled to confer any benefit upon those whom I shall name to the Crown—worthy of the Crown, or commensurate with their claims.

" I have just had the satisfaction of attaching my name to a warrant which will add 300*l.* annually to the amount of your existing pension. You will see in the position of public affairs a sufficient reason for my having done this without delay, and without previous communication with you.

" I trust you can have no difficulty in sanctioning what I have done with your consent, as I have acted on your own suggestion, and granted the pensions on a public principle—the recognition of literary and scientific eminence as a public claim. The other persons to whom I have addressed myself on this subject are—Professor Airey of Cambridge, the first of living mathematicians and astronomers—the first of this country at least,—Mrs. Somerville, Sharon Turner, and James Montgomery of Sheffield.

" Believe me, my dear Sir,

" Most faithfully yours,

" ROBERT PEEL."—Vol. vi. p. 263.

With the same unambitious simplicity Southey had, nine years before, refused the offer to bring him into Parliament, and provide him with a qualification, made to him under circumstances the most honourable to both parties. He was travelling in Holland, when on his way home through Brussels a report reached him of his having been returned to Parliament; and on his arrival in town he found the following document waiting for him:—

" July 10, 1826.

" A zealous admirer of the British Constitution in Church and State, being generally pleased with Mr. Southey's ' Book of the Church,' and professing himself quite delighted with the summary¹ on the last page of that work, and entertaining no doubt that the writer of that page really felt what he wrote, and, consequently, would be ready, if he had an opportunity, to support the sentiments there set forth, has therefore been anxious that Mr. Southey should have a seat in the ensuing Parliament; and having a little interest, has so managed that he is at this moment in possession of that seat under this single injunction:—

" Ut sustineat firmiter, strenue et continuo, quæ ipse bene docuit esse sustinenda."—Vol. v. p. 261.

The offer came, as was afterwards discovered, from Lord Radnor, to whom Southey was an entire stranger. The light in which he regarded it, is recorded by himself, in a letter to a mutual friend, Mr. Richard White:—

" Our first impulses in matters which involve any question of moral importance, are, I believe, usually right. Three days allowed for mature consideration, have confirmed me in mine. A seat in Parliament is neither consistent with my circumstances, inclinations, habits, or pursuits in life. The return is null, because I hold a pension of 200*l.* a-year during pleasure. And if there were not this obstacle, there would be the want of a qualification. That pension is my only certain income; and the words of the oath (which I have looked at) are too unequivocal for me to take them upon such grounds as are sometimes supplied for such occasions.

" For these reasons, which are and must be conclusive, the course is plain. When Parliament meets a new writ must be moved for, the election as relating to myself being null. I must otherwise have applied for the Chiltern Hundreds.

" It is, however, no inconsiderable honour to have been so distinguished. This I shall always feel; and if I do not express immediately to your friend my sense of the obligation he has conferred upon me, it is not from any want of thankfulness, but from a doubt how far

¹ The following is the concluding passage in the Book of the Church here referred to:—"From the time of the Revolution the Church of England has partaken of the stability and security of the State. Here, therefore, I terminate this compendious, but faithful, view of its rise, progress, and political struggles. It has rescued us, first, from heathenism, then from papal idolatry and superstition; it has saved us from temporal as well as spiritual despotism. We owe to it our moral and intellectual character as a nation; much of our private happiness, much of our public strength. Whatever should weaken it, would, in the same degree, injure the common weal; whatever should overthrow it, would, in sure and immediate consequence, bring down the goodly fabric of that constitution, whereof it is a constituent and necessary part. If the friends of the constitution understand this as clearly as its enemies, and act upon it as consistently and as actively, then will the Church and State be safe, and with them the liberty and prosperity of our country."

it might be proper to reply to an unsigned communication. May I therefore request that you will express this thankfulness for me, and say at the same time, that I trust, in my own station, and in the quiet pursuance of my own scheme of life, by God's blessing, to render better service to those institutions, the welfare of which I have at my heart, than it would be possible for me to do in a public assembly."—Vol. v. pp. 262, 263.

So determined was he in refusing an honour which he had not sought and to which he considered that he had no claim, that all the entreaties of his family could not prevail on him to write even one single frank, as an autograph memorial of his membership, though he continued nominally the member for Downton from July to November. In the latter month he thus writes on the subject to Sharon Turner :—

" On Wednesday next I shall write to the Speaker, and lay down my M.P.-ship. No temptation that could have been offered would have induced me to sacrifice the leisure and tranquillity of a studious and private life. Free from ambition I cannot pretend to be, but what ambition I have is not of an ordinary kind : rank, and power, and office I would decline without a moment's hesitation, were they proffered for my acceptance ; and for riches, if I ever perceive the shadow of a wish for them, it is not for their own sake, but as they would facilitate my pursuits, and render locomotion less inconvenient. The world, thank God, has little hold on me. I would fain persuade myself that even the desire of posthumous fame is now only the hope of instilling sound opinions into others, and scattering the seeds of good. All else I have outlived."—Vol. v. pp. 271, 272.

It was not a very unnatural effect of Southey's conscientious reluctance to accept the offer thus made him, that those who had taken an interest in his election should be all the more intent upon bringing such a man into the House. Accordingly we find that the proposal was renewed in a yet more tempting form. Southey at the beginning of December thus writes to Bedford :—

" On Wednesday, I received a note from Harry, saying, that a plan had been formed for purchasing a qualification for me ; that Sir Robert Inglis had just communicated this to him, and was then gone to Lord R. to ask him to keep the borough open : that he (Harry) doubted whether a sufficient subscription could be raised, but supposed that under these circumstances I should not refuse the seat ; and desired my answer by return of post, that he might be authorized to say I would sit in Parliament if they gave me an estate of 300*l.* a-year.

" I rubbed my eyes to ascertain that I was awake, and that this was no dream. I heard Cuthbert his Greek lesson, and read his Dutch one

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with him. I corrected a proof sheet. And then, the matter having had time to digest, I wrote in reply, as follows:—

“ My dear H.,

“ An estate of 300*l.* a-year would be a very agreeable thing for me, Robert Lackland, and I would willingly change that name for it: the convenience, however, of having an estate is not the question which I am called upon to determine. It is (supposing the arrangement possible,—which I greatly doubt), whether I will enter into public life at an age when a wise man would begin to think of retiring from it; whether I will place myself in a situation for which neither my habits, nor talents, nor disposition are suited; and in which I feel and know it to be impossible that I should fulfil the expectations of those who would raise the subscription. Others ought to believe me, and you will, when I declare that in any public assembly I should have no confidence in myself, no promptitude, none of that presence of mind, without which no man can produce any effect there. This ought to be believed, because I have them all when acting in my proper station, and in my own way, and therefore cannot be supposed to speak from timidity, nor with any affectation of humility. Sir Robert Inglis and his friends have the Protestant cause at heart, and imagine that I could serve it in Parliament. I have it at heart also; deeply at heart; and will serve it to the utmost of my power, ‘so help me God!’ But it is not by speaking in public that I can serve it. It is by bringing forth the knowledge which so large a part of my life has been passed in acquiring: by exposing the real character and history of the Romish Church, systematically and irrefragably (which I can and will do) in books which will be read now and hereafter; which must make a part, hereafter, of every historical library; and which will live and act when I am gone. If I felt that I could make an impression in Parliament, even then I would not give up future utility for present effect. I have too little ambition of one kind, and too much of another to make the sacrifice. But I could make no impression there. I should only disappoint those who had contributed to place me there: and in this point of view it is a matter of prudence, as well as in all others, of duty, to hold my first resolution, and remain contentedly in that station of life to which it has pleased God to call me. If a seat in Parliament were made compatible with my circumstances, it would not be so with my inclinations, habits, and pursuits; and therefore I must remain Robert Lackland.

“ You will not suppose that I despise 300*l.* a-year, or should lightly refuse it. But I think you will feel, upon reflection, that I have decided properly, in refusing to sit in Parliament under any circumstances. R. S.”—Vol. v. pp. 273—275.

In a letter of thanks to Sir R. H. Inglis, for the share which he had taken in the business, Southey enters more fully into his private feelings, his habits of quietness and retirement, which, he conceived, unfitted him for a parliamentary career, and his

attachment to his family, which made him unwilling to tear himself away from that peaceful circle, and to adventure himself on the stormy sea of public life. How entirely he had learnt, by this time, to submit to the guidance of Providence, in humble contentment with the lot assigned him, is simply but touchingly told in the following passage of this letter :

“That my way of life has been directed by a merciful Providence, I feel and verily believe. I have been saved from all ill consequences of error and temerity, and by a perilous course have been led into paths of pleasantness and peace ; a sufficient indication that I ought to remain in them. Throughout this whole business I have never felt any temptation to depart from this conviction. I may be wrong in many things, but not in the quiet confidence with which I know that I am in my proper place. *Inveni portum ; spes et fortuna, valet !*”—Vol. v. p. 278.

The same conscientious feelings which prevented Southey, at the age of fifty-three, from accepting an estate and a seat in Parliament, decided him, at an earlier period of his life, when he was struggling for existence, and anxious to procure remunerative literary employment, to decline a most advantageous offer. He was at the time an ill-paid contributor to the “Annual Review”—the “Quarterly” was not then in existence—and was invited, through Sir Walter Scott, to write for the “Edinburgh Review,” in which his poetical works had been somewhat roughly handled by the unmerciful and unappreciating Jeffrey. To this invitation he replied :

“I am very much obliged to you for the offer which you make concerning the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ and fully sensible of your friendliness, and the advantages which it holds out. I bear as little ill will to Jeffrey as he does to me, and attribute whatever civil things he has said of me to especial civility, whatever pert ones (a truer epithet than severe would be) to the habit which he has acquired of taking it for granted that the critic is, by virtue of his office, superior to every writer whom he chooses to summon before him. The reviews of ‘Thalaba’ and ‘Madoc’ do in no degree influence me. Setting all personal feelings aside, the objections which weigh with me against bearing any part in this journal are these :—I have scarcely one opinion in common with it upon any subject. Jeffrey is for peace, and is endeavouring to frighten the people into it : I am for war as long as Bonaparte lives. He is for Catholic emancipation : I believe that its immediate consequence would be to introduce an Irish priest into every ship in the navy. My feelings are still less in unison with him than my opinions. On subjects of moral or political importance no man is more apt to speak in the very gall of bitterness than I am, and this habit is likely to go with me to the grave : but that sort of bitterness in which he indulges, which tends directly to wound a man in his feelings, and injure him in

his fame and fortune (Montgomery is a case in point), appears to me utterly inexcusable. Now, though there would be no necessity that I should follow this example, yet every separate article in the 'Review' derives authority from the merit of all the others; and, in this way, whatever of any merit I might insert there would aid and abet opinions hostile to my own, and thus identify me with a system which I thoroughly disapprove. This is not said hastily. The emolument to be derived from writing at ten guineas a sheet, Scotch measure, instead of seven pounds, Annual, would be considerable; the pecuniary advantages resulting from the different manner in which my future works would be handled, probably still more so. But my moral feelings must not be compromised. To Jeffrey as an individual I shall ever be ready to show every kind of individual courtesy; but of Judge Jeffrey of the 'Edinburgh Review' I must ever think and speak as of a bad politician, a worse moralist, and a critic, in matters of taste, equally incompetent and unjust."—Vol. iii. pp. 124, 125.

But not only was he unwilling to be associated, however remotely or indirectly, with what, in his heart, he disapproved; even where he approved, he was what some, no doubt, would call needlessly fastidious about his independence, being of opinion that a public writer ought to be, like *Cæsar's* wife, free from the slightest suspicion of interested motives. In answer to an overture made him in 1816, he thus writes:

"Upon mature deliberation, I am clearly of opinion that it would be very imprudent and impolitic for me to receive any thing in the nature of emolument from Government at this time, in any shape whatsoever. Such a circumstance would lessen the worth of my services (I mean it would render them less serviceable), for whatever might come from me would be received with suspicion, which no means would be spared to excite. As it concerns myself personally, this ought to be of some weight; but it is entitled to infinitely greater consideration if you reflect how greatly my influence (whatever it may be) over a good part of the public would be diminished, if I were looked upon as a salaried writer. I must, therefore, in the most explicit and determined manner, decline all offers of this kind; but at the same time I repeat my offer to exert myself in any way that may be thought best. The whole fabric of social order² in this country is in great danger; the Revolution, should it be effected, will not be less bloody nor less ferocious than it was in France. It *will* be effected unless vigorous measures be taken to arrest its progress; and I have the strongest motives, both of duty and prudence, say even self-preservation, for standing forward to oppose it. Let me write upon the State of Affairs (the freer I am the better I shall write), and let there be a weekly journal established, where the villanies

² "What think you of a club of Atheists meeting twice a week at an ale-house in Keswick, and the landlady of their way of thinking?"—To C. W. Wynn, Esq., Sept. 11, 1816.

and misrepresentations of the Anarchists and Malignants may be detected and exposed."—Vol. iv. pp. 209, 210.

It is not difficult to recognise in these various indications of an independent character at a more advanced period of life, the same deep sense of personal responsibility, the same anxiety to keep his course of action in the world in harmony with his internal convictions, which prevented him in his earlier years from entering the ministry of the Church, or engaging in any career unsuited to the character of his mind, or inconsistent with the principles he cherished. The wild enthusiast who was ready to sacrifice all for the Utopian visions which loomed across the Atlantic from the banks of the Susquehanna, had mellowed down into the Christian philosopher, the contemplative Statesman, who having learned to understand and to appreciate the means devised by an All-wise Providence for curbing and correcting the sinful nature of man, and adapting it by a salutary discipline to higher and eternal purposes, was not only satisfied with his own lot in this state of probation, but anxious to exert the powers with which he was endowed, and to employ the influence which they gave him, for the maintenance of principles, and the furtherance of measures, calculated to help forward what may be called the Divine education of the human race. It is in this point of view that Southey's writings possess the highest interest. His merits as a poet, as a historian, as a literator and literary critic, place him undoubtedly in the first rank in the world of literature; but a higher value belongs to him than that which is attainable by the mere artistic or scientific display of the powers of the human mind, however exalted; and it is to this aspect of his literary character that we are particularly desirous of inviting attention. Rich as the volumes before us are in materials for the personal and literary history of Robert Southey, an interest of a far superior kind attaches to the opinions which he publicly advocated with so much spirit, and which we find here expressed with all the unreserved freedom of private correspondence, on the great political and religious questions of the age. It is impossible to turn over the leaves of this posthumous collection without feeling that Robert Southey realized, in the fullest sense, the twofold character of the *vates* of old, being at once poet and prophet. Some of his more striking vaticinations we shall now transcribe, as peculiarly apposite to the state of public affairs at a moment when the nation appears destined to reap the bitter fruit of years of infatuation.

We begin with the question of manufacturing prosperity or Free Trade, the perils of which the philosopher of Keswick saw

afar off. More than twenty years ago, in the year 1830, he writes :—

“ I suspect that in many things our forefathers were wiser than we are. Their guilds prevented trades from being overstocked, and would have by that means prevented over-production, if there had been any danger of it. The greedy, grasping spirit of commercial and manufacturing ambition or avarice is the root of our evils. You are very right in saying that in all handicraft trades wages are enough to allow of a very mischievous application of what, if laid by, would form a fund for old age ; and I quite agree with you that tea and sugar must be at least as nutritious as beer, and in other respects greatly preferable to it. But there is a real and wide-spreading distress, and the mischief lies in the manufactories : they must sell at the lowest possible price ; the necessity of a great sale at a rate of small profit makes low wages a consequence ; when they have overstocked the market (which, during their season of prosperity, they use all efforts for doing), hands must be turned off ; and every return of this cold fit is more violent than the former.

“ There is no distress among those handicrafts who produce what there is a constant home demand for. But if we will work up more wool and cotton than foreigners will or can purchase from us, the evils of the country must go on at a rate like compound interest. Other nations will manufacture for themselves (a certain quantity of manufacturing industry being necessary for the prosperity of a nation), and this, with the aid of *tariffs*, may bring us to our senses in time.”—Vol. vi. pp. 86, 87.

Another similar prophecy is a quarter of a century old ; it is dated April 26, 1826, and addressed like the former to Mr. John Rickman :—

“ With regard to the general question of Free Trade, I incline to think that the old principle, upon which companies of the various trades were formed for the purpose of not allowing more craftsmen or traders of one calling in one place than the business would support, was founded in good common sense. And as a corollary, that if some more effectual stop is not put to the erection of new cotton mills, &c., than individual prudence is ever likely to afford, at some time or other the steam-engine will blow up this whole fabric of society. Three years ago I was assured that at the rate of increase then going on in Manchester, that place would, in ten years, double its manufacturing population. When we hear of the prosperity of those districts, it means that they are manufacturing more goods than the world can afford a market for, and the ebb is then as certain as the flow ; and in some neap tide, Radicalism, Rebellion, and Ruin will rush in through the breach which hunger has made.”—Vol. v. p. 250.

Nay, still further back, in 1812, Southey himself refers to the

opinions which he had expressed five years before, reiterating the gloomy anticipations which he was even then led to form :—

“ Look to the remarks upon the tendency of manufactures to this state in ‘ *Espriella*,’ written five years ago. Things are in that state at this time that nothing but the army preserves us : it is the single plank between us and the Red Sea of an English *Jacquerie*—a *Bellum Servile* ; not provoked, as both those convulsions were, by grievous oppression, but prepared by the inevitable tendency of the manufacturing system, and hastened on by the folly of a besotted faction, and the wickedness of a few individuals. The end of these things is full of evil, even upon the happiest termination ; for the loss of liberty is the penalty which has always been paid for the abuse of it.”—Vol. iii. p. 335.

At the period when the Reform Bill was in agitation, his letters are full of allusions to passing events, and of exclamations of wonder at the blindness and rashness of the statesmen who then laid the foundation of our and their own present embarrassments. In May 1831, he writes to Grosvenor Bedford :—

“ Those who gave Earl Grey credit for sagacity, believed, upon his own representations, that time had moderated his opinions, and that he would always support the interests of his order. Provoked at the exposure of his whole Cabinet’s incapacity, which their budget brought forth, he has thrown himself upon the Radicals for support, bargained with O’Connell, and stirred up all the elements of revolution in this kingdom, which has never been in so perilous a state since the Restoration.

“ The poor people here say they shall all be ‘ made quality ’ when this ‘ grand reform ’ is brought about. ‘ O it is a grand thing ! ’ The word deceives them ; for you know, Grosvenor, it ‘ stands to feasible ’ that *reform* must be a good thing, and they are not deceived in supposing that its tendency is to pull down the rich, whatever may be its consequences to themselves.”—Vol. vi. pp. 146, 147.

And in June 1832 :—

“ The King, I am told, will make as many peers as his ministers choose ; and nothing then remains for us but to await the course of revolution. I shall not live to see what sort of edifice will be constructed out of the ruins ; but I shall go to rest in the sure confidence that God will provide as is best for his Church and his people.”—Vol. vi. pp. 175, 176.

And in the following year 1833, he sketches out the result of the course then entered upon with a degree of accuracy which, at this moment, cannot fail to tell with striking effect :—

“ It seems as if in our own country the experiment was about to be repeated of improving the vineyard, by breaking down the fences, and

letting the cattle and the wild beasts in. The crisis is probably very near at hand: I see my way much more distinctly into it than out of it. For the last two years it has been evident that O'Connell has formed an alliance offensive and defensive with the political unions. He relies upon them either to frighten the ministers out of their coercive measures by a demonstration of physical force, embodied, mustered, and ready to take the field; or, if they fail in this, he expects them to hoist the tricolour flag, and march upon London whenever he gives the signal for rebellion in Ireland. Brandreth's insurrection in 1817, the projected expedition of the Blanketeers a little later, and the Bristol riots, were all parts of a widely-concerted scheme, which has only been from time to time postponed till a more convenient season, and is now thoroughly matured, and likely to be attempted upon a great scale whenever the leaders of the movement think proper. I am not without strong apprehensions that before this year passes away, London may have its Three Days.

"But earnestly as such a crisis is to be deprecated, I do not fear the result. It may even come in time to save us from the otherwise inevitable overthrow of all our institutions by the treachery and cowardice of those who ought to uphold them. The Whigs will never give over the work of destruction which they have so prosperously begun, till the honest Destructives are armed against them, and threaten them with their due reward. The sooner therefore that it comes to this, the better."—Vol. vi. pp. 203, 204.

The following passage from a letter written when the death of George IV. was hourly expected, will form a suitable transition from this to another subject which no less painfully occupied his thoughts:—

"The poor King, it is to be hoped, will be released from his sufferings before this reaches you, if, indeed, he be not already at rest; it was thought on Monday that he could not live four-and-twenty hours. God be merciful to him and to us! He failed most woefully in his solemn and sworn duty on one great occasion, and we are feeling the effects of that moral cowardice on his part. The Duke expected to remove all parliamentary difficulties by that base measure, instead of which he disgusted by it all those adherents on whom he might have relied as long as he had continued to act upon the principles which they sincerely held; rendered all those despicable who veered to the left about with him, and found himself as a minister weaker than either the Whigs whom he sought to propitiate, or the Brunswickers (as they are called) whom he has mortally offended.

"William IV., it is believed, will continue the present ministers, but act towards them in such a way that they will soon find it necessary to resign. Then in come Lord Holland and the Whigs, in alliance with the flying squadron of political economists under Huskisson. Beyond this nothing can be foreseen, except change after change; every

successive change weakening the government, and, consequently, strengthening that power of public opinion which will lay all our institutions in the dust."—Vol. vi. pp. 102, 103.

The view of the effects of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, which is touched upon in the foregoing extract, was not, even at that time, an opinion of recent growth. As far back as the year 1807, when, on many points connected with religion, his views were as yet in a transition state, his mind apprehended with great clearness the character of the Romish Church, and the ultimate consequences of the efforts which it was even then making for the reconquest of "the Isle of Saints." He thus writes to his friend Wynn :—

"You do not shake my opinion concerning the Catholics. Their religion regards no national distinctions—it teaches them to look at Christendom and at the Pope as the head thereof—and the interests of that religion will always be preferred to any thing else. Bonaparte is aware of this, and is aiming to be the head of the Catholic party in Germany.

"These people have been increasing in England of late years, owing to the number of seminaries established during the French Revolution. It is worth your while to get their Almanac—the 'Lay Directory' it is called, and published by Brown and Keating, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square. They are at their old tricks of miracles here and every where else. St. Winifred has lately worked a great one, and is in as high odour as ever she was.

"I am for abolishing the test with regard to every other sect—Jews and all—but not to the Catholics. They *will not tolerate*; the proof is in their whole history—in their whole system—and in their present practice all over Catholic Europe : and it is the nature of their principles *now* to spread in this country ; Methodism, and the still wilder sects preparing the way for it. You have no conception of the zeal with which they seek for proselytes, nor the power they have over weak minds ; for their system is as well the greatest work of human wisdom as it is of human wickedness. It is curious that the Jesuits exist in England as a body, and have possessions here : a Catholic told me this, and pointed out one in the streets of Norwich, but he could tell me nothing more, and expressed his surprise at it, and his curiosity to learn more. Having been abolished by the Pope, they keep up their order secretly, and expect their restoration, which, if he be wise, Bonaparte will effect. Were I a Catholic, that should be the object to which my life should be devoted—I would be the second Loyola.

"Concessions and conciliations will not satisfy the Catholics ; vengeance and the throne are what they want. If Ireland were far enough from our shores to be lost without danger to our own security, I would say establish the Catholic religion there, as the easiest way of civilizing it ; but Catholic Ireland would always be at the command of the Pope,

and the Pope is now at the command of France. It is dismal to think of the state of Ireland. Nothing can redeem that country but such measures as none of our statesmen, except perhaps Marquis Wellesley, would be hardy enough to adopt; nothing but a system of Roman conquest and colonization, and shipping off the refractory to the colonies.

"England condescends too much to the Catholic religion, and does not hold up her own to sufficient respect in her foreign possessions; and the Catholics, instead of feeling this as an act of indulgence to their opinions, interpret it as an acknowledgment of their superior claims, and insult us in consequence."—Vol. iii. pp. 75—77.

It may easily be imagined what his feelings were, when, with these convictions, in which he never wavered for a moment, he saw during the space of twenty-two years the insidious march of Popery, gaining, under favour of a blindness almost judicial on the part of the great majority of British Statesmen, one step after another, till at last in 1829, the leader of the Popish faction proved strong enough to induce the hero of a hundred fights to an ignominious surrender. Southey's reflections at that miserable crisis in our history are thus recorded by himself:—

"We have been betrayed by imbecility, pusillanimity, and irreligion. Our citadel would have been impregnable if it had been bravely defended; and these are times when it becomes a duty to perish rather than submit; for

" 'When the wicked have their day assign'd,
Then they who suffer bravely save mankind.'

If we have not learnt this from history, I know not what it can teach.

"And now, you will ask, where do I look for comfort? Entirely to Providence. I should look to nothing but evil from the natural course of events, were they left to themselves; but Almighty Providence directs them, and my heart is at rest in that faith. The base policy which has been pursued may *possibly* delay the religious war in Ireland? possibly the ulcer may be skinned over, and we may be called on to rejoice for the cure while the bones are becoming carious. But there are great struggles which must be brought to an issue before we shall be truly at peace; between Infidelity and Religion, and between Popery and Protestantism. The latter battle must be fought in Ireland, and I would have it fought now: two or three years ago I would have prevented it. Fought it must be at last, and with great advantage to the enemy from the delay; but the right cause will triumph at last."—Vol. vi. pp. 24, 25.

Twenty-two years more have since elapsed, and one part of the prophecy with which the foregoing extract concludes, is at this moment in course of startling fulfilment. Well might Southey say, that the battle between Infidelity and Religion, and between

Popery and Protestantism, "must be fought at last, and with great advantage to the enemy from the delay." God grant that the latter part of his prediction, that "the right cause will triumph at last," may prove equally true, and that its accomplishment may be at hand.

One more extract on this important subject, in the course of which Southey glances at two kindred questions, we must make room for, on account of the singular clearness with which Southey discerned beforehand, both the connexion which they had with each other, and the evil consequences that would arise from their so-called "settlement" in conformity with the tide of popular opinion. In February 1823 he writes:—

"The arguments lie in a nutshell. The restraints which exclude the Catholics from political power are not the cause of the perpetual disorder in Ireland; their removal, therefore, cannot be the cure. Suppose the question carried, two others grow from it, like two heads from the hydra's neck, when one is amputated:—a Catholic establishment for Ireland, at which Irish Catholics *must* aim, and which those who desire rebellion and separation will promote,—a rebellion must be the sure consequence of agitating this. The people of Ireland care nothing for emancipation,—why should they; but make it a question for restoring the Catholic Church, and they will enter into it as zealously as ever our ancestors did into a crusade.

"The other question arises at home, and brings with it worse consequences than any thing which can happen among the potatoes. The repeal of the Test Act will be demanded, and must be granted. Immediately the Dissenters will get into the corporations every where. *Their* members will be returned; men as hostile to the Church and to the monarchy as ever were the Puritans of Charles's age. The church property will be attacked in Parliament, as it is now at mob-meetings, and in radical newspapers; reform in Parliament will be carried; and then farewell, a long farewell, to all our greatness.

"Our constitution consists of Church and State, and it is an absurdity in politics to give those persons power in the *State*, whose duty it is to subvert the *Church*."—Vol. v. p. 137.

During the ten years which followed, the course of events ran parallel with the anticipations here expressed, and a remarkable letter addressed in November, 1833, to the Rev. J. Miller in reference to a paper of "Suggestions for the promotion of an Association of the Friends of the Church," out of which eventually the "Oxford Tract" movement grew, contains the following striking passage:—

"Among the many ominous parallelisms between the present times and those of Charles the First, none has struck me more forcibly than those which are to be found in the state of the Church; and of those,

this circumstance especially—that the Church of England at that time was better provided with able and faithful ministers than it had ever been before, and is in like manner better provided now than it has ever been since. I have been strongly impressed by this consideration; it has made me more apprehensive that no human means are likely to avert the threatened overthrow of the Establishment; but it affords also more hope (looking to human causes) of its restoration.

“The Church will be assailed by popular clamour and seditious combinations; it will be attacked in Parliament by unbelievers, half-believers, and misbelievers, and feebly defended by such of the ministers as are not secretly or openly hostile to it. On our side we have God and the right. *Οἰστέον καὶ ἐλπιστέον* must be our motto, as it was Lauderdale’s in his prison. We, however, are not condemned to inaction; and our hope rests upon a surer foundation than his.”—Vol. vi. p. 222.

The shallow pretext under which all the havoc made in the Church is justified, that the Church is “public property,” has perhaps never received a more forcible answer, than in a letter written about the same time to the Rev. Neville White:—

“Public property the Church indeed is; most truly and most sacredly so; and in a manner the very reverse of that in which the despoilers consider it to be so. It is the only property which is public; which is set apart and consecrated as a public inheritance, in which any one may claim his share, who is properly qualified. You have your share of it, I might have had mine. There is no respectable family in England, some of whose members have not, in the course of two or three generations, enjoyed their part in it. And many thousands are at this time qualifying themselves to claim their portion. Upon what principle can any government be justified in robbing them of their rights?

“Church property neither is, nor ever has been, public property in any other sense than this. The whole was originally private property, so disposed of by individuals in the way which they deemed most beneficial to others, and most for the good of their own souls. How much of superstition may have been mingled with this matters not. Much of this property was wickedly shared among themselves by those persons who forwarded the Reformation as a scheme of spoliation; and in other ways materially impeded its progress. Yet they did nothing so bad as the Whig ministry are preparing to do; for they, no doubt, mean to give to the Romish clergy what they take from the Irish Protestant Church.”—Vol. vi. pp. 205, 206.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the external dangers of the Church alone excited Southey’s alarm for her safety. He was by no means blind to the perils which threatened her from within:—

“When Church reformation begins, if revolution does not render it

unnecessary, I fear we shall find many Judases in the Establishment. It was more by her own treacherous children that she was overthrown in the Great Rebellion than by the Puritans. But this must ever be the case."—Vol. vi. p. 154.

Who these Judases were, in his opinion, he tells us pretty plainly in another passage, written in 1830 :—

"I am inclined to think that the Church is in more danger from the so-called Evangelical party among its own clergy than it would be from lay-assistance. These clergy are now about to form a sort of union,—in other words, a convocation of their own, that they may act as a body. They have had a Clerical breakfast in London. The two Noels, Stewart, who is brother-in-law to Owen of Lanark, and was here with him some years ago, and Daniel Wilson were the chief movers. There have been two reports of the speeches in the 'Record' newspaper, and a Mr. M'Neil (*heu! quantum mutatus!*), who very sensibly objected to the whole scheme, had the whole meeting against him."—Vol. vi. pp. 93, 94.

Nor was he blind to the dangers impending from other and opposite quarters. To one of these he thus alludes in 1838 :—

"The publication of Froude's Remains is likely to do more harm than — is capable of doing. 'The Oxford School' has acted most unwisely in giving its sanction to such a deplorable example of mistaken zeal. Of the two extremes—the too little and the too much—the too little is that which is likely to produce the worst consequence to the individual, but the too much is more hurtful to the community; for it spreads, and rages too, like a contagion."—Vol. vi. p. 271.

We hardly think the suppression of the name in the second line of this extract fair. Is it one of those names to which we are, at this time, indebted for the spread of the contagion predicted with such wonderful accuracy? Be this as it may, the prophetic sagacity of the Seer of Keswick is attested yet in another direction :—

"James II.'s conduct in obtruding a Romish president upon Magdalen, was not worse than that of the present ministry in appointing Dr. Hampden to the professorship of divinity. If they had given him any other preferment, even a bishopric, it would have been only one proof among many that it is part of their policy to promote men of loose opinions; but to place him in the office which he now holds, was an intentional insult to the university. In no way could the Whigs expect so materially to injure the Church, as by planting Germanised professors in our schools of divinity."—Vol. vi. p. 291.

We have purposely so selected our extracts, that they shall convey a lesson and a warning to each one of the many adversaries

by whom the cause of God's Church and of His truth is at this time menaced. And let none of those to whom one or other of the remarks we have quoted may apply, think that he may turn the edge of the reproof by objecting that Southey was a political writer, who could not be expected to take a more than superficial view of the deep questions which he handled with such incisive force of language. We may again appeal to his letters for proof that his thoughts on these subjects were the fruit of long observation and profound reflection, and that he meditated on them under a deep sense of their eternal importance :—

“ Our occupations withdraw us all too much from nearer and more lasting concerns. Time and nature, especially when aided by any sorrows, prepare us for better influences ; and when we feel what is wanting, we seek and find it. The clouds then disperse, and the evening is calm and clear, even till night closes.

“ Long and intimate conversance with Romish and sectarian history, with all the varieties of hypocritical villany and religious madness, has given me the fullest conviction of the certainty and importance of these truths, from the perversion and distortion of which these evils and abuses have grown. There is not a spark of fanaticism left in my composition : whatever there was of it in youth, spent itself harmlessly in political romance. I am more in danger, therefore, of having too little of theopathy than too much,—of having my religious faith more in the understanding than in the heart. In the understanding I am sure it is ; I hope it is in both. This good in myself my ecclesiastical pursuits have certainly effected. And if I live to finish the whole of my plans, I shall do better service to the Church of England than I could ever have done as one of its ministers, had I kept to the course which it was intended that I should pursue. There is some satisfaction in thinking thus.”—Vol. v. pp. 250, 251.

It would be easy to multiply proofs of the closeness of the bond by which Southey's public labours and his soul's inmost life were happily linked together in one harmonious effort to discover, and after he had discovered it, to believe, to obey, and to maintain the truth. But our task is done. We have traced the discipline by which Southey's mind was led into that line of thought, at once independent of all external bias, and accordant with the truth, which gave, and continues to give, him a claim, such as few men ever have had, to be reverentially listened to as a watchman and prophet in Israel. Of him it may with exceeding truth be said, that “ being dead he yet speaketh.”

- ART. VI.—1. *Charge of the Bishop of London in Nov. 1850.*
2. *Charge of the Bishop of London in 1842.*
3. *A Farewell Letter to his Parishioners.* By the Rev. W. J. E. BENNETT, M.A.
4. *Letters of D. C. L., Reprinted from the "Morning Chronicle."*
5. *A Plea for "Romanizers," so called. A Letter to the Bishop of London.* By the Rev. ARTHUR BAKER.

IN ordinary times, and under ordinary circumstances, we should scarcely have thought that it fell within our legitimate province to consider, at any length, the causes or the consequences connected with the retirement of any individual clergyman of the English Church from a position he formerly occupied. But there are circumstances of such a special nature connected with the resignation of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, that we feel we should be wanting in our duty to the Church of England if we were not to take some notice of them. Since the delivery of his Charge, in November last, and especially since his acceptance of Mr. Bennett's resignation, the Bishop of London has been the object of the most unsparing attack and misrepresentation from a particular section of the Church. In all quarters connected with that section, with one honourable exception, that of the "English Churchman," the changes have been rung, *usque ad nauseam*, upon the "weakness," the "vacillation," the "inconsistency," the "intolerance," and the "despotic tyranny," of the Bishop of London. The "Theologian and Ecclesiastic," in its February number, told its readers, in an article called "The Panic and its results," that the Bishop of London had gone "beyond his power, at the mere bidding of a hired mob," to silence an obnoxious clergyman;—that he "wanted a victim, wherewith to appease Exeter Hall," and had therefore sacrificed Mr. Bennett. The "Guardian," fearful, doubtless, of compromising its position by an open attack, has omitted no opportunity of sneering at the bishop's conduct. A writer of very great ability has been advocating Mr. Bennett's cause, and vituperating the Bishop of London, in a series of very remarkable letters in the "Morn-

ing Chronicle," under the signature of D. C. L.;—and, as a climax, Mr. Bennett himself has thought it consistent with his duty to the Church, and with his vow of canonical obedience to his bishop, to publish a "Farewell Letter to his Parishioners," of some 250 pages, in which, from the beginning to the end, *ab ovo usque ad mala*, he has done all in his power to hold up his diocesan to public contempt—in which he compares himself to St. Chrysostom, banished from Constantinople by the intrigues of the Empress Eudoxia, aided by the *unrighteous Bishop Theophilus*¹—in which he represents the Church of England as "lying on the waters a helpless water-logged wreck," out of which he is cast "by the force of the waves," while "the stormy winds do rend her deep and wide" (p. 228);—in which he tells his parishioners that they "must not expect that human nature, with its many infirmities and constant needs, will long bear up against the ever-recurring wants of spiritual love and longing for the things of God, *which it is in vain searching for in the Church of England*—I mean in the Church of England, *as now interpreted*, in the diocese of London" (p. 227). That Mr. Bennett will himself regret the publication in a very short time, quite as much as we can do, we have not the least doubt, but *littera scripta manet*. It is very much easier to make unjust charges, than it is to destroy the effect of them, when once they have been made; and therefore we consider it our bounden duty, for the sake of the truth, for the sake of the Bishop of London, who has done heretofore such good service to the Church of England; for the sake of the Church of England, which now, more than ever, requires a continuation of those services; for the sake of Mr. Bennett's successor, placed, as he will be, in a most trying situation; and, especially, for the sake of Mr. Bennett's late parishioners; we think it, we say, our bounden duty, to show by a reference to *facts* which are beyond controversy, and to *dates* which cannot be falsified, that the Bishop of London simply *accepted*, much against his own will, the reiterated resignation of Mr. Bennett; that Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Bennett alone, is responsible for his separation from the churches and the parishioners of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Barnabas, Pimlico; and moreover, that, inasmuch as Mr. Bennett refused to yield to the oft-repeated wishes of his diocesan, the bishop was bound to take the course he has taken, not simply by his love for the Church of England, but by his duty to that special portion of it, of which the "Holy Ghost hath made him an overseer." There are three principal questions to be considered

¹ The italics are ours.

in this matter. First, the resignation itself; who is responsible for it? Secondly, was the Bishop of London justified, or not, in interfering at all with Mr. Bennett? And, thirdly, we shall examine into the truth of the personal accusations which Mr. Bennett has brought against the bishop, and especially as those accusations are connected with the celebrated Charge of 1842. Perhaps it is unnecessary to state that this paper is written without the slightest communication, direct or indirect, with the Bishop of London. It is the result, simply and solely, of a feeling that his lordship has been most grievously misrepresented; that he has, in no way whatever, deserved to lose the confidence of any sound English Churchman; that the personal accusations brought against his lordship by Mr. Bennett are unfounded; that he has, throughout this unhappy business, been most ungratefully treated by that particular section of the Church to which we before referred—that section which has recently furnished, which, unhappily, is still furnishing, and, we much fear, will continue to furnish, recruits to Dr. Wiseman and the Church of Rome.

Let us then proceed to inquire, in the first place, who is responsible for the resignation of Mr. Bennett, and his consequent separation from his parishioners. The Bishop of London is charged with taking advantage of a conditional promise of resignation on the part of Mr. Bennett, as if it had been unconditional, and also with driving Mr. Bennett from his living, in consequence of the persecution of the mob; in fact, of meanly truckling to “popular clamour.” A reference to the correspondence will show the injustice of these accusations; and we pray the reader’s particular attention to the dates of the letters from which we shall quote, for they are of the very greatest importance in this question. On the 15th of July, 1850, Mr. Bennett thus replies to the Bishop of London, in answer to a letter of remonstrance respecting the practices at St. Barnabas:

“If you think, upon reading what I have said, that the picture of my mind is not that which could justify my remaining in the cure of souls in your lordship’s diocese, I am ready and willing to depart. On the one hand, I hope it will be clearly understood that, conscientiously, I cannot forego any of the principles which, in this letter, I set forth and advocate; and, if I remain in the cure of souls, by those principles I must be permitted to abide. On the other hand, *as I consider myself morally and spiritually bound not to oppose your lordship in those matters which, as a diocesan, you have a right and a duty to regulate*², I am willing and ready to withdraw from a position, in which the possibility of such an event might arise.”—p. 84.

² The italics are our own.

Here, at all events, is a plain avowal that there *are certain matters of ritual observance*, respecting which the bishop and Mr. Bennett differed in opinion, which it is at once "the right and the duty" of the bishop to regulate; and yet the bishop is now charged, by Mr. Bennett and D. C. L., with despotism and intolerance, for presuming to enforce his opinion on these very questions. After this letter was received the bishop went abroad, on account of the state of his health. On his return, on the 16th of October, he thus replies to Mr. Bennett:

"You tell me that you cannot conscientiously forego any of the principles set forth in your letter. My remonstrance to you was directed against certain practices—practices in behalf of which you offer no valid defence, and which you surely cannot consider of vital importance. If I restrain you from these practices, which I feel bound to do as far as I can, I cannot think that your conscience will be seriously aggrieved, or that a sufficient *casus* will have arisen for your leaving the ministry, to which you have hitherto been so zealously devoted."—p. 89.

Now we ask any unprejudiced person to say what is the meaning of this answer. The bishop plainly writes in the kindest possible spirit. He thinks that the practices to which he objects, such as the "Invocation of the Trinity before the sermon," and others of a similar nature, involve no *principle* whatever, and therefore, of course, that the giving them up cannot involve any *sacrifice* of principle. Will it be credited that Mr. Bennett, commenting on these words some four months afterwards, fastens on the Bishop of London a charge of "hypocrisy!" It is well nigh incredible, yet so it is.

"If I could be brought," he says, "*externally* to accord with the bishop in not doing certain things, then he does not mind my *internally* holding principles in opposition to them. What kind of hypocrites should we all be, if this were carried to its legitimate conclusion?"—p. 89.

We mention this as a fair specimen of the way in which, throughout this "Farewell Letter," the bishop has been treated. We wonder if it occurred to Mr. Bennett to charge his diocesan with "hypocrisy," when he first read the passage in question. We venture to say it is a construction which no really fair-minded person would dream of putting upon it. In reply to this letter on the 30th of October, Mr. Bennett, having stated that he "cannot, after conscientiously considering all the bearings of the matter, withdraw or alter any thing that he has said or done," thus continues:

"Therefore my conclusion is in this difficulty, as it was in my previous letter of July 15, that I ought, if called upon, to resign my living. I would then put it to your lordship in this way—I would say, 'If your lordship should be of continued opinion, seeing and knowing me as now you do, that I am guilty of unfaithfulness to the Church of England, and if your lordship will after that signify your judgment as bishop, that it would be for the peace and better ordering of that portion of the Church which is under your episcopal charge, that I should no longer serve in the living of St. Paul's, I would then, *the very next day, send you a formal resignation.*'"

Now we confidently ask, can any thing be plainer than this? and this, remember, written when every thing was quiet—*before* Lord John Russell's letter—*before* the slightest disturbance at St. Barnabas. "This all occurred," as D. C. L.* truly says, "before the bishop's charge, and before, therefore, the worship at St. Barnabas had been in the slightest degree molested by popular violence." The admission is very important from such a quarter. We only wonder it had not occurred to D. C. L.'s mind in writing subsequent letters. We ask again, can any thing be plainer than Mr. Bennett's language? He leaves every thing to the discretion of the bishop. He says nothing about the "Canons and laws of the Church," *until after the bishop had acted on this permission*, and then he thinks it consistent to use this language.

"Of course, if the bishop's view were the right one, his duty was not only to be desirous of bringing me to it, but of enforcing it. How enforcing it? Not by his *ipse dixit*, but by the Canons and laws of the Church. But the bishop only depends on his own private judgment on the matter. The law to him is what he *thinks* is the law. He desires to make the Church what he *thinks* is the Church, and then he calls upon me to obey it."—p. 133.

It may be well to say one word on "unfaithfulness" to the Church of England. D. C. L., in a letter written, we think, on the 20th of January in this year, makes it a grievous offence on the bishop's part, that he refused to state to the parishioners of St. Barnabas, in answer to an insolently-worded memorial, the reasons why he judged Mr. Bennett "unfaithful" to the Church of England. Why should he? Mr. Bennett had left the matter entirely in the bishop's hands. He had twice tendered his unconditional resignation, contingent only upon the bishop's thinking proper to accept it; and we say, therefore, that to quibble about the term "unfaithfulness to the Church of England" is simply a

* Letters of D. C. L. p. 31.

specimen of very dishonest special pleading⁴. We must say, moreover, with pain, that, if any body had doubted Mr. Bennett's "unfaithfulness," they have nothing to do but to read his "Farewell Letter," and if they have any *real love* for the Church of England, they will at once be fully convinced of it.

But even yet the bishop is most unwilling to accept the *resignation*. He thus writes on the 16th of November :

"I am under the necessity of stating my decided opinion, that a continuance of the practices, *against which I have in vain remonstrated*, is inconsistent with your duty as a minister of the English Church, and I now again call upon you to relinquish them. As it is not without the most mature deliberation that I make this requisition, so it is not without the most lively concern *that I find myself driven to have recourse to it*. I pray God to direct you in this matter."—p. 107.

Now, surely, every one will see that Mr. Bennett stood pledged, upon the receipt of this letter, to send the bishop, "the very next day," his formal resignation. This letter was a delicate way of leaving Mr. Bennett himself to resign, if he could not alter his conduct. The bishop in effect says:—"I can see no possible reason for your resignation; but my duty is plain, and I must leave you to take which course you think best." Therefore, we say again, that Mr. Bennett was bound to submit to the bishop, or to resign. He did neither the one nor the other. Whether, "having had the advantage of mature reflection, and the counsel of others," he repented of his former promise, we know not, but certain it is, he did *not* send his "formal resignation." Then came the riots at St. Barnabas. The bishop very naturally, and, we venture to say, very properly—Mr. Bennett having, be it ever remembered, steadily refused to obey his admonitions—presses for a speedy reply to his letter. Still Mr. Bennett does not resign. He makes, instead, a series of proposals to the bishop, to which it was most unreasonable to expect him to accede. Upon the 27th of November the bishop, declining to accept these proposals, thus concludes his letter :

"Upon the whole, if you are not prepared to comply, *simpliciter*, and *ex animo*, with the requisition contained in my letter of the 16th

⁴ Since the above was written, Messrs. Adams and Badely have fully confirmed this view of the question. In answer to a case laid before them by the parishioners of St. Paul's, they say :—"Upon the second question, we are of opinion, that the bishop cannot in any manner be compelled to state *seriatim* his reasons for considering Mr. Bennett unfaithful to the Church of England. *The bishop appears to us to have complied substantially with the conditions required by Mr. Bennett in order to his resignation*, but it is clear that the parishioners cannot insist upon any further explanation from the bishop."—*Morning Chronicle*, Feb. 26.

instant, I must call upon you to fulfil your offer of retiring from a charge which I deliberately think you could not in that case continue to hold, without great injury to the Church. I am willing to allow a reasonable time for your compliance."—p. 114.

Upon the receipt of this letter, Mr. Bennett does at last send his "formal resignation."

And now we ask any reasonable man, whether we have not plainly established two facts? First, that the offer of resignation came, in the first instance, from Mr. Bennett; and, secondly, that it was accepted by the bishop with the greatest possible reluctance, and only after Mr. Bennett *had himself left him no other alternative*. And yet Mr. Bennett tells his parishioners that he has been "suddenly torn away from them, and the intercourse of pastoral affection abruptly terminated!" He ventures to arraign his diocesan for "taking the changing gale of the popular will for his guidance, rather than the Rock of Ages, which alone is the type of the Church, whose children we are" (pp. 140, 141); although he knew perfectly well that his resignation had been twice, as D. C. L. has admitted, offered to the bishop *before there had been the slightest indication of popular violence!* Therefore do we say, in closing this branch of the subject, that Mr. Bennett has himself, and himself alone, to blame for his separation from his parishioners. If he was not prepared "to stand the hazard of the die," he should have thought twice before he determined "to stake his all upon a cast." If the bishop was right, he should have obeyed him; if wrong, he should have opposed him; supposing, that is, respect for episcopal authority and for past kindness, had not restrained him from so doing; but he had no right, as a Christian clergyman, to force his resignation upon the bishop, and then to accuse his lordship of treachery, intolerance, despotic tyranny, and truckling to "popular clamour," because that resignation was, at last, accepted.

But we have to consider, in the next place, the question, whether the Bishop of London was justified in interfering at all with Mr. Bennett—in other words, whether Mr. Bennett ought to have been allowed to carry out the principles by which he professes to have been guided without any intervention of episcopal authority. We say Mr. Bennett's "*principles*," because it is the term which he himself usually employs, although we agree with the Bishop of London in thinking that there was in reality no "principle" involved in the original question at issue between his lordship and Mr. Bennett, except that of obedience to the Church of England, and respect for episcopal authority. But be

this as it may, we will proceed to consider the question,—Was it the duty of the Bishop of London to interfere with Mr. Bennett, or to allow him to carry out his principles and his practices, to any extent he pleased? But we must pause first, to notice the curious development which the “Farewell Letter” unfolds to us. By his own immediate followers Mr. Bennett is regarded as the veteran champion of what it pleases him to call “Catholicism.” He is a Churchman who has spent all his energies in the cause of, so called, “Catholic principles.” D. C. L. thus describes him :—

“Among these clergymen, one of the most conspicuous was Mr. Bennett. Strongly impressed with the ceremonial character of the English ritual, and having a strong conviction of the binding force of *the literal injunctions of the Rubric*, he steadily carried his own principles into practice in the church of St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge.”—p. 29.

But now how will our readers be surprised (we think D. C. L. must have been a little surprised also,) to find that, up to 1840, Mr. Bennett had really no “church”—we beg pardon—no “Catholic” principles whatever? He was, *credat Judæus*, by his own showing simply a “good Protestant.” Let us hear his own account of himself :—

“In reviewing my opinions of Church matters at that period,” [1840, when he first came to St. Paul’s district,] “I do not think there was in me *the slightest bias towards any ritual observances*, saving those which are well known, as carrying out the common ordinary decorum of what is usually called the ‘Protestant’ Church of England. On the contrary, towards the Church of Rome, I perfectly well remember, that I showed to the full extent all the prejudices and abhorrence which good ‘Protestants’”—[the sneer is Mr. Bennett’s, not ours,] “which good ‘Protestants,’ as such, so faithfully cherish. As an instance of which, I full well remember preaching a sermon, on the 5th of Nov., in which sermon *I indulged to such a degree in all the vituperations of the doctrines of Rome*, that the sermon was printed by desire of the congregation.”—p. 2.

In another place he describes himself as “a parish priest, young in the administration of the Church’s work (for St. Paul’s, remember, was the first and only living to which I had been presented).”—p. 6. He does not state whether it was also his first parochial charge. And how do our readers think Mr. Bennett became a sound “Catholic?” Not as some, by education; not by the sheer force of conscientious conviction; not by studying the principles of the Prayer Book, and comparing those principles with the theology of the primitive Fathers, and of Holy Scripture; but simply, strange to say, *by virtue of the*

Charge of the Bishop of London, in 1842. He had been slightly inoculated by the "Oxford School," during the two preceding years, but the Bishop of London's Charge was plainly, as he says, the real cause of his "Catholic" zeal.

Let us again quote his own words (p. 139): "There was a principle of pastoral guidance, firmly built up in me by the very teaching, which both as a duty and a pleasure, it was my part to embrace—I mean that of the bishop of our diocese." Again, he says, that the bishop "had set him upon the road to begin, under his auspices," the inculcation of the principles he taught at St. Barnabas. Whether this be correctly stated, we shall inquire hereafter; we simply wish to present our readers with Mr. Bennett's mental portraiture in 1840-42, as he has himself drawn it in 1851, for no purpose, that we can perceive, except that of casting all the odium he possibly can upon the Bishop of London.

Now let us take D. C. L.'s description of the bishop. He says, "I have a deep and sincere respect for that prelate." (Strange, by the way, that he who proceeds to vituperate another, generally begins by expressing his "deep and sincere respect" for the object of his vituperation!)—

"He has, for more than twenty years, presided over a diocese with a population as large as that of a kingdom; and during this time his industry in multiplying churches and schools has been indefatigable; his munificence in promoting these, and all other good works, unbounded; and very lately, he has made a noble stand for an article of the Christian faith!"—p. 28.

And yet, in spite of all this, D. C. L. thinks it becoming to attack the Bishop of London, quite as fiercely as the Bishop of Manchester, by way of evincing a "Churchman's" gratitude! Surely, then, if the bishop and Mr. Bennett came into collision upon matters of ritual observance, taking Mr. Bennett's own view of himself, and D. C. L.'s description of the bishop, one would naturally think, reasoning *à priori*, that the bishop was quite as likely to be in the right, as his professed disciple, and, by his own showing, most obedient follower, the incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. Now let us see how the case really stands. Mr. Bennett thus describes the "principle" on which he has acted since, as he says, the bishop's Charge of 1842:—

"The principle mentioned in the earlier part of the correspondence, was the propriety of adhering to the old Catholic rites and usages of the Church, prior to the Reformation. I sincerely believe that to be the spirit of the English Church, as the necessary link, by which it is tied to ancient times."—(p. 134.) Again, he says—"The desire of restoring things ancient to the Church in England, is equivalent to a desire of

becoming reunited to the rest of Christendom."—(p. 151.) In another place he says—"I cannot bring myself to think that the Church of England is the only Church in the world that would deny these customs." By adopting them, as one means with others, "a gradual assimilation with the rest of the Catholic Church would be made; the prejudices of all the different sects and schisms would be conquered; and Catholic unity would be restored."—p. 82.

Mr. Bennett's theory, therefore, may briefly be stated thus. He considers every priest at liberty to introduce any practices, which have been used, at any time, in the Church, which are not *distinctly forbidden* by the English Prayer Book; the object of such restoration being the revival of Catholic unity.

The bishop's objection to this theory is twofold. First, that the theory itself is not in accordance with the spirit of the Church of England; secondly, that it is a most dangerous theory to put in practice at the present time, because all such usages are, as a matter of fact, derived *now*, however *Catholic* they might once have been, from the peculiar ritual of the Church of Rome; in other words, that they have (and the *suspicion* that they have it, is the bishop's most deadly offence) a "Romanizing" tendency. Let us examine this question. A little reflection will, we think, show, that the Bishop of London is perfectly right in both particulars. The statute law of the English Church, to use an expression of Mr. Sewell's, is the English Prayer Book. This, as far as circumstances do not limit the possibility, every English clergyman is bound to obey. But then, surely, he can have no more right to go beyond this, unless custom sanctions his doing so, than he can have, intentionally, to fall short of it. But the theory referred to above goes far beyond this, and there are two reasons why it is objectionable. First, its carrying out involves a palpable absurdity; secondly, it is contrary to the *spirit* of our Prayer Book. Just suppose, for a moment, that every clergyman acts up to this principle, according to his own individual taste, where shall we stop? One may wish to revive the primitive Agapæ, with, as a necessary consequence, all their attendant irregularities. Another may have a fancy for infant communion. Another for reviving the primitive ceremonies connected with adult female baptism, of which Bingham gives us so graphic an account. One gentleman, the Rev. Arthur Baker, of whom, though we differ from him *toto celo*, we wish to speak in terms of the highest respect, because his letter to the Bishop of London is written in an honest, manly, straightforward spirit, has openly expressed *his* wish to restore the practice of "extreme unction;" the practical difficulty being, to get any "holy oil" which has been blessed by a bishop of our

communion! We ask again, therefore, where shall we stop! Once allow permission to introduce novelties at pleasure, and you can put no limit to individual fancy or caprice. We say confidently, "*Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines.*" Act up to the Prayer Book as much as you please, but if you *wish* to go beyond it, to introduce practices not sanctioned by custom, then consult the bishop of the diocese, and let his decision, in all cases, be final.

But we say, moreover, that Mr. Bennett's "restorative theory," which is not, as D.C.L. speciously observes, a question respecting the "interpretation of the rubrics of the Church of England" (p. 39), but a question, rather, respecting matters on which the rubrics are wholly silent, contradicts the *spirit* of the English Prayer Book.

However much Mr. Bennett may dislike the term "Protestant," we presume even he will not venture to deny, that the Church of England is a "Reformed Church." Now, from what was she reformed? Let us consult the preface to our Prayer Book. It says: "And although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression, and breaking of a common order and discipline, is no small offence before God—the appointment of the which order *pertaineth not to private men*;"—(would not priests, as such, come under this appellation?)—"therefore, no man ought to take in hand, nor *presume to appoint or alter any public or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called, and authorized thereunto.*" Take one more passage. "This our *excessive multitude of ceremonies* was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us." We submit that these two quotations demolish at once Mr. Bennett's theory. No one, surely, can say that any *priest*, as such, can be "lawfully called and authorized to alter any public or common order in Christ's Church." It is quite clear also that, if *every priest had this power, and acted upon it*, we should have no possible security against being burthened with the same *kind* and *number* of ceremonies, from which, as her own Prayer Book teaches, the Church of England was cleansed at the Reformation. It is useless to bring, against this view, the oft-quoted rubric about the "ornaments of the Church in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." As far as the Bishop of London and Mr. Bennett are concerned, that rubric is simply *nihil ad rem*. The question between them was not about "ornaments," but about ceremonies and ritual observances. Whether he liked it or not, the bishop *did* consecrate the Church of St. Barnabas, and *he has never once required Mr. Bennett to alter any*

thing connected with the "ornaments" of that Church. He has simply required him to discontinue certain "practices," not authorized by the Rubrics; practices, as we have shown, based upon a theory utterly untenable in itself, and contradictory to the spirit of the Prayer Book of the Reformed Church of England. Mr. Bennett may wish for an alteration of the statute law of his Church—he may wish that he had liberty to introduce any usages he pleased, whether from the Romish, or the Primitive Church; but, so long as our Prayer Book remains unaltered, so long as ours is a "Reformed" branch of the Catholic Church, so long will the preface to that Prayer Book, and the spirit of that Reformation, alike condemn the introduction, into our service, of any practices, which cannot plead either rubrical injunction, prescriptive usage, or episcopal sanction.

"Oh, but," it is replied, "these usages are the marks of our Catholicity; they are the signs of our holding the Catholic faith; they are the links by which the English communion is united to the Holy Church throughout all the world. Restrain me, or any other priest, from introducing those usages, and you remove at once the ties by which we are associated with the rest of Christendom." We answer, first, that, unless D. C. L. has made an erroneous statement, *before the Farewell Letter was published Mr. Bennett had offered to relinquish every individual practice to which the bishop had objected*, except that of standing before the altar during the consecration of the elements; that is to say, Mr. Bennett first steadily refuses to make any alteration whatever; he forces his resignation upon the bishop; he exposes the bishop to a running-fire of misrepresentation, of abuse, and of insult, from D. C. L., and various other quarters. He then offers to relinquish all the practices in dispute, except one; and *then*, because the bishop does not think proper to be forced into altering his determination, Mr. Bennett is to be held up to his parishioners as a martyr to Catholic principles; his theory of "restoration" is to be the mark of the Catholicity of the English Church; and the Bishop of London is to be exposed to public contempt, as an intolerant despot, as destroying, at once and for ever, the claims of the English Church to be a true and living branch of the Church Catholic, because, forsooth, the Bishop of London wished to restrain one of his clergy from certain practices, all of which, save one, and that, on the face of it, a very doubtful point, that very clergyman has, when it was too late, offered to relinquish!

We say, moreover, on this point, that there are two kinds of "Catholicity," primitive and mediæval, one from which, another to which, if we may so speak, we were reformed, in the sixteenth

century. So long, therefore, as the Prayer Book of the English Church remains unaltered—so long as we retain all the grand fundamental verities of the Christian faith embodied therein—so long shall we continue to be a true and living branch of the Catholic Church; so long can there exist no possible reason for introducing into our ritual any mediæval observances, other than those which are sanctioned by the laws of the Church of England, or by prescriptive custom.

"But," it is said, "these usages and observances will restore Catholic unity. They will take away from us the reproach, under which we now justly labour, of being isolated from the rest of Christendom. They will tend to restore the 'unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;'" and loud is the outcry raised against the Bishop of London, because his lordship has ventured to imagine that the revival may, possibly, have a somewhat different effect; that, instead of restoring "Catholic," they may possibly, and probably, tend rather to restore "Romish" unity; that their ultimate development will bring us back, not to primitive, but to "Romish" Catholicism. "Even the bishops themselves," says Mr. Bennett, "make the idea of Catholicity equivalent to Popery. Our own bishop perseveres in fastening upon me the charge of '*copying Rome*.' He has told me that I adopt this and that rite because '*it is Roman*;' that we are leading men to '*precipices*,' and the like" (p. 172). The imputation of "Romanizing" is, in fact, regarded, by certain parties, as the very acme of "bigotry;" the restraining from such practices is the very quintessence of "persecution;" is said to be "driving men over into the ranks of the enemy." But we say, first, can it be forgotten, ought it to be forgotten, that of those English priests who have put the "restorative theory" into practical operation, the greater number have already gone, *not simply "step by step to the very verge of the precipice," but actually headlong over into the gulf beneath it?* From Mr. Newman down to Mr. Dodsworth, *facilis descensus Avernî*, and, still later, down to the mover of the resolution of sympathy with Mr. Bennett, passed by the London Church Union on the 10th of December, these men have *gone over* to the Church of Rome. Are we then gravely to be told, that our bishops are "bigoted and intolerant," because, seeing others of their clergy pursuing a similar course, they are apprehensive of a similar result, and endeavour, by a timely warning, to guard against it? We know full well that *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, is very frequently unsound reasoning, but surely there is here an *à priori* argument on the side of those who do so reason. Surely if one, standing by the side of a river, saw twenty persons bathing—if he saw ten, after venturing to a certain spot, sink to rise no

more, he would not be deemed impertinent if he ventured to warn the rest of their danger ; and, moreover, would not be amenable, on any just grounds, to the charge of "persecution," if, supposing him to possess authority, he exercised it by way of prevention. The case of the secessions to Rome is surely very parallel to this. At all events, we put this alternative—either they who have seceded did so deliberately, with their eyes open, or they were led on "step by step." In the one case, they were "double distilled" traitors to the Church of England. In the other, the Bishop of London acts most faithfully to his clergy, and to his Church, if he does all he can do to prevent the recurrence of a similar catastrophe. And as to the charge of thereby "driving men over to the ranks of the enemy"—it is an expression which no true-hearted English Churchman would dream of employing ; it is one, we firmly believe, that has done very great mischief at the present crisis. What does the expression mean ? Simply this, that, whenever an English priest grows discontented with his position, he naturally, as a matter of course, begins to think about secession to the Church of Rome ; in other words, that there is, really, no essential difference between the principles of the two communions. For our own part, we are convinced that no possible combination of circumstances can justify "secession" *from our own Church*, much less "apostasy" to the Church of Rome. We believe that the principles of the two Churches, so far as they differ, are necessarily antagonistic to each other, and that no sound Anglican priest, whatever difficulties he may find in the one, would ever dream, for an instant, that he would better his condition by going over to the other. Bishop Ken once bore an honoured name among English Churchmen—Bishop Ken was a "Nonjuror," but he never became a Romanist. Let us once cleanse ourselves from this, not surely undeserved, suspicion ; let us once persuade our people that *nothing shall ever drive us to Rome*, and sure we are that one grand cause of our present difficulties will speedily be removed—"heaviness may endure for a night, but joy will come in the morning."

But we say, secondly, that, whether the "restorative theory" be or be not sound in itself, this, of all others, is not the time for putting it in practice. What is our present position ? The Church of England is fighting a battle, not, as recently, for the maintenance of the Christian faith, but for her very existence. Enemies, strong and mighty, beset her on every side. We ask Mr. Bennett, and D. C. L., Is this a time, when our bishops are called "possessors by act of Parliament of their episcopal revenues," their spiritual character and func-

tions being ignored altogether?—Is this a time when he, who is now Cardinal Wiseman, who, “with bated breath and whispering humbleness,” endeavoured to cajole the English nation in his recent “Appeal,” thus addressed “the faithful” in his “Lenten Pastoral” this time last year?—“May we not clearly see the agitation and uneasiness of men’s minds in regard to *that semblance of a Church in this country which has deluded many till now?* in what manner it is slipping more and more from their hands, in proportion as they have clasped it the closer, and clung to it more desperately? Are there not multitudes to be seen upon it, *like the crew of a shattered vessel*, who have refused timely to escape, that now feel all the insecurity of their position; feel how disjointed, and breaking piecemeal, is the framework they had once thought so solid; and how, with helm abandoned, compass broken, and skill baffled, even it is reeling and drifting, the world’s sport, towards a dreary reef, and a waste shore? *An establishment of earth’s creation has ventured to wrestle with its Maker, and is sinking beneath Him.*”—Is this a time, when that avowedly Romish organ the “Tablet” says, as it said on the 23rd of last Nov., speaking of that unhappy young man, Lord Fielding—“*Men owe no duty to such a thing as the Established Religion, but that of leaving it with every sign of loathing and hatred: tenderness and charity towards individuals are not qualities which a system of imposture ought to call in to act towards itself*”—Is this a time, when one calling himself “an English clergyman,” dares to print such language as this?—

“For myself, then, I trust I may say, that I fully recognise the Church of Rome as the mother and queen of Churches; that I do not, knowingly, reject any part whatever of her authoritative teaching, or condemn any practice *expressly* sanctioned by her; that, as far as I am not prevented by positive restriction, I make her system my guide both in public and private; and that I ardently and unceasingly desire to be united to her, not only, as I believe myself to be now united, virtually, but openly and visibly, and to be able to pay in positive acts the homage which I now offer in will and intention. I use Romish books of devotion in preference to others. I recite the Breviary office without mutilation or alteration. I reverence the Saints of the Roman Calendar. I delight in assisting at the celebration of the Divine mysteries after the Roman use. I really am not conscious of a single ecclesiastical taste, or religious aspiration, that does not tend *towards* Rome, rather than in the opposite direction⁵.”

Is this a time, we again ask, to talk, in a tone of querulous and

⁵ The Appeal to Rome. A Letter from an English Clergyman to a Roman Catholic Friend.

whining lament, about restoring "Catholic unity!" to hold up to the scorn of our bitter enemies the "isolation" of the Church of England! Doubtless, she *is* "isolated," but whose is the guilt of that isolation? Not ours, but theirs, who would impose upon us unscriptural terms of communion, who ignore our existence as a Church, who call us "heretics and schismatics!" Is this a time, then, to subject one, who has so nobly served the Church of England as the Bishop of London, to a charge of "persecution," because he endeavours to restrain his clergy from introducing ritual observances, which, no where ordered by our Prayer Book, may, possibly, once have been *Catholic*, but are now, beyond all doubt, exclusively *Romish*? Catholic unity is a good thing; but Scriptural truth and Anglican independence are far better, if they cannot all be had together. We call that man a patriot, who defends *his own country* in the hour of danger; and so, we say, has the Church of England, in this her hour of difficulty and trial, an *exclusive* claim upon the love, and gratitude, and allegiance, of all her faithful children. We say, that any priest or layman of the English Church, who, in his yearning after "Catholic unity," forgets the special claims of his own spiritual mother, acts as rashly and as wickedly as he, who, for the sake of a common humanity, should lavish his substance upon strangers, and leave those, whom God has committed to his charge, to starve and perish in the streets. It is idle and weak to cry, "Peace, peace! when there is no peace." It is madness to call upon us to lay down our arms, with the sound of the enemy's trumpet ringing in our ears. It is treachery for us to "labour for peace," while all around shows that they are "making ready for battle." Let us hear one on this point, from whom *we* differ much, but whose words *once* had some weight with Mr. Bennett.

"About the future history of our Church," says Dr. Pusey, "I have felt the less anxious, because I felt, as your lordship too feels, and has expressed, that God's good hand was with her. I have never planned any thing, as some have at times planned, nor worked (as some would wish) directly for her reunion with the rest of Christendom, because I always felt that a healthful restoration of unity must be God's doing, in His time and way; to be prayed for, not planned. *I have said so to others, who seemed to be impatient for this, and to aim at what was impossible.* I have ever hoped that the Church of England, whom God has, by His providence and in its history, so marvellously distinguished from the Protestant bodies on the Continent, or among the Dissenters, had a special destiny and office in store for her, in His All-merciful designs. And in this *great restoration of our Church*, when younger men have seemed to me to turn their eyes too narrowly to one portion

of God's work, I have both publicly and privately pointed out what has been so impressed upon myself, how that work embraces every part and action of the Church *."

But there is one other argument, advanced by Mr. Bennett, and those who hold similar views with him, in favour of the "restorative theory," which it is necessary briefly to notice. It is said, "Beware how you oppose the introduction of any ante-reformation usages; for, in so doing, you are running counter to the *practice* of some of the most esteemed and saintly divines of our communion." Bishop Andrewes, they say, did this in his private chapel—Archbishop Laud introduced that practice—Bishop Cosin another,—and so on, with a host of other names, whom it is very far indeed from our wish to disparage in the smallest possible degree. We have a twofold answer to this position. First, that much as we venerate the private characters of these divines—much as we feel the obligation to them, under which every English Churchman must lie, still we cannot consent to allow that individual practice is to be permitted to weigh, for a moment, against the language and spirit of the English Prayer Book. We think, therefore, that the Bishop of London was perfectly justified in saying to Mr. Bennett, when objecting to that gentleman's attempt publicly to introduce into his parish the system of praying for the dead:—"The authorities which you have adduced in support of the lawfulness of prayers for the dead, have no weight with me, *in opposition to the plain and acknowledged judgment of the Church of England*." Of course the bishop did not mean to say, as Mr. Bennett insinuates, that he has no respect for the opinions of the divines Mr. Bennett had quoted, considered in the abstract; but simply that, inasmuch as the practice of "praying for the dead" was deliberately, for a good and sufficient reason, repudiated at the Reformation, and at every subsequent revision of our Prayer Book, therefore it is not a practice sanctioned by the English Church. Surely this is perfectly sound reasoning. It is one thing to bring a "catena" of Anglican divines in support of a disputed point of *rubrical interpretation*, in confirmation of a disputed doctrine; another, and quite a different thing, to set individual opinions up "in opposition to the plain and acknowledged judgment of the Church of England." But we say, moreover, that we have no objection to allow an appeal to the great divines of the seventeenth century, provided that appeal be a fair one; provided Mr. Bennett will carry out their teaching fairly

* Letter to Bishop of London, p. 254.

† Farewell Letter, p. 51.

and honestly. We submit that it is most *unfair* to bring forward one part of their teaching so triumphantly, and to ignore another part of it altogether; to talk, as Mr. Baker talks, of "sheltering themselves under the revered names of Bishops Andrewes, Laud and Butler, who have suffered persecution, one even death, *in the same good cause*." We beg to remind Mr. Bennett and Mr. Baker, that the great divines, to whom they refer, were one and all, *the staunchest defenders of the Church of England against the aggressions and the usurpations of the Church of Rome*. They were, one and all, the great upholders of Catholicism; but then it was primitive, not mediæval. They clung to Catholic truth, but they sternly denounced Romish error. *They* never dreamed, for a moment, in *their* yearnings after Catholic unity, of giving up, for the sake of it, the "Protestant" character of the Church of England. We beg to ask, what course would Andrewes, and Laud, and Hooker, and Bramhall, and good Bishop Hall, and saintly Jeremy Taylor, and a host of others like them, what course would *they* have adopted, had they been alive now? Would *they* have forsaken the Church of England in this her hour of difficulty and danger? Would *they* have lauded to the skies the practice of the Church of Rome, while exposing, with gross exaggeration, the weakness and the deficiencies of their own spiritual Mother? Would *they* have described the Church of England as "a house where there is no food supplied, *but what is scanty and scarce*; and, indeed, *what little there may be, tasteless and innutritious*"? Would *they* have foreshadowed secession, by telling English Churchmen that "men cannot abide long where *all is doled out grudgingly and sparingly*, and they withal hungering and thirsting after the heavenly manna and the well of life?" No, they would have buckled on their armour anew. They would have been among the foremost to "protest," against Romish arrogance and Papal aggression. They would have been the first to contend, for the rights, the liberties, and the independence, of the Church of England. We say that, when Mr. Bennett and his followers will imitate their *practice* in this respect, then will they have a right, and not till then, to appeal to them on other points. Let him defend the Church of England against Cardinal Wiseman, as Bishop Andrewes defended it, in the *Tortura Torti*, against Cardinal Bellarmine. Let him challenge the Jesuits of the present day, and refute them, as successfully as Archbishop Laud refuted the Jesuit Fisher. Let him crush the Romanists of our time, as Bishop Jeremy Taylor crushed them

* Letter to Bishop of London, p. 36.

* Farewell Letter, p. 227.

in his "Dissuasive from Popery." Let him, like Bishop Hall, raise the cry, "No peace with Rome," so long as Rome persists in attacking us. Then will he be consistent in appealing to the writers we have mentioned; then will he be doing his duty to the Church of England. But, in the name of common justice, let not Mr. Bennett, and others like him, gloss over the difference between the two communions; let him not endeavour to revive "Romish" practices and "Romish" observances, and then pretend to support his innovations by appealing, forsooth, to "the great divines of the seventeenth century!" Let him rather ponder over the language of a thorough English Churchman.

"I dare not conceal from myself or others, that far from believing Rome to be a lawful refuge for those who are disquieted as to the constitution and prospects of our own Church, it is that one communion of all that professes to have a primitive origin and regular descent, to which, if the Church of England were to fall, or I be cast out of it, I could never go myself, God helping me; nor can I conceive how any Christian man, brought up in our own or any other orthodox reformed communion, having his eyes open, and being guided by the word and Spirit of God, could ever pass. But if men will allow themselves to be drawn, step by step, into the belief that it is a home for them when their own may become unfit for them to abide in, *this latter condition will soon appear to them as if it were really so, and the step will be surely taken*."

And here we would make a brief remark upon a very singular observation of Mr. Baker, respecting Archbishop Laud. He has adopted, as the motto of his letter, an answer of the archbishop on his trial to this effect:—"His Grace answered, that if they had proved he had laid any plot for reconciling the Church of England with the Church of Rome, *with the maintenance of idolatry, it were a damnable plot indeed*; but if Christian truth and peace might be established all over Christendom, he should think himself happy if he was able to establish such a reconciliation, whatever he suffered." Mr. Baker has the following remarks upon this quotation:

"With reference to the passage which, for its appositeness, I have chosen for a motto, I should wish particularly to guard against seeming to acquiesce in the popular opinion of formal *idolatry* in the Roman system. I do not suppose such to have been the intention of Archbishop Laud; but simply, that if, in reconciling the two communions,

¹ "I went on—but kept my way, still steadfast, as I thought; basing my teaching on the divines of the seventeenth century."—p. 141.

² Letter in the "Guardian," Nov. 13, 1850, signed, Arthur Acland.

idolatry *were* necessarily involved, any attempt to effect it would, of course, be a matter of deadly sin."—p. 139.

Now the best interpreter of the real meaning of the archbishop on this point will be, we presume, the archbishop himself. In his "Conference with Fisher the Jesuit," Laud thus alludes to the "image worship" of the Church of Rome:

"I have, I think, too much reason to give that the modern Church of Rome is *grown too like to Paganism in this point*. For it wrought so far upon Lamas himself, who bemoaned the former passage, as that he delivers this doctrine: 'That the images of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and the saints, are not to be worshipped as if there were any divinity in the images, as they are material things made by art, but only as they represent Christ and the saints; for else it were idolatry'.³"

How does Laud reply to this most glaring sophistry?

"So then, belike, according to the divinity of *this casuist*, a man may worship images, and ask of them, and put his trust in them, 'as they represent Christ and the saints;' for so there is divinity in them, though not as things, yet as representers. *And what, I pray, did or could any Pagan priest say more than this?* For the proposition resolved is this: 'The images of Christ and the saints, as they represent their exemplars, have deity or divinity in them.' And now, I pray, A. C., do you be judge, whether this proposition *do not teach idolatry?* and whether the modern Church of Rome *be not grown too like to Paganism in this point?* For my own part,"—he says, in a noble passage, which we recommend to the especial notice of those who quote Archbishop Laud as a supporter of what *they* call 'Catholic unity';—"for my own part, I heartily wish it were not so, and that men of learning would not strain their wits *to spoil the truth, and rend the Church of Christ by such dangerous, such superstitious vanities, for better they are not, but they may be worse*. Nay, these and their like, have given so great a scandal among us, to some ignorant, though, I presume, well-meaning men, that they are afraid to testify their duty to God, even in his own house, by any outward gesture at all; insomuch that those very ceremonies which, by the judgment of godly and learned men, have now long continued in the practice of this Church, *suffer hard measure for the Romish superstition's sake*. But I will conclude this point with the saying of B. Rhenanus: 'Who could endure the people,' says he, 'rushing into the church like swine into a sty? Doubtless, ceremonies do not hurt the people, but profit them, *so there be a mean kept, and the bye be not put for the main*; that is, so we place not the principal part of our piety in them.'"

We hope, after this, that, at any rate, Archbishop Laud will not be quoted, as an authority, by any who are willing, if not

³ Works, ii. 311. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

desirous, to restore what they call "Catholic unity," at the cost even of merging the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England in the "paganism" and "superstition" of the Church of Rome. Rather would we earnestly implore such persons to consider attentively the well-nigh dying words of the martyr archbishop.

"This I will say with S. Gregory Nazianzen, '*I never laboured for peace to the wrong and detriment of Christian verity, nor I hope never shall.*' And let the Church of England look to it; for in great humility I crave to write this (though there was no time to speak it): that the Church of England *must leave the way it is now going, and come back to that way of defence which I have followed in my book*, or she shall never be able to justify her separation from the Church of Rome'."

Thus wrote Laud against the Puritans. May we not say of Mr. Bennett, and of every one who holds his views,

"Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur?"

But we come now to the most painful part of our subject, the consideration of the personal accusations, which Mr. Bennett has thought it becoming to bring against his diocesan. And this, in truth, so far as the Bishop of London is concerned, is the most important part, and for this reason. Comparatively few persons can, we believe, be found, who do not admit that Mr. Bennett ought to have yielded to the injunctions of his diocesan. But when he turns on the bishop, and accuses his lordship of having lured him on, and encouraged him in his course by his Charge of 1842, and then of having treacherously deserted his obedient disciple, the accusation is more likely to be believed, because few persons will take the trouble to prove its injustice, by a reference to the Charge itself. We remember, for instance, soon after Mr. Bennett's letter appeared, that a well-known radical daily journal wound up a rabid article by saying,—we quote from memory, "What can we expect from our clergy, if their bishops encourage them, as the Bishop of London has encouraged Mr. Bennett in all his practices?"—the journal in question having, of course, only Mr. Bennett's own statement as proof of its assertion. The same thing has, doubtless, happened in other quarters, and it is, therefore, very important that the matter should be placed in a proper light. We shall endeavour to place it in that light, by taking not simply Mr. Bennett's own statement, but by examining closely the celebrated Charge of 1842.

* Trouble and Trial, &c. quoted in Preface to "Conference," p. 26.

There are three principal accusations of a personal nature, advanced by Mr. Bennett against the Bishop of London. First, that of having led him on by the Charge of 1842, and then of having meanly refused to support him in carrying out his own principles and injunctions. Secondly, of double dealing, in the case of his former curate, Mr. Spencer; and, thirdly, of breach of confidence in the publication of the correspondence. We will deal with each of these charges separately. Let us on the first point, see what is the substantive accusation:—

"I did contend," says Mr. Bennett, "because I simply thought it my duty; because I wished to *obey the Bishop's Charge of 1842*." Again: "Once having received this teaching, and schemed out my course of pastoral duty thereupon, that he should turn his back upon himself in after years, and either modify, compromise, or deny that which he had set me upon the road under his auspices to begin, was not to be laid to my charge as a fault, who remained steadfast unto the end; but, one would have thought, rather, to *his* charge, who took the changing gale of the popular will for his guidance, rather than the Rock of Ages, which alone is the type of the Church whose children we are" (p. 25). Again: "We have been keeping that bar (of Catholicity) at St. Barnabas, as long and as well as we could; we have stood there faithful and fearless, and were intending to do so for many long years, God giving us grace. But now, you (the Bishop) have pulled the bar down, driven the guards away, and you have widely scattered all to the four winds by your cold and heartless Protestantism. Now men, indeed, *will* fall over. They *will* very soon fall over by hundreds and by thousands. BUT WHOSE FAULT WILL IT BE?" [Sic]—(p. 182.) And, once more, "Put me back to the year 1842, in your imagination. Picture to yourselves a clergyman just entering upon his first cure of souls—fully agreeing in the views of his bishop then authoritatively set forth—fully determined to carry those views into operation, and to work in his Divine Master's vineyard for the advancement of His Church, knowing that all he did and said bore the clear stamp of truth in itself, *à priori*, and now, in addition, presented an immediate authority in the bishop's own words. What was he to do?"—p. 23.

Now, on this head, we desire to make two observations. First, that Mr. Bennett has greatly misrepresented the principles of the bishop's Charge of 1842; secondly, that, as a matter of fact, whatever those principles were, Mr. Bennett did not carry them out. And let it be distinctly remembered, that we are now speaking of that Charge simply as between the Bishop of London and Mr. Bennett. Any thing which may have occurred in other quarters has nothing whatever to do with the present question.

⁶ The italics are Mr. Bennett's.

We will prove to demonstration that, so far as Mr. Bennett was concerned, he might have carried out, if it had so pleased him, the *real* principles of that Charge, unchecked by the slightest opposition on the part of its author—that the bishop only interfered, as he was bound to do, when Mr. Bennett endeavoured to go, or rather, as a matter of fact, did go, beyond what he found there laid down. Mr. Bennett says, in effect, to the bishop, “I carried out your injunctions *to the letter*, and, in return, you have sacrificed me to popular clamour.” All we have to do then, is, to prove that the accusation, on the face of it, is simply untrue.

We will prove this by an examination of the Charge itself—by a reference to Mr. Bennett’s actual practice, and also to his own statement in his “Farewell Letter.” “I think I can prove to you,” says Mr. Bennett, “if you will only follow me with care, that in every essential feature of the Charge, I have been a faithful and consistent follower of what was set before us as our rule of action.” We will endeavour to be as careful as possible, and, if we mistake not, shall be able to prove just the contrary.

Mr. Bennett then lays down as the leading feature of the Charge, an endeavour to restore “Catholicity”—that is, of course, what he himself considers to be “Catholicity.” “I thought I understood,” he says, “that the spirit breathing through the whole of it, the general tone and *animus* of it, was a love of Catholicity, a desire for a return to a purer and more Catholic form of worship than was then prevalent in the churches of London” (p. 6). He subsequently endeavours to establish a direct contradiction between the Charge of 1842, and that of November, 1850. The one is, as he says, a “Catholic,” the other, a “Protestant” Charge. The one, according to him, refers to the authority, not merely of our dear Mother” (p. 6)—that “local Church of which we are members and children”—but “far deeper than this,” to the authority of the “Early Church,” the “Primitive Church,” the “Church, *not only interpreted by her present Rubrics and Canons, but the Church before the Reformation*.” The other is based altogether, according to the same showing, upon a mere cold, naked, negative “Protestantism.” It would exceed our present limits to follow Mr. Bennett through all the passages he has quoted in support of his view. We will, therefore, simply state the impression conveyed to our mind, after a very careful perusal of the Charge of 1842, as to the principle the bishop wished thereby to inculcate among his clergy. That principle may be briefly described as obedience, *not* to the “Early Church,” as such; *not* to the “Primitive Church,” as such; *not* to the “Church before

* The italics are ours.

the Reformation " as such, but *obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as they are embodied in our Liturgy, Canons, and Articles.* The Bishop, in effect, says :—" Do every thing which the *Church of England orders you to do* ; obey her rubrics *implicitly* ; carry out her injunctions *fully* ; restore *her system* ; but there you must stop : *introduce nothing* which is not sanctioned by the Rubric, by prescriptive custom of the *English Church*, or by episcopal authority."

We had marked some dozen passages in proof of this view, & view, let it be observed, essentially different from Mr. Bennett's own principle, and the bishop's, *as he has described it.* We must be content, however, with quoting a few of the most striking character. The bishop's Charge was delivered when certain members of the " Oxford School " were " verging, step by step," towards that " precipice " over which they have since unhappily fallen. What says his lordship on this point ?—

" I acknowledge that I was not unwilling to pause, and be silent for a time, in the hope that those, who have been engaged in that controversy, would see the evils which must ensue to the Church from its continuance, and be led to modify, or at least to keep within their own bosoms, what I considered to be extreme opinions. That hope has unhappily passed away, and it now remains for me to perform the duty of pronouncing that deliberate judgment which the clergy of my own diocese are entitled to look for."

The bishop then states his desire "*to act as an interpreter of the Church's sense as to doctrine, and of her will as to rites and ceremonies* ;" plainly meaning the " intention " and " will " of the Church of England. Again :—

" In our ministerial acts both of kindness and authority, especially the latter, we are to have respect to *the Church's laws and ordinances* and beyond what *they* require (*sic*), we may not claim obedience. The limitation of our ministerial authority, by the laws of the Church *to which we belong*, extends also to every part of our ministerial duty. We are to teach, *as our own Church teaches*, in her ' Articles of Religion,' and to minister discipline *according to the laws by which she has prescribed and defined it.*"—p. 9.

Again :—

" With respect to those ornaments of the Church, about which there is a difference of opinion, *where the Rubric and Canons are not clear the judgment of the bishop should be sought for.*"—p. 30.

And so with respect to ordinances and ceremonies, the language is equally precise :—

“ In this respect every clergyman is bound by the laws of his own Church. *What they enjoin he is to practise; what they forbid he is to abstain from; what they purposely omit he is not to introduce.* PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD, trine immersion in baptism, the kiss of peace in the Eucharist, the mixing of water with wine; all these were undoubtedly ancient customs, if not all of primitive antiquity; *but they are not recognised by our own Church, and they are, therefore, not to be practised by its ministers.* ‘Let no minister of a parish,’ says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, ‘introduce any ceremonies, rites, or gestures, though with seeming piety or devotion, *which are not commanded by the Church, and established by law.*’”—p. 32.

Once more :—

“ You are not to take as your rule and model in this respect *the early Church, nor the primitive Church*, but the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, *as she speaks in plain and obvious cases by her Rubrics and Canons; in doubtful and undecided ones by her bishops.*”—p. 32.

And now we ask any candid and honest man, we care not whether he agrees with the bishop or not, carefully to consider Mr. Bennett’s own principles, and the bishop’s, *as Mr. Bennett has described them.* We ask him to reflect on the passages we have now quoted, and then let him say, first, whether there is the slightest similarity between the *acknowledged* principles of Mr. Bennett and the principles of the Charge of 1842? Secondly, whether Mr. Bennett has fairly described the principles set forth in the Charge? Would that we could imagine that he had quoted from memory. He tells us himself that he has not done so*. What, then, is the unavoidable inference?

There is, however, one passage from Bishop Fleetwood, which Mr. Bennett quotes with an air of great triumph, as fully justifying him in carrying out any practices which were in use before the Reformation. It will be necessary, therefore, briefly to consider this passage.

“ The ceremonies,” says Bishop Fleetwood, “allowed in practice in the Church, though not enjoined by the Rubric, are such as were used in the Church *before* and *when* the Rubrics were made; and being reasonable and easy, and becoming, were not enforced by any new law, but were left in possession of what force they had obtained by custom. He that complies not with these ceremonies, offends against no law, but only against custom, which yet a prudent man will not lightly do, when once it has obtained in general.”—p. 29.

* “ I think I still understand the *animus* of the Charge, now that I read it again at this distance of time,” p. 6.

We submit with regard to this passage, first, that it must not, in fairness, be taken by itself, but in connexion with the other parts of the Bishop of London's Charge; and, secondly, that it does not, in any way whatever, justify Mr. Bennett, or any other individual priest, in introducing into the service of the Church of England any ritual observances which are not authorized, either by the Rubric, by episcopal sanction, or by prescriptive custom. Bishop Fleetwood refers to ceremonies "*allowed in practice* in the Church, though not enjoined by the Rubric." He evidently alludes to such practices as turning to the east during the recital of the Creed, repeating "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," before the reading of the Gospel, and other observances of a similar nature, but his words give no sanction whatever to the notion, that any individual priest is at liberty to introduce any ceremonies at his own will and pleasure, which are *not* "*allowed in practice* in the Church."

But let us consider, in the next place, the charge of "inconsistency" which Mr. Bennett, by a comparison between the Charge of 1842 and that of 1850, brings against the bishop.

"It is a remarkable fact," he says, "that, in the Bishop's Charge of 1842, the 'Church of England' is never once called the 'Protestant Church,'—not once; we find a great variety of titles, such as 'our Church,' 'our own Church,' 'the Anglican Church,' 'the National Church,' 'our Dear Mother,' and the like, but not once the 'Protestant Church.' Yet *now* how different the strain. In the Charge of 1850 we are told of the 'Protestant Church,' and of the 'distinctive doctrines of Protestantism;' and in the same address, although in 1842 it was our privilege to adhere and be attached to the 'Catholic Church;' *now*, in 1850, we are told, that in making an attempt to approach the 'Catholic standard,' we mean the Church of Rome, just precisely abandoning the notion that any thing can be Catholic but Rome."—p. 163.

We confess that we are somewhat at a loss to know what Mr. Bennett really means here. If he means to charge it as a fault upon the Bishop of London that, in 1842, he endeavoured to bring out and develop the "Catholic" element of the English Church, whereas, in 1850, he endeavoured to bring out the "Protestant" element, we can only say, that we think no person, who really loves the Church of England, will blame him for so doing, considering how many priests of our communion, in their attempt to approach what they called the "Catholic standard," have actually gone over to the Church of Rome. But, if Mr. Bennett means to insinuate that there is any *real difference* between the principles of the two Charges; if he means to accuse the bishop of not "protesting" as strongly, in 1842, against the

errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, as he has done in 1850, we simply say that the accusation is utterly groundless. We will quote one of two passages in proof of this assertion.

"With respect," says the bishop, "to all attempts to give to the articles of religion a greater latitude of sense than the words, upon the face of them, will bear, and especially all endeavours to make them look towards the errors of the Church of Rome, when they are unquestionably, as to the points of difference between the two Churches, *neither more nor less than a solemn and emphatic protestation against those errors*, I will express my own opinion in the words of Bishop Jeremy Taylor." And again, "What real good is to be effected by any attempts to make our Reformed Church appear to symbolize with that from which she has been separated, in some of the very points which form the ground of that separation, *I am at a loss to imagine*. Desirable as is the unity of the Catholic Church, lamentable as have been in some directions the consequences of the interruption, earnestly as we ought to labour and pray for its restoration, *we can never consent to re-instate it, by embracing any one of the errors which we have renounced*."⁹

Once more :—

"Against such a Church we are bound continually to lift up the voice of solemn remonstrance; and, far from being ashamed of the name of Protestant¹, we ought to show, that a sincere and immovable attachment to the Catholic Church, in its constitution, discipline, authority, privileges, and offices, is perfectly compatible with, or rather is itself a practical act of protestation against the errors and corruptions of the Papal Church. And surely the duty of so protesting is not to be lost sight of, at a time when that Church is boldly reasserting its pretensions amongst us, and affecting to look for the speedy return of our own Reformed Church into its maternal bosom. Its errors are not less opposed to Gospel truth, and holiness now, than they were at the time of the Reformation. The doctrines and practices which rendered necessary our separation from that Church, are still retained by her unchanged, unmitigated, unqualified; nor are the differences between us, in essential matters, less at the present moment than they were in the times of Cranmer or of Jewel, of Taylor or of Bull. We are far from presuming to assert the absolute perfectness of our own Church, but it is not *in retracing any of the steps, by which she has receded from the Church of Rome, that she is to be made more perfect*; nor by attempting to remodel her upon the doctrine and discipline, not of the primitive Church, but of the Church of the fourth or fifth century, infected as it was with the remains of Gnostic superstition, and the inventions of enthusiastic or ambitious men."—p. 37.

⁹ Charge of 1842, p. 11.

¹ Mr. Bennett calls this, using the word Protestant "in an *apologetic strain*!"

We have thus then shown the real principles of the Bishop of London's celebrated Charge of 1842; and, also, how erroneously Mr. Bennett has represented those principles in his "Farewell Letter." Let us now see how *in practice*, according to his own showing, Mr. Bennett carried out the principles of the bishop's Charge. His very first act at St. Paul's was a practical disregard of his lordship's *wishes*, in introducing the choral service¹; he knowing, perfectly well, that the bishop greatly preferred the reading of the prayers to the practice of intoning them. Let it be understood that we are giving no opinion here, as to the abstract question, whether the prayers should be read or intoned? We are simply desirous of showing that Mr. Bennett was not so anxious, as he himself professes to have been, to comply with the bishop's wishes.

Again, there is nothing, as we have seen, to which the bishop more strongly objects in his Charge, than the practice of "praying for the dead." In 1849, Mr. Bennett issued "Suggestions for a Form of Prayer," in which he introduces a distinct prayer for the dead. The bishop remonstrates. In answer to this remonstrance, Mr. Bennett attempts to justify the practice in a very long letter. He afterwards abandoned it; but the mere fact of its introduction shows that he did *not* endeavour to carry out, as he says, *to the letter*, the principles of the bishop's Charge. Then came the erection of the church of St. Barnabas, wherein Mr. Bennett seemed determined to show how far he could carry out *his opposition* to the bishop's principles. The candles on the altar were lighted, which the bishop, in his Charge, *had expressly forbidden*, except in the time of evening service. The invocation of the Blessed Trinity was introduced before the sermon; the sign of the Cross was publicly made in various parts of the service; and divers other practices were introduced, altogether unsanctioned by the Church of England.

But we need not pursue this unhappy subject further; we will quote only one passage from the "Farewell Letter," and then leave our readers to judge for themselves, whether Mr. Bennett did, or did not, keep steadily in view, in his pastoral teaching, the principles laid down for his guidance in the bishop's Charge:—

"You will see," says Mr. Bennett, "that I constantly looked to this end: that I was aware some such end *must* sooner or later come. See how I considered and weighed it, in my letters to the bishop; *how I always foresaw that my holding the Catholic faith, and keeping Catholic practice, must inevitably lead me either to retire from my present charge, or to disobey my bishop.* It seemed even then almost necessary for a

¹ See Charge of 1842, p. 34.

priest, such as myself, who held a doctrine on so important a subject as prayer for the dead in opposition to his bishop, to cease from ministering in the same diocese."—p. 141.

Strange indeed it is, that the writer of the above can think it compatible with his own consistency, and with truth, to use in another part of his letter such language as this:—"But I did contend, because I simply thought it my duty—because I wished to obey the bishop's Charge of 1842!" (*sic*)—p. 25.

But we come now to the second of the personal accusations which Mr. Bennett has brought against the bishop, that of double dealing, in extorting information with respect to the practices at St. Barnabas from one of his curates. Let us see how the case stands. On the 1st of July the bishop writes to Mr. Bennett, that information had reached him respecting certain specified observances at St. Barnabas, requesting to know whether that information was, or was not, correct. One of these practices was the administration of the holy elements not into the hands of the communicants. Mr. Bennett suspects that the information on this point must have come from one of his curates, and it appeared, subsequently, that it did come from the Rev. C. C. Spencer, who had been for several years assisting Mr. Bennett at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and was then his senior curate. Mr. Bennett complains bitterly of the bishop for forcing information against him from Mr. Spencer, and also of "the concealment of the name of the informer, of the underhand way in which the information is elicited, forced, pressed, and then, being so pressed, the use of language by which the source of the information is made to appear merely general."—p. 77. Let us consider the case for a moment. We readily allow that, if the Bishop of London had, without any thing having previously occurred, sent for Mr. Spencer, or any other of Mr. Bennett's curates, and extorted from them information against Mr. Bennett, such a method of proceeding would have been quite unjustifiable. Such, however was not the method of proceeding here. Mr. Spencer *was desirous of resigning his curacy at St. Paul's*, and signified that desire to the Bishop of London. Now, let it be remembered, that, for several years, Mr. Spencer had been Mr. Bennett's confidential assistant. Mr. Bennett himself thus speaks of him:—"I believe him to have been a most conscientious and diligent curate. I never, on any one occasion, had the slightest difference of opinion with him on any rubrical or ritual observance."—p. 74. Surely, then, it was not unnatural; that the Bishop of London, finding that Mr. Spencer, from conscientious motives, could not continue his ministration at St. Paul's, should be desirous of ascertaining the reasons of his retirement. Considering what had

occurred with respect to the prayers for the dead, and other matters, it was perfectly reasonable that the bishop's suspicions should be excited, and that he should insist upon Mr. Spencer stating his reasons for retirement *in extenso*. Mr. Bennett thus speaks of Mr. Spencer in this respect:—"I believe he was merely, as a conscientious Protestant, frightened at the so-called 'innovations' of, as he thought, 'Popery,' and so had been desirous to be released from duties which had become to him irksome and painful."—p. 75. It is strange that Mr. Bennett did not perceive how completely these very remarkable words carry with them the condemnation of the writer. Surely, if he were introducing practices by which the conscience of his curate was so aggrieved that he could not continue his ministration at St. Paul's, it was high time, not simply that the bishop should know what those practices really were, but should at once call upon Mr. Bennett to explain or relinquish them. Surely if one, who for years had acted with Mr. Bennett without a word of complaint, could continue to act with him no longer, there was ample justification, not simply for the bishop's suspicions, but for his interference also. We think, therefore, that Mr. Spencer has been very hardly dealt with in this matter, in being held up to the world as "an informer;" and, secondly, that the bishop was bound, by his duty to the Church of England, to insist upon Mr. Spencer stating his reasons why he could not any longer continue to act as Mr. Bennett's curate.

And now our painful task is nearly ended. We have only to notice the accusation which Mr. Bennett brings against the bishop of a breach of confidence in the publication of the correspondence. We must, however, take the liberty of saying, that this accusation, whether well or ill-founded, comes with a very ill grace from Mr. Bennett. Whoever has read his celebrated letter to Lord John Russell, must recollect certain passages therein which are scarcely compatible with the charge which Mr. Bennett now brings against his diocesan. We do not blame Mr. Bennett for the introduction of those passages under the very peculiar circumstances of the case; but surely he ought to have considered that there might possibly be an equal necessity for the publication of the correspondence between himself and the Bishop of London. But we say, moreover, that there really was no breach of confidence whatever committed. What are the facts? On the 11th of December the bishop thus writes:—"I presume that you have no objection to the publication of your letter of Dec. 4, together with mine of Dec. 9. I think it necessary for my own justification that *mine* should be published, and but fair that yours should appear with it."—p. 119. How does Mr. Bennett reply

to this letter? From the way in which he has spoken of the matter, one would expect to find him saying, "I do object altogether to the publication of the correspondence. My letters were never intended for publication, but were simply of a private nature, and therefore I object altogether to their being published." He says nothing of the kind. He makes no sort of objection. He replies: "*I do not think that the publication of one or two letters will by any means be sufficient. It is my intention, for my own justification, to publish the whole of the correspondence.*" We submit, therefore, first, that the Bishop of London *was* bound, for his own justification, to publish the correspondence in question; *was* bound to show, as the correspondence did show most clearly, to all whose mental vision was not, like D. C. L.'s, dimmed by prejudice, that he did *not* sacrifice Mr. Bennett to popular clamour,—to show, as dates do show plainly and unmistakeably, that Mr. Bennett's resignation had been actually offered, *and virtually accepted by the bishop*, long before any thing whatever had been heard of the "Russell riots." Secondly, that, by his reply to the bishop's note, Mr. Bennett has precluded himself from bringing, with any fairness, the charge of "breach of confidence;" and, lastly, that, even if the bishop had been content to be silent, the whole of the correspondence would, in fact, have speedily found its way to the columns of Mr. Bennett's and D. C. L.'s peculiar organ, the "Morning Chronicle."

And now then let us see what are the positions we have established in this paper. We have proved, first, that Mr. Bennett forced his resignation upon the Bishop of London. Secondly, that Mr. Bennett's principles, as he has himself described them, are not in accordance with the spirit of the Church of England as a "reformed branch of the Church Catholic;" and, thirdly, that the accusations of a personal nature brought by Mr. Bennett against the bishop are altogether groundless and unfounded. If any think that we have borne hardly upon Mr. Bennett, we can simply, in all sincerity, deny the charge, alike in fact and in intention. It was open to Mr. Bennett to have adopted one of three courses. He might, for the sake of his own principles, have refused to yield to the bishop's admonitions. He might, from a principle of canonical obedience, have quietly withdrawn from his pastoral charge; or he might have said to the bishop, "I have endeavoured conscientiously to do what I considered to be my duty. I think that I have been justified in the course I have taken; but I cannot consent to separate myself from all that I hold most dear. For the sake, therefore, of the flock among whom I have laboured, for the sake of the spiritual welfare of my

parishioners, I am content to bow to your lordship's decision, and leave you to alter any thing in my practice which is not sanctioned by the letter, as well as by the spirit, of the rubrics of the Anglican Church." If Mr. Bennett had adopted the first course, we should have respected him, while we differed from him. If he had adopted the second, we should have thought foul scorn of the man who could have said one word to embitter the pain he *must* have felt at parting with his church and people. If he had taken the third course, we should have honoured him as one "above all Greek; above all Roman fame"—as one who had gained the greatest of all victories, the victory over himself—as one, content to make any sacrifice, short of the sacrifice of truth, for the sake of that "beautiful flock," which God had committed to his charge. Mr. Bennett has done none of these things. He has forced his resignation upon the Bishop of London, and then vilified him for accepting it. He has professed to carry out the bishop's principles, while, in effect, he has acted in diametrical opposition to them. He offers to resign his living because the bishop will not allow him to carry out certain practices. He subsequently, when too late, offers to abandon all those practices save one; and then, that offer not being accepted, he holds up those very practices as essential marks of the "catholicity" of the English communion. He professes to feel indignant at the imputation of "unfaithfulness" to the Church of England; and then, by way of showing his fidelity to his spiritual Mother, he holds her up to the scorn and derision of her enemies, "as a wreck—as a stranded, helpless, waterlogged wreck." Therefore do we say, that this is just one of the cases in which justice and mercy are incompatible with each other—that if, for the sake of any personal considerations, we had avoided the examination of this most unhappy "Farewell Letter," we should have been guilty of treason to the Church of England, as well as of gross ingratitude towards that eminent Prelate, who has heretofore done the Church such good service, and against whom Mr. Bennett has thought fit to bring a series of most unfounded accusations.

And let no one suppose, because we have thought it our duty to vindicate the Church of England and the Bishop of London, against Mr. Bennett and the party who have supported him, that therefore it is our wish to yield, in the slightest possible degree, to the "clamours of the mob;" to give the smallest possible encouragement to any *unfounded* charge of "Romanizing;" to use that cry for party purposes; or to promote the growth of the "Puritan" element within the Church of England. If we had thought that the real principles of our Church were, in the

smallest degree, endangered by the circumstances connected with Mr. Bennett's resignation, we should have been among the first to say so. But we do not believe any thing of the kind. It is very easy for D. C. L. to talk about the evils of undue "concession" to episcopal authority; to assert that "the sticklers for extra constitutional powers on the part of our bishops" have "themselves created the precedent by which they will be scourged"—(p. 41). This is a very good *ad captandum* argument, but it is not based upon truth. We are no "sticklers" for "extra constitutional powers" in the episcopate, but we do wish to see a little decent respect shown to the episcopal office; we do desire to see a little gratitude for past services shown by those who call themselves English Churchmen. We do say, that the clamour which has been raised against the Bishop of London, in reference to Mr. Bennett, is disgraceful to those who have raised it, not simply as they are men who profess to venerate episcopacy, but as they are men possessing one spark of gratitude for a series of long and eminent services to the Church of England. And the Bishop of London's is not, we are sorry to say, an isolated case. If there is one bishop of the English Church who might have expected forbearance and kindly feeling from all quarters, it is the Bishop of Ripon,—and yet see how that Prelate has been treated. Because he has done his duty to the Church of England, by endeavouring to prevent a more glaring violation, both of the letter and spirit, of the English Prayer Book, than even Mr. Bennett's, all his past services are at once forgotten, and he is looked upon as a destroyer of the "Catholicity" of the English Church equally with the Bishop of London.

"Of course," says Mr. Bennett, "it must be plain to you, that nothing now is left. I would fearlessly prophesy that Protestantism, as it is in the Anglican Church, never will embrace either the young, the enthusiastic, or the ignorant; and now that it has won its *spolia opima* at the gates of St. Barnabas, in the province of Canterbury, and at the gates of St. Saviour's, in the province of York, it must be content to see the advance of the Church of Rome in reality."—p. 185.

We venture to "prophesy," with equal "fearlessness," that no such result need be apprehended. We rely, for the prevention of such a result, under God, mainly upon two grand principles, deeply-seated, we firmly believe, in the hearts of the people of England. The one is an earnest determination never to submit to the arrogant and unfounded claims of the Bishop of Rome. The other is an equally earnest love for the Prayer Book of the English Church. While these two principles are dominant, we have no fears for the safety of our Church; and we submit, that recent events prove, to a demonstration, that they are dominant

now. It may suit D. C. L. to talk about those "wretched secessions to Rome,"—it may suit Mr. Bennett, and others like him, to talk about the "cold, naked, Protestantism" of England,—to insinuate that all the English people care for is "No Popery." In truth it is not so; but there is one thing for which they *do* care, and that is, common honesty of purpose—common straightforwardness. It is not the "wretched secessions" to Rome which have influenced the people, half so much as the miserably *dishonest* way in which those secessions have occurred. Their disgust has very far exceeded their alarm. If priests of the English Church had taken that course, which they themselves would consider the only honourable course in secular matters,—if they had gone to their respective bishops, and signified that, *their minds being unsettled, they must cease, for the present, at least, to officiate as English clergymen*—if any number of priests had taken this course, we should have respected them as *honest men*, while we deplored their falling away. But when we see such gross violations of good faith as we have seen lately, we cannot wonder at the indignation so loudly expressed. When we see men presiding at public meetings of Churchmen, met together for the express purpose of defending the Church of England, going over—for Lord Fielding, we presume, was not "driven," to the ranks of the enemy;—when we see clergymen writing to the Bishop of London, in terms of unusual familiarity; then, knowing their diocesan's peculiar position, deliberately publishing the correspondence; and, *within three weeks*, joining the Church of Rome;—when, again, we see others, as members of a society formed for the defence of the English Church, moving resolutions of sympathy with Mr. Bennett, as English Churchmen, and, shortly after, joining the ranks of that body which looks upon English Churchmen as heretics and schismatics;—when, lastly, we see addresses from, so-called, English Churchmen, complaining, forsooth, of the manner in which the Papal Aggression has been met, *but saying not one word in condemnation of the barefaced hypocrisy and treachery of many of those who have recently forsaken the Anglican Church*;—can we possibly wonder, after all this, at the disgust and the indignation of every man of common honesty—of every man who has about him a single grain of genuine English principle? Can we wonder that suspicions should be raised against innocent men; against men who have not the smallest approximation to a "Romanizing"³ tendency; against men who

³ In applying the term "Romanizing," we desire to be understood as using the word, *by way of censure*, with a limited application. We firmly believe that the *principles*, say of Mr. Baker, and the author of the "Appeal to Rome," have alike, though not equally, a "Romanizing" tendency in their results fully worked out—

would scorn to "palter in a double sense;" would scorn to profess to be members of one communion, while in heart and affections they belonged to that the most opposed to it? We say, confidently, that these "wretched secessions" to Rome, are the *real* impediments to the full development of the Catholic principles of the Church of England; and not the "naked Protestantism" which Mr. Bennett so feelingly deplors. Once satisfy the people of England that, so long as Rome remains unchanged, they need have no fear of our going over to Rome—once take the ground, *in opposition to Rome*, which the "divines of the seventeenth century" took—not for the purposes of party—not in a rancorous and unchristian spirit—but as a matter of truth and duty—in defence of the doctrine and discipline of that Church of which we are sworn servants—and sure we are that the plain sound sense, the honest English feeling of the people will cause them to respect us, to sympathize with our endeavours to obey the law of the Church of England. They will feel then that *we can be trusted*; that we really mean what we say; that we love the Church of England for her own sake; that while, on the one hand, we will never consent to abandon one jot or one tittle of Catholic truth, we never will, by God's grace, connive at one particle of Romish error. It may be, nay we much fear it will be, that we shall have to deplore further losses, and perhaps a more widely-spread secession. There is a spirit abroad, at the present day, in a section of the English Church, a spirit of restlessness and disaffection, which, we much fear, will lead yet more to the Church of Rome. But we believe, moreover, and herein lies our greatest hope, we believe that there are thousands of good men and true, on whom the Church of England may count as "faithful unto death"—who, "come what come may," will never "leave her nor forsake" her—who will fight her battles, not simply because their lot is cast within her fold by Providence; not simply because she is "the Church of their baptism;" but because they believe her to be, with all her shortcomings, and all her deficiencies, the purest, the most Scriptural, the most Catholic branch, of the mystical body of CHRIST, now in existence—because they conscientiously believe that, if the DIVINE HEAD OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, we say it with all reverence, were now upon earth—in the Church of England, in preference to any other, would He take delight, as, more than any other, em-

but then there is this difference—the one is an honest man, desiring to bring about Catholic Unity by an assimilation of the two Communions, and is, as we think, sending men to Rome unwittingly. The other is a dishonest man, at heart a Romanist, by name and profession an English Churchman. The one is entitled to respect, while we differ from him; the other is entitled to nothing but scorn and abhorrence.

bodily in her system those great fundamental truths which He descended from Heaven to reveal to mankind. And it is because of this firm conviction ;—because we venerate our Spiritual Mother for her purity of doctrine, for her Apostolic descent, for her respect for Catholic truth ;—because we believe the great body of the “large party” are true to her real principles, disliking the pseudo-church principles of D. C. L. and Mr. Bennett, equally with those of Latitudinarians and Puritans—because, moreover, we believe that the great mass of the English people are true to her also—therefore do we speak so confidently with respect to the future. We repeat that we have no fears for the ultimate safety of the Church of England. Of her may we use the beautiful language of the poet :—

“ — non hyemes ILLAM, non flabra, neque imbres
 Convellunt : immota manet, multosque per annos
 Multa virum volvens durando sæcula vincit.
 Tum fortes latè ramos et brachia tendens
 Huc illuc, media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.”

Virgil, Georgics, ii. 293.

We know, indeed, full well the difficulties by which she is beset ; we know full well that mighty engines are at work against her. On the one hand, Romish insolence and Papal usurpation ; on the other, State aggression and sectarian bigotry ; are directing against her their strongest efforts : while, within her own pale, on this side D. C. L., and they who think with him, are endeavouring to rend asunder the links by which she is connected with the State ; on that, the Puritan faction are moving heaven and earth to blot out of her Prayer Book the enunciation of all those grand Catholic verities by which she is identified with the Primitive Church in its best and purest ages. Still have we no fear for the result, because we are convinced that the great bulk, alike of her clergy and her people, fraternise with neither of the extremes to which we have alluded. They are not prepared to surrender up the liberties of the English Church to the tender mercies of Lord John Russell and Dr. Cumming. They are equally unprepared to adopt the ultramontane theories, so to speak, of D. C. L. and Mr. Bennett. They will not recognise the supremacy of a Prime Minister, who, by his own conduct, sets at defiance the constitution and laws of the Church ; they are content, and thankful to recognise the supremacy of the Sovereign, so far as that supremacy is defined in our Canons, Articles, and Formularies. They are not prepared to rest satisfied with the existing condition of the relations between the Church and the State. They have no wish to dissolve those relations altogether, but simply to put them on a

proper footing. We say that recent events amply justify the view we have taken. There can be no mistake as to one point, that the people of England have no sympathy either with Romanists or with Romanizers. There is as little doubt either that they will not allow a finger to be laid upon that which, next to the Word of God, they value more highly than ought besides, the Anglican Prayer Book. Every one remembers the rumours that were current on this point just before the meeting of Parliament. But it has been discovered that, much as the people of England abhor Romish error, they equally love Catholic truth—that they will not allow any tampering with our time-hallowed Liturgy. Therefore do we say, that our prospects for the future are hopeful and cheering.

And let no one suppose, lastly, that in any thing we have said with respect to Mr. Bennett, we have any wish to discourage the widely-spread desire of giving increased solemnity to our Church ritual by the adoption of all the aids and appliances of “architecture and music and painting, and all other such handmaids of Christian worship.” In truth, we have no such wish. On the contrary, we would employ *every* means which, as English Churchmen, we may consistently employ, to raise and cultivate a spirit of devotion amongst our people. We would have our churches built after the most beautiful models. We would have the ceremonial of our churches regulated with all that attention to decent splendour and sober pomp which characterized primitive worship; but then we must keep in view two principles, in subordination to which every thing should be done. The one is, that we regard these aids and appliances as means, and not as ends—that we beware of cultivating æstheticism to such a height that it degenerates into what we venture to call ecclesiastical foppishness;—the other, that we do all things in obedience to the letter, so far as circumstances will allow, and, in all cases, to the spirit, of the English Prayer Book. We must not indulge our individual fancies by the introduction of observances which our own Church has not sanctioned; which, harmless, it may be, and even beautiful, in themselves, are yet forbidden to us, partly because they are not authorized, partly because of the peculiar position in which we are placed, not from our own act or our own wish, but through the conduct of that rival Church by which they are employed habitually. We *must* have regard to the circumstances of our times, to the position in which we are placed. We *must*, if we do our duty as English Churchmen, beware of introducing any practices which are not sanctioned by

* Farewell Letter, p. 224.

our Prayer Book, by episcopal authority, or by prescriptive custom. We *must* take care that we give our people no *real* occasion to ask us, "Art thou for us or for our adversaries?" And let us not fear that, by adopting such a course as this, we "rend asunder the body of CHRIST," by refusing to conform to Catholic usage. In carrying out the principles of the Church of England, in inculcating her doctrines, and in obeying her discipline, we do, in fact, conform to a Catholicity of the best and the purest kind. If the mediæval and modern Church of Rome has chosen to overlay that Catholicity by a series of doctrinal and ritual innovations, they, and not we, are responsible for the violation of Christian fellowship and brotherly concord. Let us not, above all, repine, in a spirit of querulous lamentation, at the supposed deficiencies of our Church, while we forget the real blessings which she affords to all her faithful children. Let us rather do all we can in "quietness and confidence," in faith and patience, to "lengthen her cords and to strengthen her stakes."

"If," to use, in conclusion, the language of one who has engaged much of our attention in this paper, language, we regret to say, as necessary in 1851 as in 1842,—

"If, instead of such lamentations, alarming our people, and unsettling the minds of our younger brethren in the ministry, we would admonish, comfort, and encourage one another, to be faithful to our dear Mother; and use, in the spirit of diligence and love, all the means and appliances of good which she places in our hands; setting ourselves, as a united band of Christian soldiers, with composed and stedfast resolution, to resist the inroads of Popery on the one hand, and of irregular enthusiasm on the other; if we had but grace to realize, in our own lives and persons, the plain precepts and directions which she has given for our guidance, recommending them, by our example, to the consciences and affections of all men, we should discover that there is much less need of alteration than is supposed; and at all events, we should know, for a certainty, in what direction that alteration should be attempted¹."

¹ Charge of 1842, p. 38.

ART. VII.—1. *Parochial Work.* By the Rev. E. MONRO, M.A.,
Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex. Oxford and London:
Parker. 1850.

2. *The Working Classes; their Moral, Social, and Intellectual Condition; with practical suggestions for their Improvement.*
By G. SIMMONS, Civil Engineer. London: Partridge and
Oakey. 1849.

WHEN, engaged in the controversy with Rome or with other alien powers, we contemplate our Church's theory and ideal, the purity of her faith, the certainty and the Catholicity of those doctrines she insists upon, the beauty of her liturgy, the high tone of moral truthfulness which is her especial characteristic; and when we contrast all these with the false glare and vulgar splendour, the unhappily gross superstition, the sad practical idolatry, the painful recklessness with regard to truth and fact, of the largest of foreign communions,—we certainly feel justified in claiming a high station for our Spiritual Mother amongst the existing Churches of Christendom. Her special excellencies are many and undeniable: her charitable and Catholic spirit, her wise temperance and moderation, her gentleness and truthfulness, her high sense of honour, all endear her to our hearts; we cannot but feel that she has succeeded, on the whole, in impregnating the educated classes subjected to her influence with at least the first principles of Christianity, and further, in breathing a high tone of morality, and, we may add, a general spirit of orthodoxy, into our national literature. Mighty champions has she sent forth to combat infidelity—nay, to subdue it: thanks to her exertions the mind of the country is orthodox in the main to this day,—that is, it acknowledges the general truth of Revelation, in contradistinction to the public opinion of the educated in other countries, as represented by their press, and in all the principal branches of literature.

Now, all this, of course, constitutes a very strong claim on our reverence and regard; and that reverence and regard it is accordingly our delight to tender: but there is another side to this flattering picture, and it is to that side, as we opine, that we ought specially to direct our attention. When employed in rebutting the sarcasms of a Newman, or repelling the calumnies of a Ward,

a recapitulation of our Church's excellencies may surely be permitted to her sons; but when this duty of self-defence is fairly discharged, and that mainly for the sake of weak or wavering brethren whose faith might need to be confirmed, it becomes Churchmen to look their own deficiencies fairly in the face: first, if they can, to ascertain them accurately; and then also to suggest, if possible, some practical remedy or remedies.

Now, we do think, that a little honest observation and candid reflection must lay bare to Churchmen's eyes certain leading defects in our present system of operations, which too sadly counterbalance our peculiar excellencies, and which seem to prove that we have almost or quite as much to learn from others as they may gain from us; that there is a very great work to be wrought; and that, if it be not set about quickly, it may probably never be discharged at all. For the time has surely gone by, if it ever existed, for mere paper-theories or ecclesiastical conventionalism: as a Church and a nation, this seems, in our judgment at least, the very crisis of our destiny. To state the actual difficulty in few words,—we have yet very much to do—to gain the hearts and to awaken the consciences of the poor.

The practical unreality which too often prevails amongst us, the coldness and formality and yet the absence of system, the want of due sympathy betwixt clergy and laity, the state of spiritual lethargy into which our working classes to a great extent have fallen, the sad hollowness and worldliness;—but we seem to be waxing harsh and bitter, and this we assuredly wish not to be; feeling and mourning over our own infirmities, it is our duty surely to be charitable even to those brethren whom we blame, whom we still love and for whom we pray: so let us simply record that it seems to be confessed on all hands, that our practical deficiencies are very great; that our hold is too weak, either on the intellectual perceptions, or on the hearts and consciences of our people; and that, instead of indulging in mutual reproaches for the past, our best course will now be to develop, if possible, such practices and such a discipline, for the future,—as may yet *restore* the spirit of devotion to the hearts of the community.

The sad state of great masses of our population has now engaged the attention of earnest thinkers for some time past. A passing word of reference may be permitted us here to the most valuable labours of that noble-hearted man, Mr. Mayhew, in this direction, which can scarcely be acknowledged with sufficient warmth of eulogy. Both of the remarkable works now lying before us, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article, supply us with very alarming statistics in connexion with

the condition of the poor; especially the second of them, by Mr. Simmons. We do not purpose, however, to devote very much of our time or space to "a twice-told tale" on this occasion. We are entitled, unfortunately, to assume this awful fact, that masses of heathen darkness and corruption do exist in all directions around us, which must be broken up and pervaded with Christian light, if this country is to be saved from imminent danger of destruction. But more than this; it is also too true, that those of our poor who *are* brought, in a measure, under the influence of our parish clergy, are often deficient (we fear this must be confessed) both in moral conscientiousness, and in the spirit of devotion; and thus, it is only too evident, that some far-searching remedy needs to be applied.

Mr. Monro, whom we are happy to congratulate on the success of many of his labours, and whose recent volume of sermons on "the Ministry," has at once arrested our attention by its far-searching boldness, and has thrilled our conscience with alarm; in the very admirable work before us (admirable for its earnest Christian spirit and practical wisdom, though we cannot concur with it on all points), draws, upon the whole, a very melancholy picture of the state of the English poor; mainly, we may observe, with reference to the agricultural districts, with which he should appear to be best acquainted. He represents them as generally lethargic, slow of comprehension, and even dull of heart, almost totally destitute of doctrinal knowledge, and devoid of all self-consciousness, *i. e.* knowledge, whether of their own faults, or of their virtues; but, on the other hand, endowed, in many instances, with a strong moral sense, partly by nature, partly by baptismal grace, and also possessed of a good deal of honourable purity of will, and sometimes of no little self-devotion.

Mr. Simmons, in his very curious work, gives a still more unfavourable account of the poor in our towns and cities, of their habits of life, and their moral and religious, or rather immoral and irreligious practices; and despite his own strange, and, we must add, often mischievous notions (an odd compound or medley of Penny-Cyclopædia-wisdom, Bright and Cobden radicalism, and Bible-Protestantism), his work well deserves to be studied for its general accuracy and honesty of purpose, as well as for sundry by no means despicable suggestions, respecting the best means of interesting and exciting the sympathies of the working classes, by promoting lawful amusements, founding a steady, popular and Christian literature, &c. &c. Such, however, is scarcely our present theme: suffice it here to verify the fact, that Mr. Simmons pronounces, if possible, a severer judgment, from his point of view, than even that of Mr. Monro.

Our own limited experience has led us to the conclusion, that the hearts and minds of the male adult population pertaining to the working classes, in our towns and cities, are, to a great extent, hostile both to our Church and to our clergy, and indifferent to religion altogether. Of course there are many exceptions, God be praised for it ! but we do believe the following to be only too accurate a description of this class in the main.

“ Next come the general labourers. These are a very large body of men, and are they who have no trade, very few having been apprenticed to any, or, if so, they have left, ere it was half completed. Their families frequently consist of several children, who ramble in the courts and streets in dry weather, the eldest girl taking charge of the little one, while others, perchance, go to school: the boy waits upon the father with his dinner, and, at the age of eleven or twelve, has to get his living as a shop-boy, or in some such menial office. *The large majority of this class scarcely ever acknowledge a Superior Being* (save when some missionary or friend to religion visits them), *rising up in the morning, and lying down at night, in forgetfulness of the God who made them.*”—*Simmons's Working Classes*, p. 6.

The mere record of such a fact as this, and assuredly a fact it is, should make us tremble. Mr. Simmons goes on to describe the general habits of improvidence of the poor, their carelessness and wastefulness, their total lack of moral discipline, their indulgence of angry tempers and frightful passions in the quarrels between husbands and wives, and also between neighbours, arising, we may observe, in many instances, from the altercations of children, in the first place;—their habitual use of the most violent, and, indeed, horrible expressions, a seemingly growing evil, quite independent of their practice of cursing and swearing on all occasions; their usual liability to the sin of drunkenness; their debased condition, in fine, in almost every respect. Rarely, alas ! *we* can bear witness, do the men of the working classes in our towns and cities find their way to our churches; nor do they frequent dissenting chapels, ordinarily speaking; they *lounge away* the Lord's Day, spending part of it in their beds, part, perhaps, at the public-house, or, yet more often, at the corners of the streets, and sometimes, as Mr. Simmons remarks, at the tea-totallers' meeting, which in its way usually does them much harm, cultivating their pride, and other evil instincts, and teaching them to despise those amongst the clergy who will not fall in with their peculiar views. Mr. Monro's view of the existing state of things is thus forcibly expressed; he says,

“ To do more than sketch the evil which exists to be remedied would exceed our present space. It is the alarming and astounding

fact, of millions of baptized Christians living in cities and villages around us, either in utter ignorance of the religion they profess, or the victims of a deep-rooted and withering infidelity. By the side of the splendid palaces of luxury and ease in the metropolis and other large cities, and within a stone's throw of their doors, are alleys and darkened streets, where, in garrets and cellars, whole families are grouped in squalid poverty, filth, and disease; and, what is far worse, in a state of ignorance of their awful responsibilities and future destinies, which would appal a Hindoo."—pp. 5, 6.

Further on, he speaks of gin-palaces and gambling-houses outnumbering churches; and of the former pouring forth floods of light, whilst the latter stand dark and silent against the starry sky. He tells us also, that Socialist schools are opening in all directions, and that the work of evil is rapidly progressing; and then also he maintains (p. 18), "We feel with too much truth, that comparatively few, even of our respectable poor, really pray,—the weightiest matter this, we think, of all." He adds, that the evening devotion of most poor men, if any, consists of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed used ignorantly as a prayer, the well-known invocation,—

" Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
Bless the bed which I lie on,"

and intercessions, learnt in childhood, and repeated still mechanically for fathers and mothers, and others now departed. Thus Mr. Monro affirms, strangely enough, that "half of the devotions of our English poor consist of prayers to the saints, or intercessions for the dead;" which are all, he maintains, matters of mere form, to which no meaning whatever is attached. He then proceeds to dwell upon the sad misapprehension prevalent as to the nature of the Eucharist, which treats it rather as a seal of holiness than as a means of grace; an undeniable fact this, which no English clergyman, we presume, would offer to contest. And then he goes on to assert (with too much truth, we fear,) the absence of definite notions as to the effects of Holy Baptism. As far as our own experience is concerned, however, we are not disposed to admit that the poor generally consider Baptism to be little more than registration; we should rather say, that they retain an undefined notion that it secured the salvation of their children; and certain it is, that in case of sickness they are always most anxious to have them baptized,—that is, the mothers are. It may be contended, that this merely arises from their anxiety to secure Christian burial for their children; but we confess we do not think so. Mr. Monro, who appears to lay great stress on the efficacy of sponsorship, (greater, we own, than *we*

are inclined to lay, at least amongst the working classes, where we believe this institution to be practically but of little value, and, in fact, one of our greatest existing unrealities,)—Mr. Monro, we say, apparently suspects the poor of evil motives in desiring the private baptisms of their children; but we see not what evil motives they can be supposed to entertain in this matter. They are naturally glad to escape from the task of finding sponsors, who expect to be treated with tea and cake on the occasion, and consider they have conferred a great obligation, though they afterwards have nothing to do with their godchildren, and would, indeed, be thought impertinent if they ever presumed to interfere. Now, private baptism is confessedly as efficacious as public; the use of water and the ordained blessing secure the validity and grace of the Sacrament. For our own part, knowing as we do how often baptism is neglected *altogether*, at least in large towns, by parents and children; we should not be over-backward in complying with the request of mothers to baptize their children privately, where there was any appearance of danger; always enjoining them, of course, to bring them subsequently to the Church; and we cannot but think that Mr. Monro would act both wisely and charitably in adopting the same course of action, at least if he resided in a large town or city. In the country, it is obvious that the clergyman has generally more thorough cognizance of his parishioners, and more direct influence over them, so as to be almost certain to secure the child's public baptism if he wills it, in some way or other. But, we repeat, even where religion was at a low ebb, we have still witnessed some apparently lingering reverence for Holy Baptism; we have heard mothers express great distress of mind when they thought their children in danger of dying unbaptized through their neglect, and declare that they had passed nights without sleeping in consequence: this is, therefore, we should say, one of the few lingering remnants of sacramental faith still left among our people.

But to resume, Mr. Monro further affirms, that there is a dread ignorance of the true nature of sin, even amongst the more respectable of the labouring classes; and that more especially with reference to the sin of fornication. And to the truth of this assertion our own experience, as far as it goes, compels us to bear witness. As undoubted, we should say, is that general disregard of truth which constrains us to receive the statements of the poor, too often at least, with distrust and incredulity. Their irreverence, we fear, is too patent to need insisting on. Their ignorance of religious doctrine, too, is assuredly most lamentable. We are scarcely prepared to affirm, with Mr. Monro (pp. 24, 25),

that even "among adults," who "have the appearance of being religious and devotional," many will be found who "will be utterly unable to mention on what their hope of pardon is founded;" because, we believe, that they have a very positive notion, at least thus far, that CHRIST has died for sinners, and that therefore sinners will be saved if they believe in Him, however late they turn to Him, even on their death-beds. Mr. Monro, indeed, admits, in effect, as much as this, though he seems to question it. But what, we may ask, is this, when separated from any work of the Holy Spirit, from any attempt to love and serve the Saviour?

But, after all, we are doing what we said we would *not* do: we are dwelling on the disease, which is admitted on all sides, instead of endeavouring to suggest a remedy, or rather some remedies for this disorder; for surely there must be many, and of various kinds. Mr. Monro's great practical recipe is *Personal Directions*, properly guarded and understood: he says,—

"Public ministrations and general preaching alone can never do the work. They are as little calculated to meet the case of the individuals they attempt to affect in the mass, as the thousands of a passing day are cognizable by the historian. The historian is not a biographer, and the minister in his general ministration cannot be the adviser of particular souls. The moment these thinking and yearning spirits become aware of a sympathy which recognises and feels for them, they will be attracted to it as needles to a magnet; and, once led to open their minds, clouds of darkness would pass away, and the character become relieved of a burden, which had dwarfed, stunted and withered it. Men do not wish to be as they are. They have no natural hostility to the Church or her clergy: they simply do not adhere to them, because other bodies and other men have offered them that sympathy which their natures rightly yearn for. These remarks belong as much to the population of the agricultural district as to that of the crowded city-parish."—p. 51.

Now we agree with Mr. Monro that one of our chief wants is spiritual intercourse betwixt pastors and people; and we also agree with him that this should be carried on by the means of personal interviews, for the express purpose of seeking and affording spiritual guidance and consolation; but we desire it to be understood, that we are by no means advocating the use of the Confessional, as advisable. Indeed, we do not conceive Mr. Monro to do this either: we believe, judging from the plain facts before us, that such an use is fraught with dangers; that it would be injurious to the best points in our national character, and would operate upon the whole largely for evil. It seems probable, we say, that Mr. Monro's views coincide upon

this subject with our own, though he has not definitely expressed his whole idea: he wishes the clergy, however, to set apart certain evenings, from six to nine o'clock, for the purpose of direct personal intercourse with their people, whom they could receive, according to his view, apparently, either in their studies or their vestries; not, as we understand, for a technical confession, but rather for the resolution of doubts and scruples, the confirmation in good, and the yielding of practical advice, and also the use of united prayer from priest and penitent against that special form of temptation to which the latter feels himself peculiarly subject.

But now let us proceed to inquire whether this is practically possible. *Can or will the poor be induced to come to such interviews?* Not generally, as we believe, without the adoption of some preparatory discipline, tending to awaken a religious feeling in the first instance, and to alarm the conscience. We cannot believe that the poor can be expected to come formally to the house of the clergyman, for the avowed purpose of seeking spiritual counsel at certain hours, and nothing else—at least not in the great majority of instances: but we do believe that the way might possibly be paved for the eventual adoption of such spiritual intercourse; and that, as it seems to us, after this fashion. Of course what follows must be merely suggestive; thrown out mainly for consideration; we, who write even, cannot consider ourselves positively bound to what we may suggest on this most difficult subject, and still less could we attempt to lay down any definite system on the authority of this periodical. Such, however, happen to be the notions which have occurred to us.

First, then, we imagine, that to attain the wished-for end, our churches might not only be opened twice a-day, or thrice, or even four times; but that rather, *they might be kept open throughout the day*; and, what is of equal moment, that worshippers might be positively induced to attend for their private devotions.

Now, we do not conceive this practice to be at all impossible of execution, at least in towns, if it were set about in the right way. Perhaps some readers may be inclined to doubt the propriety of such a custom altogether, remembering the injunction, "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet!" But, surely, in the first place, this was not intended for an absolute command, but rather as a warning against ostentation; and, then, let it be remembered that our Lord Himself prayed daily in the temple—and also that His Apostles did so after His ascension: and then, let it be considered, if this consideration be needful, (which it scarcely can be,) that the poor man, in the vast majority of instances, has no "closet," no place whereunto to retire, there

to collect his thoughts, examine his conscience, and humble himself before his God, *unless* the church be opened to him.

But assuming the lawfulness and advisability of this practice, how might it be carried into execution? First, churches might be kept open throughout the day, from that hour in the morning when the poor go forth, or, rather, from half an hour previous, to somewhere about nine o'clock at night; and further, such expedients might be adopted as would be calculated to bring home to the minds of people the conviction, that they were *expected* to come there, and pray: for otherwise, constitutional backwardness and bashfulness, not to speak of lower hindrances, would keep away all but a very small number. This end might be prosecuted, partly by speaking on the subject, partly by circulating special forms of prayer in parishes, short and devotional, to be put to such uses; but, perhaps, still more effectively by affixing such "forms" to various kneeling-boards in the church; (all which kneeling-boards should be rendered comfortable, and, as it were, inviting :) especially desirable would be forms of self-examination, which should leave much for the penitent to do himself; (all of us ought to be "penitents:") also skeleton-forms of prayer, so to speak, in which the filling up should be left to him or her who prays.

We confess that the mere saying of the Church's Common Prayer, morning and evening, though in the highest degree desirable, does seem to us, upon the whole, of less practical importance than the organization of an effective practice of private prayer, both for ourselves and others, and also of private self-examination. This is, we must think, the one point in which the aspect of our religious life is most lamentably defective; and until we can manage to surmount this difficulty, we fear that we shall not be able to succeed in Christianizing our heathen masses, or in bringing those who are already orthodox in intention, under a sound system of discipline.

To our apprehension, we might almost venture to say, that there is something rather formal in the mere opening our churches regularly twice a day for half an hour each time, in order to say so many set prayers together, and then at once departing, as if God were no longer present there. Undoubtedly there is a great blessing in Common Prayer, and it is the special prerogative of our dear Church to possess this, almost or quite in its perfection: never may she forfeit that divine heritage! But, we must ask, does not a faithful Christian enjoy the communion of saints in his own chamber also? Does he pray there alone? Most assuredly he does not. He prays with the whole Church Catholic, in heaven and on earth. And this communion, we maintain, should

be and would be especially realized in private prayer, and sacred meditations, and self-examination, within our churches; many, whose thoughts would be distracted elsewhere, would be comparatively serious and collected there; there, "where the Lord's honour dwelleth," it surely must *become* us more especially to open our hearts to God, and to breathe out all those *individual* complaints and entreaties for which we can find less scope at least in the public service of the Church.

The yoke of our present system seems to us, as a fact, to weigh most heavily upon our poor. To them our Common Prayer—being, for the most part, unconnected with those due private devotions which should prepare them for it—becomes, too frequently at least, a form of words,—as it were, a certain amount of work to be gone through, and little more. Of course there are many exceptions in this case also, God be thanked for it! Where there is little intellectual appreciation, there is sometimes much honest intention and devotional feeling, and there, we doubt not, a blessing is always reaped; but we do fear that masses of our population do not rightly appreciate our services.

The Roman Church, we may remark, has almost forfeited the privilege of common worship; she teaches her clergy to mutter at least five-sixths of her services in a foreign tongue, and an almost inaudible tone of voice, whilst her worshippers are left, for the more part, to follow their own devices, and ask for whatever may seem good in their own eyes, uniting only at moments in certain acts of faith and adoration. Her ideal of common worship seems to be variety in unity; each for himself, not to speak it irreverently, and the priest for all. Now this end is, of course, far easier of attainment than that very high ideal at which our own Spiritual Mother aims, of making the whole congregation, priest and people, "one heart and one voice." We fully admit, and strongly assert, our theoretical and abstract superiority in this respect, and are most anxious to maintain it undisturbed; but we do not believe that it can become a living reality, as far as the masses are concerned, until these latter have been first taught to pray privately, and from their hearts, for themselves; and this habit would be promoted by prayer within our churches. For the mere entering a church, with a religious purpose, when no service is going on, must have the effect of bringing home to all minds the *reality* of prayer. There, more immediately in His presence, who would dare to trifle? who would not feel that he must not mock God by a sham? Such an one would know that if he does not pray *then*, there would be no one to pray for him; that this is no mere prescriptive form, in which he may join outwardly for decency's sake, without thinking much about the

matter. If he comes there to pray at all, he will surely pray indeed. We do not believe that we can teach people, ordinarily speaking, the true spirit of prayer for the first time, by making them kneel down, and join in words together. Surely such collective prayer is the highest form of Christian worship. And yet—such is the strangeness of our practice—we seem to begin with it, in our churches and in our schools also, where little or no inquiry is made as to private prayer; but children are made formally to join in gabbling, we can scarcely call it saying, the public confession, as fast as they can speak. It does seem desirable to us that the poor man should understand *this*,—that he is not *always* necessitated to join in the highest act of Christian worship, and that for half an hour together (an act for which he may not be *then* intellectually or spiritually prepared), every time he ventures to enter the house of God. To insist on this seems to us almost to necessitate formalism; yet such is our present, almost invariable, practice. We should suggest, then, to the clergy, Open your churches. First, of course, tell your people plainly for what purpose you do so: venture also to tell them that they are not actually obliged, not morally necessitated, to come to morning and evening prayers every day; though, of course, such attendance, where possible, is most expedient; and that even without this they would be justified in entering God's house for a little quiet reflection or secret prayer at any time. But be able to inform them also, if you wish them to act on your suggestion, that they will find simple forms of prayer placed about the church to assist them in such devotions; and, further, encourage them to come by the examples of your own family and those over whom you may possess immediate influence.

It would then remain, that at fixed hours, and more especially, as Mr. Monro suggests, on certain evenings, the clergyman should be known to be in his vestry, and ready to receive all who there came to him for advice and consolation.

And now, *once there*, how should they be dealt with? This is, of course, a most solemn, a most difficult question. Once more, then, we remind our readers, that we desire to speak humbly in this matter, and suggest rather than affirm; yet we must record our opinion, that such applicants should rather be received as friends than penitents; rather as seekers of spiritual advice and consolation than as candidates for the confessional. For what we would wish to see developed, is a general habit of free spiritual intercourse betwixt clergy and people; and we cannot but think, that any attempt to introduce the forms and practices or the spirit of the confessional, would indefinitely retard this wished-for end, and otherwise work much mischief. The English people

have a just horror, in our opinion, of the ordinary and technical use of confession. We admit its lawfulness, and even expediency, in extraordinary cases, but we are not dealing with these. We wish to awaken the consciences of the English poor; to teach them to think and feel for themselves: we see not how this end is to be attained by compelling them at once to repeat the whole catalogue of their past sins to a fellow-mortal, with the view of obtaining that pardon at his hands which it is admitted *can* be obtained elsewhere,—which, as we believe, in common with all our Church's greatest lights, is just as truly conveyed to the faithful recipient by the Church's public absolution; the main difference between the public and private act being, that the latter enables the penitent more easily to apply it to himself, assists, and in a measure inspires, his faith. But without questioning the efficacy of either private confession or private absolution as a spiritual discipline in case of need, long before men come to think of this, they must be taught to know what sin is, and to pray against it. Our English poor, as we have already observed, are peculiarly deficient in self-consciousness; it is this, then, that we are so anxious to see instilled into them; they have many admirable instincts: we agree with Mr. Monro, that their moral constitution by nature is far superior to that of most of their continental brethren: they have generally an innate sense of right and of fairness; they are averse to any thing unmanly or inhuman; the sight of blood generally pacifies instead of exciting them; they have a great undefined respect for law, and all lawful authority; sometimes they have even much devotional feeling, only it is ill-directed, and unaccompanied by clear doctrinal views; much reverence for God's Word, much affecting simplicity of thought and action; but for all this they are sadly ignorant, and for the most part sadly lethargic in spiritual matters; they need every way to be individually aroused and awakened.

Well, then, now let us fancy a poor man to have found his way into the clergyman's vestry, under the circumstances above suggested. What would be his state of mind? would he not probably suffer from a general undefined sense of sin? would he not be likely to be, as it were, paralysed by a conviction of moral helplessness; a feeling, which if it were not assisted and relieved, would render his repentance, at the best, only a kind of blind "feeling after God?" Now here it seems to us, that he would need most to be spoken to encouragingly and lovingly, to be exhorted to definite daily self-examination, and provided with a few plain rules for that purpose; to be recommended also to express meditation upon such truths as the wonderful love of CHRIST,—His boundless condescension,—His death upon the

cross,—and finally to be prayed with briefly but earnestly, with peculiar reference to his chief temptations, in his stammering allusions to which he should be more than met half way, and treated, as we have said, usually speaking, more as a friend than as a penitent.

We have dealt with this most important subject very cursorily and imperfectly, and we are fully aware of the difficulties which surround it; but still we trust that we have succeeded in showing that there need be nothing formal or Romish in the spiritual intercourse we have suggested.

And now to advance to another very important consideration. It is obvious that much of the time of the clergy must be occupied by the adoption of such a discipline as this; yet not so much perhaps as might at first sight be anticipated: it is astonishing what can be achieved by order and regularity. We are of opinion, then, that it might become expedient to set apart four weeks in the year for the more especial practice of this discipline previous to the chief communions; and we venture to suggest that, possibly, in addition, the Saturday evening of the clergyman might be thus employed. This, we opine, in villages at least, would prove, ordinarily speaking, sufficient. In large churches in towns, likely to be more especially frequented, clergy might relieve one another.

The first necessity of all seems to us to be, to teach people really to pray, and also to practice self-examination; in comparison with this pressing absolute need, spiritual intercourse, however important, seems only secondary, or, if primary, primary only thus far, because its great object is to promote the more essential end.

On the conduct of our daily services we might say much; but this, perhaps, is scarcely the place. We may observe, however, that the use of hymns appears to us to be exceedingly desirable. Our present version of the singing Psalms, though poetically by no means despicable, as it is often represented to be, but rather on the whole highly meritorious, and in some instances exceedingly beautiful, is nevertheless deficient in a spiritual apprehension of the Psalmist's deeper meaning: those Gospel prophecies and utterances in the Psalms themselves, which are, most strictly speaking, Christian, have been unhappily slurred over for the most part, instead of being brought out, as far as possible, distinctly. It cannot be denied that their use, as it exists, is on the whole cold and undevotional. Therefore do we wish to see a revision of the singing Psalms, not an entirely new version; but supposing even that we could attain to perfection in this respect we should still consider hymns almost indispensable. They are not only the natural utterances of devotional feeling, but they are also useful in the highest degree, as assisting those who sing them

to realize the peculiar truth or doctrine, or the especial memory celebrated. We may return to this subject on another occasion : meanwhile we would only say, that we do not think the exclusive use of ancient hymns desirable ; they are too generally wanting in distinctness, and too diffuse ; not, we think, adapted to the actual needs of our people. One such hymn—as

“ JESUS CHRIST is risen to day”—

to our English apprehension, is worth a volume of more mystical and foreign strains. Of course, there are some very beautiful hymns from ancient and mediæval sources, which we would gladly see retained, but even then for the most part they need to be adapted to our use ; and certain it is, that we shall never see our English congregations singing with all their hearts and souls, unless we provide them with short, simple, popular hymns,—not irreverent, like those of Watts and Wesley, despite their many beauties,—not cold and formal, like those to be found in too many modern Church-of-England collections,—not too individual, and beyond the grasp of the masses for whom they are designed, like many of the mediæval compositions—but devotional, affectionate, especially breathing much love and reverence for our BLESSED LORD, and, finally, truly lyrical.

ART. VIII.—1. *Papal Aggression. Speech of the Right Hon. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, delivered in the House of Commons February 7, 1851.* Longmans.

2. *Vindiciæ Anglicanæ: England's Right against Papal Wrong; being an Attempt to suggest the Legislation by which it ought to be asserted. By One who has sworn "faithfully and truly to advise the Queen."* London: Seeleys.

THE absence of fixed principle, and the apparent or real inconsistency which has for so many years been amongst the most marked characteristics of British legislation and British statesmanship, are some amongst the results which naturally flow from the progress of the democratic power. In proportion as democracy gains the ascendancy in States, the policy of their Governments reflects most faithfully the uncertainties, sudden changes, weakness, and passions of the popular mind; steadfast and consistent course of policy becomes difficult, and the interests of the whole community are sacrificed to appease democratic agitation.

The events of the last few months have forcibly exemplified the uncertainties of political professions and parties in the present day. The scenery of the political drama has been shifted with such rapidity, the mutations of character and principle have been so sudden and so marvellous, that it is enough to bewilder the mind. It almost exceeds belief; and yet the world has seen and heard it all.

When Lord John Russell indited his celebrated "Durham" letter, he had not perhaps calculated the amount of impetus which it was to supply to the popular feeling in England. He had not probably anticipated the extraordinary popularity which that production was destined to bring him, in placing him before the English people as the vindicator of the religion of England, at once, against the open aggression of the Papacy, and against the subtler agency of Tractarianism. He did not expect—for no one could have expected—the mighty outpouring of national feeling and principles which then followed; the mingling of all elements, even of those which had hitherto been most opposed, in that vast hurricane of national wrath which swept over England; and which, in its fury, was almost ready to tear down good as well as evil, and to destroy the Church of England, in the hope of crushing the aggressions of the Church of Rome. In short,

England was for the moment on the verge of frenzy, in its rage at the Papal aggression, and its concomitants.

In the excitement, the whole "Liberal" party were hurried along the tide of national feeling, and, for the first time within the memory of man, were found in opposition to the Romish cause. This was the first strange mutation of principle. Whigs and Radicals might then be heard denouncing the Papal power and the Papal religion with the energy of an Eldon or a Winchilsea.

The next consequence was one which, we own, was wholly unexpected by us. A Bill was actually introduced into Parliament by Lord John Russell, embodying and carrying out the wishes of the people of England to a certain extent. Nay, it even went so far as to extend the prohibition of the assumption of Episcopal titles to Ireland, as well as England, in opposition to the recommendations of a considerable portion of the "Liberal" party.

And if Lord John Russell's Bill was, to a wonderful extent, framed in accordance with the wishes of the English people, his speech in introducing it was still more evidently so. We could hardly credit the evidence of our senses in perusing various parts of his speech. It was *admirable*! It was exactly such a speech as a great statesman would have made forty or fifty years ago. It was tolerant, but firm, high-principled, and statesmanlike. Lord John Russell evinced a thorough perception of the dangerous and aggressive policy of the Church of Rome. He spoke of the necessity of placing adequate checks on that insidious and desperate foe. He felt that it was not to be dealt with like other forms of religion,—that it was to be kept down, on a principle of self-protection, but only so far as self-protection required. He traced with a masterly hand the political interferences of Rome in other countries and our own, even at the present day; and he showed that he was well aware of the only mode of dealing with Romanism,—he warned the prime Agent of Rome in its aggression to retire from this country, with the intimation, that if the hint were not attended to, measures of a more stringent character might be introduced, and a deadly struggle for the subversion of Romanism would ensue. It was perfectly refreshing to peruse such passages as the following,—we except, of course, the somewhat uncalled-for allusion to the efforts made to maintain the religious liberties of the Church of England against ministerial aggressions:—

"In the course of last year, the nomination of an archbishop in Ireland by the Roman see was made in an unusual manner. It was generally understood, and has never been contradicted, that those who usually elect to the office of archbishop on the part of the Roman

Catholics in Ireland had sent three names to Rome, but that instead of any one of those learned ecclesiastics being chosen who had been proposed for that office, a clergyman who had been long resident at Rome, who was more conversant with the habits and opinions of Rome than with the state and circumstances of Ireland, was named by the Pope to assume the office of archbishop in Ireland.”—pp. 6, 7.

“No sooner did that ecclesiastic arrive than he showed very clearly that it was not his intention to follow the usual practice that had been observed by Archbishop Murray and others, of putting themselves into communication, in relation to any matters necessary to be transacted between them, with the Irish Government. Presently we found that a Synod had been called at Thurles, which soon after assembled. It was stated that at that Synod a question was raised whether or not an address should be issued to the people of Ireland, and that that motion was carried by a majority of 13 to 12, being a majority consisting of that very person who had been sent over from Rome, whose views were foreign to the state of Ireland, and who prompted that determination. An address was accordingly issued.

“Well, if that address had been confined to matters of the internal discipline of the Roman Catholic religion; if it had been shown that, with respect to matters of internal discipline, there was a variety of practice in different parts of Ireland, and that the Synod had met for the purpose of regulating those matters, however unusual, and entirely without precedent the assembling of a Synod might be—for no such meeting had taken place since the time of the Revolution—I could have understood its object. But a great portion of that address was taken up with two subjects. The one was the danger of the system of education in the colleges established by the Queen in conformity with an Act of Parliament. It stated that, however good the intentions of the Legislature might be, those colleges were established in ignorance of the inflexible nature of the Roman Catholic Church; and it pointed out that they could not but be attended with danger to the faith and morals of those who were of that Church. Another part of that address was taken up with descriptions of the state of that part of the poorer portion of the Irish peasantry who had been evicted. And I must say that no language was omitted which could excite the feelings of that peasant class against those who were owners of land, and who had enforced the process of the law against their tenants.

“I am not going, at the present time, to enter into any defence of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland; nor am I about to discuss the question whether the Irish landlords have acted with discretion and humanity in the use of their legal rights; but I point this out to the House as a most important circumstance, that on the question of education, that on questions of the occupancy of land, the Synod, which consisted entirely of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, from which all laymen were excluded, thought it proper on this, their first meeting, to hold forth to the Irish people and tell them what should be their duty and conduct on those two subjects. I must ask the hon. member for

Sheffield whether this is a matter of entirely spiritual concern? Whether this House and the Government of the country can be entirely indifferent, when they see that an archbishop has been thus named, purposely of course instructed, and aware of the intentions at Rome, and that the first proceeding he carries into effect is to hold forth to odium an Act of Parliament passed by this country for the purpose of educating the people of Ireland, of giving better instruction to the higher and middle classes; while likewise exciting to hatred of the owners of land a great portion of the population of that kingdom. This, I think, is an instance, at all events, that we have not to deal with purely spiritual concerns; that that interference, which is so well known in all modern history of clerical bodies, with the temporal and civil concerns of the state, has been attempted—not as a system, but as a beginning,—as a beginning, no doubt, to be matured into other measures, and to be exerted on some future occasion with more potent results.”—pp. 7—9.

It will be observed in the preceding passage, that the Synod of Thurles had, as we suspected, a great share in awakening the apprehensions of the Government on the subject of Popery. The alarm once given, there were plenty of indications of the spirit of Romanism in the present day.

“Until very lately a law had been in force in Piedmont, which had not been for many years the usual law of most of the States of Europe. It was, that ecclesiastics should only be amenable to the ecclesiastical tribunals, and that certain places should possess what was called the right of asylum. It appears, that the Sardinian government and the Sardinian parliament assembled at Turin, changed the law in these respects, and made it similar to that which prevailed in other parts of Europe. They declared that, with regard to all temporal matters, clergymen should be tried before the temporal and civil tribunals of the land, and that the right of asylum should be taken away. One of the ministers, who was a party to making that law, was soon afterwards taken dangerously ill, and when he required the sacrament, and made his confession, he was asked whether he would repent of the consent which he had given to the new law which had been passed? Instead of doing so, he made a declaration, which was not satisfactory to the Archbishop of Turin; and the consequence was, that he died without receiving the Sacrament of the Church, as a person who was without the pale of the Church. That was an instance of the interference of spiritual power and spiritual censure, for the purpose of controlling, of directing, and of terrifying a minister of the crown and a member of parliament, on account of his conduct as a minister and a member of the parliament to which he belonged.

“Now, I beg the House to observe these things, because they are not altogether foreign to us. They may not be intended here this year or next year; but we are told in the writing to which I have alluded, that the doctrines of the Court of Rome are inflexible—that their maxims

are unchangeable. They may not think it expedient to introduce such a practice into this country now; but they retain in their hands the power of applying to secular purposes those maxims, those censures, those most formidable and awful spiritual powers which they possess."—pp. 10—12.

"I had lately occasion to read that most able treatise upon the subject of what is called the liberties of the Gallican Church, or more properly, as the author most justly states, the liberties of the Gallican State in respect of the Church, written by M. Dupin, the President of the Legislative Assembly of France. Long before he held that post, or any public post whatever, he was distinguished for his great logical power and his great legal learning, and was regarded as an authority in all matters to which his attention had been given or his studies directed. At the beginning of his work upon the liberties of the Gallican Church he makes an observation to the effect, that though Rome has for the present relaxed many of her pretensions, she never entirely loses sight of them; that she is a power which has forgotten nothing, and learned much—that she is a power which has neither infancy nor widowhood; hence she can struggle with temporal states at all times with means of which those temporal states often are not possessed; that therefore it requires the utmost vigilance and the utmost attention to watch against the aggressions of the Church of Rome, and to preserve the temporal liberties of any country with which she is connected."—pp. 16, 17.

The spirit of the following remarks was admirable.

"I go, next, to what *was*, I am sorry to say, *was* the law of Austria,—that great Roman Catholic Power. The laws which were made by the Emperor Joseph were of the most stringent description with respect to the introduction of Papal Bulls and Papal appointments and censures. He declared that the civil power was supreme and sovereign, that nothing ecclesiastical could be attempted without the *placet* of the Emperor, and that no appointment could be made that had not his confirmation; that no intercourse could take place between the bishops of Austria and the Pope without the knowledge and sanction of the ruling powers, and that every document which proposed to inflict spiritual censures and excommunication should be submitted to a mixed body of clergy and laity, and should not be valid without their concurrence. This shows, then, with regard to another great Roman Catholic Power, what has been the jealousy, what have been the results of experience, with regard to the encroachments of the Church of Rome."—pp. 20, 21.

The following conclusion was drawn from the practice of foreign states.

"From what I have said, the inference may be drawn that there is no country in Europe, however great or however small, no country which values its own independence, upon which the Pope would have attempted to pass this insult which he has offered to the kingdom of

England. In some instances, the matter is regulated by treaty between the two Powers; in other instances, it has been proposed to introduce bishops into Protestant countries, and, when it has been refused, the Court of Rome has at once desisted from its intention."—p. 22.

The language in the following passage, in reference to the Papal aggression, was exactly such as a minister of the Crown ought to have employed.

"The document issued with reference to his appointment by Dr. Wiseman declares at once—'We govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex.' And in the case of five other counties the same pretensions were set forth.

"Now, Sir, I cannot see in these words any thing but an assumption of territorial sovereignty. It is not a direction that certain persons should govern those who belong to the Roman Catholic communion situated within a certain district, and that over them alone they were to exercise their spiritual functions. Those English counties are territories subject to the Queen's dominion; and the only excuse that is offered for the assumption of Rome is, that there are certain forms belonging to all documents, and that it is according to the forms of the Church of Rome that the assumption of dominion over Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex belongs to the agent who has been sent there. That may be. I do not deny their knowledge of their own forms; but their is another form with which I have been acquainted. It is, 'Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen.' That form appears to me totally inconsistent with the other. Take which of them you like."—pp. 23, 24.

"I must now refer for a few minutes to that which has been done in former times in this very country,—and that in Roman Catholic times,—with respect to the power of the Pope of Rome. I find that, in those times, our Roman Catholic ancestors were as jealous as we can be in these days of the encroaching power of the Pope. I find, even in the days of William the Conqueror, that the Sovereign would not allow any sentence of excommunication to be proceeded with in this country without his authority. I find that in the time of Edward I. a person who had procured an excommunication against another person was proceeded against in the King's courts, that the judges declared that his procuring that excommunication without the assent of the King was no less than high treason; and that it was only on the supplication of his councillors that the King refrained from having that sentence executed."—p. 25.

"It is believed, and I think not without foundation, that one reason for the change from vicars-apostolic, under which titles the Roman Catholics have enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, and with which for 200 years they have been satisfied; and, to make them bishops with a new division of the country, is not merely to place them in the same degree with the Protestant bishops, but it is also for the purpose of enabling them to exercise, by the authority of those names, a greater control over all the endowments which are in the hands

of certain Roman Catholics as trustees in this country. I don't think it would be fitting that we should allow that control to be exercised by virtue of any of those titles which we propose to prohibit.

"If, therefore, the House should give me leave to bring in a Bill upon this subject, I propose to introduce a clause which shall enact that all gifts to persons under those titles shall be null and void; that any act done by them with those titles shall be null and void; and that property bequeathed or given for such purposes shall pass at once to the Crown, with power to the Crown either to create a trust for purposes similar to those for which the original trust had been created, or for other purposes, as shall seem best to the Crown. I do not think a power less extensive than that would enable us to reach the justice of the case."—pp. 35, 36.

The concluding portion of this speech was precisely in the tone which, if it had been adhered to, would have made Lord John Russell triumphant over all opposition.

"Much will depend upon the temper in which the present measure may be regarded by Rome, and much upon the direction which may be given to him who has taken upon himself the responsibility of representing at Rome the opinions of the Roman Catholic clergy, and of inducing the Pope to assent to the issuing of this document. That individual has it in his own power to remove a great part of the objections which have been felt in this country. If he has been given by the Pope a title which it belongs to the Government of Rome to confer, and has been honoured by an election which has placed him in the band of the Sacred College, I should think that if he has any regard for the welfare of this country—if he has any regard for the peace and stability of the Roman Catholic community—the best course he can take will be to renounce the title which he has assumed in this country, and rather do that which I believe it was his original intention to do, and which he assured me it was his original intention to do—namely, reside at Rome.

"But if other counsels should prevail, and if he should be able to instil notions of ambition, or of revenge, into the Court of Rome, we may then, probably (though we can well know the end), look for a long and arduous struggle. With respect to that struggle, the part which I shall take will be guided by that principle which has hitherto always guided my conduct on this subject. I am for the fullest enjoyment of religious liberty; but I am entirely opposed to any interference on the part of ecclesiastics with the temporal supremacy of the realm.

"Whenever I have seen in other bodies,—whenever I have seen in my own Church,—a disposition to assume powers which I thought were inconsistent with the temporal supremacy that belonged to the State, I have not been slow in urging myself, and inducing others to urge, strong and prevailing objections to any such measure. For instance, I may say, that in the course of the very last year, when the proposal was made—which was plausible in itself—to give to the bishops of the English Church a power which I thought would give them a control over the temporal well-being, and property of the clergy

of the Church, that proposal, because we saw in it a dangerous principle, was resisted, and successfully resisted, by my colleagues, in the place where it was proposed. But, if that is the case with regard to Protestants, who have expressed the utmost attachment to freedom, if that is the case with regard to a Church which, like the Church of England, is, I believe, of all established Churches the most tolerant of difference of opinion, the most consonant with the freedom of the institutions of a country like this,—if that is the case shall I not far more strongly object to any attempt on the part of the Church of Rome to introduce her temporal supremacy into this country? I cannot, Sir, forget that not alone in ancient times, but in the most recent times, opinions have been put forth on the part of that Church totally abhorrent to our notions of freedom, civil or religious.

"It was a very recent Pope who said, 'that from the foul spring of indifference had sprung that absurd, and bold, and mad opinion, that freedom of conscience should be permitted and guaranteed to all persons in the State.' It is quite as recently that there has been kept up in the Court of Rome a prohibition to study such works as those of Guicciardini, De Thou, Arnaud, Robertson, and even (such was the prevailing jealousy) of the Greek Lexicon of Scapula. When I see in these times so great an aversion to religious liberty; when I see so determined a watch over books which contain, not merely questions of doctrine, but which contain narratives that may be injurious to the reputations of popes, I own I feel a still greater dislike to the introduction of Ultramontane Romanist opinions into this country."—pp. 38—41.

"I believe our powers of resistance to Rome, at the present moment, are augmented, because loyal Roman Catholics, attached to the Crown, attached to the Constitution of this country, can hold office, and can be admitted to seats in the Legislature. I feel we are much more powerful in entering upon this contest, because we have it to say that we have made no exclusion on the ground of religion; and that if we make any exclusion, it is in defence of the laws and of the authority of the constitution. Sir, I think, therefore, with those feelings, we may say, as the Parliament in old times, as the Parliament in Roman Catholic times said, if we admit those assumptions,

" 'So that the Crown of England, which hath been so free at all times that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God, in all things touching the regality of the same Crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the Pope, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and annulled at his will, in perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of the King our lord, his crown and his regality, and of all his realm, which God forbid!'

"Sir, the Parliament, the Roman Catholic Parliament of that day, declared—

" 'That they will stand with the same Crown and regality, in those cases specially, and in all other cases which shall be attempted against the said Crown and regality, in all points, with all their power.'

"So say I: let us, too, stand against those attempts in all points, and with all our power."—pp. 42, 43.

The views which Lord John Russell put forth in this speech are exactly those which an English Statesman even in the present day might, we think, have not merely put forth, but acted upon with security. Every one could have foreseen that the Romish priesthood would be most bitterly galled by the expression of such sentiments, and that the Romish members of the House of Commons would be compelled by their Church to oppose the most *desperate* resistance to any measure embodying those principles; and that they possessed and would certainly exercise the power of overthrowing the Ministry. It was in contemplation of this certainty, that we expressed our apprehension in our last Number that Lord John Russell would not introduce any measure in reference to the Papal Aggression, but would pursue the policy indicated in his Durham letter, and immolate the Tractarian party as a sacrifice to the popular indignation; leaving the Church of Rome untouched. We had not conceived it possible that any minister in these days could look beyond the mere possibility of the temporary overthrow of his ministry; and seek to found his future power on the abiding gratitude of the people of England. But, when Lord John Russell had introduced his Bill,—a Bill framed by a cautious, a moderate, and yet a very effective policy,—a policy which evinced *principle* at least, and principle of the most important and beneficial nature; it must, we think, have occurred to every thinking mind, that the Minister had *counted the cost* of his undertaking,—that he was prepared to follow it up in the face of the *desperate* opposition of the Romish party in Parliament; and even if the issue should be the overthrow of his Ministry. He must surely have foreseen that probability. He was fully aware of the character of Romanism, for his speech alone evinces a perfect appreciation of its spirit and influence. Therefore it could only be inferred that he was prepared to carry out his plan steadfastly and without flinching; and that he was prepared to make it effective practically, and to introduce further measures of repression when requisite. It might have been concluded, in short, that Lord John Russell was about to *trust* in the protestant feeling of England which he had evoked; that in the event of any embarrassment being caused to his administration by the popish representatives, he was prepared to make an immediate appeal to the English people by a dissolution of Parliament; and to put to them the question whether a score of Romanists in the House of Commons are to dictate to the people of England, and to force upon them the acceptance of the insult which had been offered to their religion and their laws. We imagined that we should see Lord John Russell, as the leader of popular feeling in England, at the head of the

most powerful party that had ever held the reins of government, at once "liberal" in his general tone of politics, "free-trade" in his fiscal views, and "Protestant" in his policy and legislation in religion. We think he might have occupied this position. His "free-trade" would have been excused in consideration of his Protestantism, and his "Protestantism" excused in consideration of his "free-trade." Protectionists, Peelites, Radicals, would have been compelled to give way to his ascendancy. He could have crushed Romish insolence in Ireland now, as easily as he subdued Romish rebellion there three years ago. Had he presented a stern and threatening aspect towards Rome—England and Scotland would have been delighted, and Ireland intimidated.

How different has been the result, it is needless to state. Lord John Russell has endeavoured to gratify at once two parties and principles, which are irreconcilably opposed, and one of which, at least, is animated by the most deadly hatred of the other. He has failed, as all men of weak and wavering policy must fail in times of struggle between great principles. A bubble, carried back and forward by the flux and reflux of the contending tide, until it bursts, is an emblem of those Statesmen who attempt, in times like the present, to please both parties at once. The vacillation of the Minister has rendered his policy equally unsatisfactory to all parties.

It is not our purpose to express either regret or satisfaction at the course which events have taken, but simply to state the impression as to their probable results, which they have left on us. Of the leader of the Whig party we have briefly spoken; it seems to us that he has lost such an opportunity as may never return to him again.

Of the Protectionist party we shall only say, that, sound as the principles of that body may be in reference to questions of social and fiscal policy, and accordant as their general tone of views on higher subjects may be with the national feeling in England, we apprehend that the exposition of the species of measures contemplated by the leader of that party in reference to the Papal Aggression, was by no means calculated to inspire confidence into the Church or people of England. To enter into parliamentary resolutions without any practical results, and to refer all further practical measures to the consideration of a committee which might not report progress, was understood by every one to be equivalent to "shelving" the whole question. This proposal would have been, in fact, less effective than the Bill of Lord John Russell, even after its alteration. Most certainly it can never be attributed to Lord Stanley, that he was "outbidding" Lord John Russell for the confidence of the Protestant people of Eng-

land. Our concern, however, is rather with the bearing of the whole question on the Church of England and the Crown of England, than with its effects on political parties or combinations.

It seems to us, that amidst the pressure of local and temporal difficulties or expediences, the fact is being lost sight of, that the supremacy of the Crown is now completely at stake. That the Royal Supremacy—the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the Crown in religious matters over the people of this realm—has been infringed on by the Papal Aggression, is evident to all the world. The Romish priesthood and the Romish people have openly set the Royal Supremacy at nought, and denied its authority over themselves. They are, according to their reiterated declarations, subject to the Papal Supremacy only, and *not* subject to the Royal Supremacy. On this ground they maintain that the Papal Aggression is no invasion of the rights of the Crown, because the Crown has no rights over Romanists. Dr. Gillis, a Romish bishop in Scotland, has maintained that the Sovereign has no supremacy in *Scotland*, and therefore that a Romish territorial episcopate may be lawfully established there. The “*Times*,” and a certain political section, are anxious to exempt *Ireland* from any legislation against Romish episcopal titles, because the majority of the population there are Romanists. So that, according to this class of politicians, the Royal Supremacy may be *relinquished* in Ireland, or left without any protection against aggressions! In Ireland, the aggression of the Papacy is more direct than in England: the Pope appoints to the very same sees that the Crown nominates to. This is, according to the views of some politicians, perfectly right and proper. The Queen may appoint bishops, but the Pope may appoint bishops for the majority of the people, and the law of the land should recognise, in the fullest way, the position and jurisdiction of these Popish bishops.

Suppose these views carried out—and they have been, unfortunately, the leading principles of our statesmen for a series of years—What will be the result? The Supremacy of the Crown will be *relinquished*, as far as relates to one great portion of the population of the empire. The Crown will be prohibited from interfering in any spiritual or ecclesiastical affairs touching the Church of Rome. Of course there are *other* bodies which make a similar claim of exemption from the Royal Supremacy; so that the Supremacy of the Crown comes in the end to be, *not* a power co-extensive with the nation, but a power which is limited to those persons, whether more or less numerous, who prefer to adhere to the communion of the Church of England. In this case any one may cease in a moment to be subject to the Royal Supremacy,

and may thenceforth set it at defiance, by merely separating from the English Church. And yet there *was* a time when the Sovereigns of England actually held a supremacy over the whole nation, and regarded it as the brightest jewel in their Crown. All the nation was *once* subject to the Supremacy of the Crown. Parliament and the Crown exempt one-half the nation from that supremacy. What *principle* remains to prevent them from exempting the remaining half?

We deeply regret to see the Crown thus gradually shorn of its ancient rights and prerogatives, with their accompanying duties; but the Crown and its advisers, for a series of years, in yielding up the Royal Supremacy piecemeal to the Papal usurpation and Romish agitation, have, we fear, been gradually digging the grave of the Royal Supremacy, if not of the Crown itself.

We earnestly pray that these anticipations may never be realized; but we must confess our apprehensions that the result of the whole contest which we have lately witnessed, will leave Rome in substantial possession of the position she has usurped; that through the vacillation of our statesmen, and the instability of political parties, the Papacy will, for the present, at least, triumph over the strong and healthy national feeling of England. And in proportion as that Protestant feeling is overborne, we feel assured that the dignity and rights of the Crown will be lost. The Royal Supremacy has always depended on the spirit of resistance to Rome. It is chiefly as the type and emblem of national Protestantism that it has gathered around it the fidelity of Englishmen. Dissevered from its ancient associations, allied with Rome and Romanism, it would present nothing to attract national sympathies.

With reference to the Church, it seems to us that there could be only one just course to pursue towards her. Place her in the same position, as far as possible, in reference to her religious rights, liberties, and privileges, as other bodies are placed in. If she is to remain subject to the legislation of Henry VIII., in respect to the appointments to her bishoprics, and to the regulation of her synods, then she may claim, as a matter of common justice, that the Church of Rome shall be placed under the same regulations. Let the Prime Minister of the day have control over the appointment to Romish bishoprics¹, and let no Romish synods be summoned except by the Crown, and we can no longer have any ground of complaint that the English Church is *unjustly* treated. If the power of the Crown in spiritual matters over the Church of

¹ We must refer to the able and masterly pamphlet, entitled *Vindiciæ Anglicanæ*, for important suggestions on this point.

England be no violation of religious liberty, it could be no violation of the rights of conscience if extended to the Church of Rome.

If it be right that Ministers, who may be of a different faith from the Church of England, or who may be influenced by persons of a different faith, should appoint the chief pastors of the English Church, and prevent her members from meeting in synod for the regulation of her spiritual concerns, it would be impossible to pretend that there would be any injustice in dealing in the same way with the Romish Church in England and Ireland. The Synod of Thurles also has proved that Romish Synods may be quite as inconvenient as English Convocations. A Romish hierarchy, though unendowed, may be just as much an *imperium in imperio*, and a hindrance in the way of Government, as an English Church possessed of its ancient liberties. If then, notwithstanding this, the Romish Synods are to be free and unfettered, and the Romish hierarchy unrestrained by any authority of the State, we ask, *on what principle of justice* can it be possible to refuse to the Church of England the same amount of liberty? To talk of the "rights of the Crown," in this case, would be perfectly absurd: those rights would have been relinquished in principle. There could be no breach of principle in conceding to one class of subjects what had already been conceded to another. Therefore, we conceive that ultimately the public will perceive, either that the very same power which the Crown exercises over the Church of England must be extended to that of Rome, or else that the same liberties conceded to the Church of Rome must to a considerable extent be conceded to the Church of England.

The mere circumstance that the Church of Rome is not endowed by the State, while the Church of England retains the ancient ecclesiastical endowments, does not seem to make any material difference; for, in the first place, if the Church of Rome is not endowed, it is because it has again and again *refused* endowment. Whenever it has been apprehended that the State was about to grant endowments, the Romish priesthood and laity have, in the most vehement way, disclaimed and rejected the notion or proposal, and condemned it in the strongest language. The Church of Rome has a perfect right to reject endowment, but it has no right to refuse to the State all right of control over its proceedings, in consequence. And, in the next place, there is no conceivable reason why the right of the State to interfere in religious concerns should depend on the question of endowment at all. The State possesses powers which it can make felt whether there be endowments or not. It has duties to itself and to religion which are not affected by the question of endowment. Therefore, to affirm that its power is absolute over

an endowed Church, and that it has absolutely no rights or powers over an unendowed one, is to maintain what will not stand the test of reason.

In concluding these remarks, we would say that Churchmen may, we think, leave the solution of these questions with some hope to the progress of opinion. For ourselves, we must confess our gratitude for the preservation of the Church of England from the imminent peril of alterations in her services, which, in the excited and irritated state of public feeling some little time since, would, we think, have been possible, had the heads of the Church given way to the popular feeling. Our trust and hope was, that whatever might be the complexion of the views held by the heads of our Church, they would concur in abstaining from changes of a dangerous character; and that hope has, we gratefully acknowledge, been fulfilled. Had the Evangelical party been so inclined, we apprehend that they might have succeeded in preparing the way for most fearful alterations by obtaining a Royal Commission. We cannot in any degree concur with those who imagine that any little efforts, made at the crisis by the "Tractarian" party, had any influence in averting this result. Such efforts would, we apprehend, rather have strengthened the hands of those who had sought for innovations with the view of expelling Tractarianism from the Church. We do not concur in some important points with the pious and learned Prelate who is at the head of our Episcopacy; but we are sensible of the deep obligation which the Church feels to his Grace for his well-timed dissuasive from alterations in the Prayer Book. We need not add, that, to the many other excellent and truly orthodox prelates who adorn the Episcopal bench, the Church may look with the fullest confidence that they will protect us from any interference with the formularies of the English Church. Amidst the great and increasing difficulties of the times, we feel that it is the duty of all true members of the Church of England to rally more closely around their bishops, and to endeavour to strengthen their hands, and to refrain from adding to the embarrassments by which they are surrounded. On various occasions, within the last few years, some of the bishops have been obliged to exercise their authority for the repression of innovations or practices more or less assimilated to those of the Church of Rome; and to many persons it may have appeared that their conduct was in those instances harsh, or uncalled for: yet we are bound to say that time has generally proved that they were right; and we confess our persuasion that, as a general rule, when a bishop resorts to extreme measures of repression against any clergyman of his diocese, the latter is, more or less, in fault. It is not to be supposed that, in

these days, a bishop will, without necessity, resort to strong measures of repression; more especially considering the great amount of toleration which is practically extended to diversities of taste and view. And we would further express our opinion, that whenever a clergyman becomes the subject of strong and general public animadversion for his mode of performing Divine service, it indicates in most cases a want of discretion or of charity on his own part. Either he has been hasty and peremptory in his proceeding, or he has transgressed the regulations of the Church, and endeavoured to assimilate her services to those of Rome. This *generally* turns out to be the case on examination, and we find that our sympathies have been expended when they were really not deserved.

We cannot refrain from adding one more opinion founded on experience,—that if any clergyman be distrusted by his own parishioners as inclined to Romanism, or if his name be publicly circulated as about to join the Church of Rome, he possesses the power of putting an end to any such surmises, either in his pulpit or by his pen; and that if he does not avail himself of this power effectually and conclusively, he has no one but himself to blame. Let him only follow the directions of the Church in her first Canon, and preach four times a year against the Papal Supremacy and its concomitants, and he may afford to laugh to scorn any attempt to represent him in his own parish as a Romanizer. The difficulties of the times are so great, and suspicions are so inflamed by the continual secessions to Rome, and by the open tendencies to Romanism in a small section of the Church, that preaching occasionally against Romish error appears now to be as requisite as a confession of sound faith on the part of the clergy, as it is to inform the laity, and to protect them against the wiles of proselytism.

We cannot close these remarks without expressing an earnest hope that the Ministerial Bill may be successful. We are sensible of its inadequacy to grapple with the evil before us. We feel that it is utterly deficient, in not placing the clergy of the Church of Rome *under precisely the same restrictions as regards Synodical action* as the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, imposes on the clergy of the Church of England. Still, it would be suicidal in the English people to reject the Bill. The bitter opposition of Romanists alone proves that it comprises a salutary principle. The opposition of such politicians as Sir James Graham, and other sycophants of Rome, proves that it is sound in principle. And therefore we say, with all our hearts,—May it prosper!

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. *Lelio and other Poems*. By P. Scott. 2. A Scripture Catechism upon the Church. 3. *Cultus Animæ*. 4. An Old Country House. 5. The Calendar of the Anglican Church illustrated. 6. Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland. 7. Kenneth. 8. Speculation. 9. The Seven Days; or, the Old and New Creation. 10. "It is Written." From the French of Professor Gausson. 11. An Analysis and Summary of Thucydides. 12. Dr. Beaven's Elements of Natural Theology. 13. Ancient Coins and Medals. By H. N. Humphreys. 14. An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England. By Rev. A. Freeman. 15. Faith and Practice. By a Country Curate. 16. *Italy's Handbook of Mediæval Geography and History*. 17. Rev. W. W. Estlin's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. 18. Hazlitt's Edition of Shakespeare. 19. The Church in the World. By Rev. J. B. Smith. 20. *Readings for every Day in Lent*. 21. Narrative of Escape from a Portuguese Convent. By Rev. W. Carus Wilson. 22. The Rise of the Papal Power traced, in Three Lectures. By Rev. R. Hussey. 23. Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles. By a Country Pastor. 24. The Early Progress of the Gospel. By Rev. W. G. Humphry. 25. Wilson's Short and Plain Instruction for the better Understanding of the Lord's Supper. 26. *De Obligatione Conscientiæ, Praellectiones*. A. Roberto Sandersono. 27. A First Series of Practical Sermons. 28. Dr. Olshausen's Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians. 29. Rev. J. Sortain's Hildebrand. 30. Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London. 31. Poems. By M. A. King. 32. Sermons. By the late Dr. Shirley. 33. An Argument for the Royal Supremacy. By Rev. S. Robins. 34. Dr. Jarvis's Church of the Redeemed. 35. Poems. By Rev. E. H. Freeman and Rev. G. W. Cox. 36. *Hymnarium Sarisburiense*. 37. *Lays of Palestine*. 38. Archdeacon Beren's Lectures on the Church Catechism. 39. Twelve Sermons. By Rev. R. Scott. 40. Rev. G. W. Lewis's Family Prayers. 41. Sermons. By Rev. R. D. Rawnsley. 42. The Life Everlasting. By Dr. Whitley. 43. Harcourt's Lectures. 44. The Chronicle of Battle Abbey. By M. A. Lower. 45. Dr. Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography. 46. The Chronological New Testament. 47. Stephen's Exposition of the XXXIX Articles. 48. Hints for Happy Homes. 49. Wilbraham's "Tales for my Cousin." 50. Rev. R. W. Morgan's Vindication of the Church of England. 51. Lectures. 52. Albertus Magnus de Adhærendo Deo. 53. Joyce's Hymns. 54. The Way through the Desert. By Rev. R. Milman. 55. Science simplified. By Rev. D. Williams. 56. A Series of Texts. By Rev. W. Sinclair. 57. The Museum of Classical Antiquities. 58. Commentary on the Te Deum. By the Bishop of Brechin. 59. Thoughts on important Church Subjects. 60. No Need of a Living Infallible Guide in Matters of Faith. By Rev. A. Martineau. 61. Papal Infallibility. By Rev. G. S. Faber.—Miscellaneous.

1.—*Lelio, a Vision of Reality; Hecvor; and other Poems*. By PATRICK SCOTT. London: Chapman and Hall.

It was only half a century ago that the power of poetical creation and original genius seemed to have passed away from us for ever. Like a fire which has burned down to a few half-glowing ashes, from the exhaustion of the materials that fed it, so it was here, or seemed to be. All the subjects which had inspired from age to age mighty bards, and found in numbers musical married to words

of fire, the apt exponents of the human soul in all its higher moods, seemed to be used up.

But in none of its varied spheres has the grasp of the human intellect, and the amplitude of its resources, more completely belied the vaticinations of critics and pedants, than in poetry. Scarcely had the waters reached their lowest ebb, than there was poured out on the desert one of those sudden and intermittent gushes, or rather floods, of inspiration, which spring every now and then, one knows not how, out of the ocean depths of humanity! There commenced a grander and a richer era of true poetry than, from the age of Elizabeth, has ever adorned the literature of a nation, fruitful from the first in mighty masters of song.

Yet, though these sudden recessions and returns of the poetical faculty are not reducible to strict laws, and no calculus can estimate its actions, or define its periodicity, yet we are not without the means of assigning some of its most important elements. We cannot, for instance, positively assert that mighty events and world-wide revolutions, albeit accompanied by that excitement of the passions which stirs the imaginative faculties, will engender, by any known law, or in any defineable amount, the epic or lyric genius, to stamp on immortal verse the image of each striving age, as it comes and flies. We are in profound ignorance, in fact, of the principles on which the Author of all the gifts of genius measures them out, and gives and withdraws them as He wills.

But *this* we do know, that, without something in the character of the age to feed and sustain it, to surround it with an appropriate and living atmosphere, and, in endless action and reaction, to mould and to be moulded by its creations, great poetic genius cannot subsist or flourish. The times, for instance, most rich in heroic achievements and masculine energies, and they *alone*, can sustain and engender (so true a parentage there is between each era and its intellectual progeny) the lofty epic or soul-stirring lyric! In a period of deadness and dryness the poetic fervour expires—is dead and buried. And it wanes and wanes, and is subject to a thousand modifications through all the divisions of the scale which unite the extremes of lofty energy and intellectual stirring on one hand, and a low-souled prostration of thought and feeling on the other.

Moreover, experience would seem to show that, in fact, provided the tendencies of any given period be such as to set the thoughts and passions of men in vehement action and commotion, whatever those tendencies may specifically be, and however seemingly in contradiction to each other, out of the clashing and collision of soul and intellect mighty poetry will be evolved. Now

our present age is one utterly opposed in any theory anciently received, to genial inspiration. It is an age of exact science, the supposed antithesis to fancy, when not imagination, but, the analytic calculus, spans and weighs the universe. It is an age of machinery, of manufactures—an age when the sublimities of old religion, and ancient reverence, and all that ennobles statesmanship, and clothes the image of the commonwealth, as embodied in its public forms, with awfulness, are supplanted by the low arithmetic of majorities, and the summation of pecuniary loss and gain !

But still the public mind is profoundly stirred, and the very discoveries of abstract science are at once so stupendous, and so directly appeal to the sense of the marvellous within us as to transcend, in their truth, the highest flights of poetical fiction : whilst the tendency of the critical philosophy of the age has produced an intense subjectivity, which explores and projects into tangible and literary forms all the mysteries of our inner being in their connexion with the Infinite, in whose mid-abyss we find ourselves, amongst all the exciting doubts and struggles of the speculative intellect which wrestles with the insoluble problem of our being.

There is much of this observable in the little volume of Mr. Scott. He is a self-contemplator ! He is haunted by the strange inscrutable connexion between mind and matter ! The spirit of the universe in its beauty, and its power, and its mystery, has descended into the depths of his soul ! He is for ever darting forth into the infinite space of the metaphysics of the soul with no ordinary vigour and stretch of pinion. He speculates and Platonizes, and wings his way up towards the great mystery with an ease and power which unmistakeably define his true sphere. He is a philosophical poet ! His province is the transcendental, which escapes sense, and mind just discerns.

He is not so much at home in the *humanities* of the Muse. When he touches the ground he does not derive strength, like the giant of old, but weakness from the contact ! He is defective in breadth of experience and ethical discrimination. He is possessed, soul-filled with *one* thought, the opposition between sense and intellect, matter and mind, the mesothesis of whose poles he is always investigating ? But his investigation is that of an imagination full of fire, impulsive, restless, and ungovernable. He is impelled, not by a calm philosophic love of truth, but an inward demon, by whom he is energized. He is a real *energumenos* under the fierce *afflatus*, and driven into the depths ! One consequence of this is a true Dithyrambic furor, rolling along oftentimes in measures of the most living movement and long resounding harmonies. He is a great master, equal to any in modern times we have ever read, of the musical and rhythmical capacities

of language. They are moulded at the will of the restless and varying thought, and respond like the strings of a harp to the master's touch!

But we must give some specimens of what we mean. Take the following description, and attempt to body forth the *sense of power*, such as the projection of a planet might dilate a capacious soul withal.

" *Angel.* What seest thou, Lelio?
Lelio. Let me look again,
 For my sense swims upon a boundless ocean,
 Struggling against its own magnificence—
 I see the flashings of bright points that pierce
 The solid night, whence floats a spinning sound
 Of a low melody; while round me ripples
 Impalpable ether, whose conflicting waves,
 Breaking in flame the evanescent bloom
 Of blackest darkness, show nought near but thee
 Standing beside me in untenanted space!
 Behold! immeasurable shadow creeping
 O'er the clear void, and from a form that might be
 The form of man, could the weak eye take in
 Its limitless outline, stretches forth a hand,
 Within whose hollow rests a new-born world;
 The other arm extends a mantle o'er
 Its naked limbs, and showers all forms of matter
 And fire of mind upon its mighty surface,
 Heaving the pulse of a stupendous life!
 A little while those awful fingers poise
 The trembling globe, then hurl it flashing from them.
 Away it rushes through the lash'd air, waking
 Time into life, and night to light—away—
 Lifting its voice of giant joy, and shouting
 To the unbounded universe, to welcome
 A radiant brother of God's ancient stars!
 Fearfully wonderful!"—p. 30.

Take a noble image in the following lines:

" *Lelio.* I see Time rising on the horizon
 Of a fresh world: his wet-clogg'd wings flap slowly
 Over unpeopled plains; but on he speeds,
 Seeing new life spring round him as he flies,
 And empires dawning in the early east."—p. 33.

There is a lofty Platonic beauty, and a genuine intellectual grandeur in the following opening to the ode to beauty.

" Mother of many children, born in Heav'n,
 And denizen'd with man, divinest end

Of labouring reason ! unto thee 'tis giv'n,
 Beauty, thou sun of inner worlds, to lend
 A radiant shadow of thyself, and shed
 A glory upon earth from thy God-crownèd head !
 Man works by modes, and these may not attain
 A part in thee, and oft the fainting force
 And the dimm'd vision mark his upward course
 To thy far temple ; he but moves between
 The darkness of his toil, and the fair scene
 Which thou dost open on him, as the crown
 Of his endurance : sorrow, too, and sin,
 Are moulds to shape his spirit, the first frown
 Heralding nature's smile ; his infant soul
 Is perfected through media, and within
 Its chambers dwells the educating light,
 Till earth's fore-spent necessities shall roll

Their curtaining clouds away, and Beauty flood the sight !"—p. 53.

The two greatest efforts in the volume are the odes entitled "The Soul and its Dwelling," and "Life and Death." They are noble poems, equal in some respects to Wordsworth's magnificent ode wherein he speculates on the mysteries of the infant spirit, and the immortality which it enshrouds under its time vesture ; and they are superior in a peculiar freshness and joyousness of soul, which riots in a vivid imagery, and a current of voluble numbers that keeps time with the bounding of the living pulses. Take:

"Wine, wine, who thirsts for wine?—p. 114.

"Gold, gold, imperial gold," &c.—p. 115.

There is a store of self-contained grandeur in the conclusion of this ode, which culminates, as it proceeds, into a Christian and Scriptural greatness, and truth of holy sentiment.

"Seek him, he seeks not others," &c.—p. 119.

There is much tenderness and pathos in the opening of "Life and Death." Take, again, the passage,

"The finer spirit was sublimed, and cast
 The dusty sense beneath it, such a change
 As if the covering of earth were cleft,
 And to the pent divinity had left
 A freer germination, and a more
 Unlocal being, which appear'd to range
 Effortless and unstirring throughout space,
 Existing in, yet all unbound by place.
 On things he look'd not from without, for they
 In their own ultimate essence found a way
 Into his nature, and he understood
 By what he felt, and felt that all was good.

The deeper truth which inly we embrace
In mystic union, doth not show its face
To the world's learned gazer, who would pry
Into its features with unseeing eye ;
For to be thus revealed, it must disown
All sensual intervention, whence alone
—E'en by the aid it flies—it could convey
Its voiceless meanings into ears of clay."—p. 127.

The whole is finely thought, and clothed in a pure, masculine, and transparent diction.

The following passage from the same ode is of great power, with some touches of description of the highest order of imagination, and a genuine depth of conceptive power : *s. g.*

"Space seem'd engulfed in shadow as it past."

"He then upon the wing
Of loftier vision rising, stood upon
The chilly confines of the world, where shone
A languid stream from the far solar spring.
A floating halo swam around
Stirr'd by the pulse of ether, with a sound,
Low, deep, like whisper'd thunder, while the air
Surged in small waves, to herald as it were
The coming of some mighty thing, and bright
With the cold splendour of a wintry light,
A sphere roll'd by majestic, calm and vast—
Space seem'd engulfed in shadow as it past.
Around it lesser globes revolving play'd,
Duskily sparkling, and its motion made
Music not heard, but felt, most like unto

The singing of the heart when life and love are new!"—p. 129.

In some of the notes there are one or two exquisite translations from the Persian. A volume of such translations from Hafiz and Saadi, executed in a similar style, would be an acceptable addition to our literature. Meantime, we would not advise Mr. Scott to waste his poetical abilities on such extravaganzas as *Hervor*. Not but that a lively and excitable temperament, like his, may very fairly take its pastime in that light sea when it so pleases him to amuse a familiar circle, but the reputation of a poet must be built upon more solid foundations.

He has likewise much to study in human life, in the movements of the passions, the innumerable combinations of the intellectual with the passionate and the sensuous, which lie between the two extremes of pure unfleshed intellect, and mind ensepulchred and embruted in flesh, which are the simple forms in which he is accustomed to contemplate human nature. We believe that

its typical of perfection is to be found in the crasis of both elements; wherein the sensuous is elevated and harmonized by those sweet and heavenly affections, and that mediating influence of the imagination, in which, sublimed by religious principle, and purified by the Spirit from above, the elements of our manifold nature find their ultimate unity.

II.—*A Scripture Catechism upon the Church, wherein the Answers are in the Words of the Bible.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

USEFUL alike to those who would teach or learn, to those who hold, and those who doubt the truth. The work was much needed, and it is admirably done.

III.—*Cultus Animæ, or the Arraying of the Soul; being Prayers and Meditations which may be used in Church before and after Service, adapted to the Days of the Week.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

It is a painful state of things which makes us look with suspicion at every new work of a devotional character, and hesitate to give our approval till we have weighed almost every expression. Alas, that the unwary, the unwise, and the untrue should have brought us into such a position. But so it is: on every side there is peril; and what might pass unobserved in less dangerous and less traitorous times, must now be pointed out and exposed.

The little volume before us is, we are happy to say, devoid of all those evil tendencies to which we have alluded, whether Romanistic, Rationalistic, Pantheistic, or Puritanic: and it is well suited for devotional purposes. It might, however, be improved. The introduction, for instance, should be altogether left out, or re-written. The Scriptural associations of the days of the week are good, but others might be added with advantage. We should prefer the less frequent appearance of such familiar addresses as "Blessed Jesus," "Holy Jesus." Neither do we admire the following passages.

In one place, addressing our Lord, we find,—“till I, together with all who worship in the Communion of thy Church on earth, shall, in conformity with Thy *beauties* and perfections, be clothed with the state of glory, &c.” However high the authority for such expressions, we do not like them.

In another place we read,—“by my doings, even the best of them, I have deserved His wrath and eternal damnation,” which appears to us inconsistent with the dogmatic assertion of Scripture, “*He that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as He is*

righteous," and scarcely reconcilable with the teaching of the Twelfth Article; since it is difficult to comprehend how any thing can be "*pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ*" by which we "have deserved His wrath and eternal damnation."

In another place we have,—“Let me meet Thee now with repentance in my heart, and the fruits thereof brought forth in the actions of my life, *and with such spiritual wings, cemented with the blood of my Redeemer*, I may hope to flee from the wrath to come.”

iv.—*An Old Country House*. London: Newby. 1850.

THIS is one of the most finely designed and exquisitely executed novels which we have ever read. In fact, its merits are of a higher order than those which are generally expected or intended in such compositions. It is a book which none but a woman could have written, and yet which has all the power of the highest order of masculine intellect. The deep intense religion which breathes throughout every page and every line—the awful reality of the doom hanging over the godless house—remind us at once of the experimental divine, and the mighty dramatist. The exquisite elegance and grace must charm even the unbeliever. The character of the low-born, but truly noble Julia; her trials and her triumph, are music to our soul—music of the highest and holiest order.

v.—*The Calendar of the Anglican Church Illustrated. With brief accounts of the Saints who have Churches dedicated in their names, or whose Images are most frequently met with in England: the Early Christian and Mediæval Symbols; and an Index of Emblems*. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

THIS is a most interesting and valuable contribution to our ecclesiastical antiquities: and what is particularly desirable and, alas! seldom to be met with in such works, it is altogether free from any thing idolatrous or imbecile, such as cheers the truant on his way to Rome.

“It is perhaps,” says the Preface, “hardly necessary to observe that this work is of an archæological, not of a theological character; the editor has not considered it his business to examine into the truth or falsehood of the legends of which he narrates the substance; he gives them merely as legends, and in general so much of them only as is necessary to explain why particular emblems were used with a particular Saint, or why churches, in a given locality, are named after this or that Saint.”

The work begins with a short and very interesting dissertation on the Calendar of the Anglican Church:—

“Our reformers,” says the editor, “truly and reverently proceeded upon the principles of honouring antiquity. They found ‘a number of dead men’s names,’ not over eminent in their lives either for sense or morals, crowding the Calendar, and jotting out the festivals of the saints and martyrs.”

The Mediæval Church, as the Romanists still do, distinguished between the days of obligation and days of devotion. Now, under the Reformation, only some of the former class, the Feasts of Obligation were and are retained, being such as were dedicated to the memory of our Lord, or to those whose names are pre-eminent in the Gospels. . . . Surely no method could have been better devised than such a course for making time, as it passes, a perpetual memorial of the Head of the Church.

The principle upon which certain festivals of devotion still retained in the Calendar prefixed to the Common Prayer, and usually printed in italics, were selected from among the rest, is more obscure.

A third class are, saints who are simply commemorated; and it is a very curious fact, and, as we believe, hitherto quite unnoticed, that these saints’ days, now considered as the distinctive badges of Romanism, continued to retain their stations in our popular Protestant English almanacks until the alteration of style in 1752, when they were discontinued. By what authority this change took place we know not; but perhaps the books of the Stationers’ Company might solve this mystery:—

“Poor Robin’s Almanack affords much matter for consideration. He shows that the tradition respecting the appropriation of the days to particular saints was considered by the common people as eminently *Protestant*,—that is to say, as part and parcel of the Church of England. . . . We have neither space nor leisure to pursue this inquiry; but we do earnestly wish that some one well versed in ecclesiastical history, for instance Mr. Palmer, would investigate the ‘Calendar;’ not with the view of ministering to antiquarian curiosity, or idle amusement; but as involving principles of the highest importance.”

After this well-written essay follow the months as they are printed in the Calendar of the Prayer Book, with two cuts of day-almanacks at the beginning, and the various symbols placed opposite the days to which they belong. Now comes the main body of the work. The months are taken in their order. The days are described and illustrated. The wood-cuts are beautiful in the extreme; the letter-press interesting and unexceptionable. This lasts from p. 30 to p. 148. Then follow the moveable

festivals, equally well done, which concludes the first part at p. 174.

Part II. contains brief accounts of the saints who have churches named in their honour, or whose images are most frequently met with in England. The only defect in this portion of the work is, the omission of the days on which the parish feasts are held in the localities where these churches occur. It would, we think, have been interesting, and might have led to further results. The labour, however, which this portion of the work must have caused the compilers can hardly be estimated: it has been well and accurately executed.

We now arrive at the Third Part, "ON EMBLEMS." These are divided into three sections:—1. Early Christian Symbols. 2. The Evangelistic Symbols. 3. Mediæval Symbols. The illustrations of 1 and 2 are rich and striking, and Part III. is most able.

"In addition to these early Christian symbols," says the editor on commencing this portion of his work, "there are certain symbolical meanings attached to the emblems which accompany the later saints, a careful consideration of which may frequently unravel the lessons they were designed to teach, before the vast accumulation of myth and marvel completely veiled them from view; indeed, it is almost certain, that many of the acts attributed to these holy persons are merely fictitious, and comparatively modern creations, the emblems with which they were allegorically represented giving rise to the legends which obtained so extensively during the middle ages; so that we must interpret the legend as intended to suit the emblem, not the emblem as verifying the legend."

The remarks which follow are just and valuable; and this section is equally well executed with the others. The indexes, too, are carefully compiled. In fine, the "Illustrated Calendar of the Anglican Church" is suited alike for amusement, for instruction—for a lady's drawing-room or a scholar's study.

vi.—1. *Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.* In 3 vols. London: Colburn. 1850.

2. *Merkland; a Story of Scottish Life.* By the Author of "*Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.*" 3 vols. London: Colburn. 1851.

THE success of the first of these tales led, we presume, to the speedy appearance of the second, which bids fair to eclipse its elder brother in the good graces of the public. They are very peculiar works, which our readers will comprehend, when we confess that we cannot make up our minds whether the author is a man or a woman.

The great merits of both novels are the perfect consistency of the characters, the graphic description of manners, the delicacy of touch, and the clearness of outline, and the intense and unmis-takeable earnestness and enthusiasm of the author. He or she is a most unflinching bigot; bigoted to the dogmas of Calvin—bigoted to the platform of Geneva—bigoted to all the provincialisms of race, customs, manners, prejudices, castes, classes, and other associations with which she or he is identified or interested. She venerates the covenanting zealots, those traitors of old time, pretty nearly as much as the Oratorians do St. Philip of Neri, and his wiles and guiles. She looks upon a mortal feud, or a class distinction, or any other of the tokens of the pride of man's heart, which adorn that singular hybrid system, sprung from the commingling of Christianity and heathenism, and bound together and cemented, as it were, by a species of pseudo-Judaism, with exactly the same reverence as is shown by a devout Romanist for the images and reliques of saints, real or imagined.

We do not, however, like him a bit the less for this—we honour a bigot, when he is a bigot in reality, and not in pretence.

The works before us have, however, other charms, of a yet higher order. They are warmed by vital Christianity, mingled, it is true, with Celtic paganism, and Swiss error, but still real, genuine, living. And this need not surprise us. Christianity is so holy, so life-giving, and our God is so merciful, and our sacrifice so availing, and the work of the Spirit so manifold and so mighty, that any portion of the truth, truly and fully realized, is capable of producing fruits so marvellous, as to make the mere child of this world exclaim—

“ On modes of faith let wrangling zealots fight,
His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right.”

A most unphilosophic blunder. Our consideration on the sight of the piety or righteousness of those who are in error, should not be that their errors are unimportant or non-existent, but firm in the consciousness of our own unassailable position and incontrovertible faith, founded on the Rock of Ages, and received by the Revelation of God. We should admire His boundless love, and joyfully acknowledge the work of His hands, and fearfully reflect with reference to ourselves, our brethren, and our Church, that “unto whom much is given, of him much shall be required.”

We earnestly pray that the writer of these tales may be brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus—may receive the whole counsel of God—may submit to the true Church. The blood of universal redemption can alone wash out the segregative prejudices which at present afflict her mind; and even “dis-

tressed needlewomen" will appear worthy of her sisterly sympathy, when she regards them as sprinkled with the dews of Baptismal Regeneration.

VII.—*Kenneth; or the Rear-Guard of the Grand Army. By the Author of "Scenes and Characters," "Kings of England," &c.* Oxford and London: John Henry Parker. 1850.

THIS is a charming tale, full of character and incident, and one which could only have been written by a dutiful child of our Church. The unobtrusive manner in which her absolute superiority is shown, whilst every credit is given to men of other tongues and other lands, forms its rarest and most intrinsic excellence. It is just the work to give to a young person of either sex, from ten to twenty; and yet, when we had taken it up to give it a critical survey, we found the greatest difficulty in laying it down again.

VIII.—*Speculation.* Oxford and London: John Henry Parker. 1850.

VERY different is this tale from the last. The story interesting, the principles sound, the teaching excellent. It would perhaps be more useful if the tone were not quite so didactic, especially at the opening of the volume. The more that instruction is needed, the less grateful is it—the "orli del vaso" require greater preparation when the patient is not only aching, but obstinate. We regret, too, the faults of style in the opening chapters: there is much that is ungraceful, and some that is scarcely English.

IX.—*The Seven Days; or the Old and New Creation. By the Author of "The Cathedral."* Oxford and London: John Henry Parker. 1850.

THE last new work of a celebrated author is always a subject of interest with the literary world; and it was with great curiosity, as well as pleasure, that we commenced the perusal of the volume before us. We opened it with a tremulous sensation of fear as well as hope; but as we proceeded the fear altogether departed, and the hope became full fruition. This is undoubtedly Mr. Williams's most entirely successful performance. His other poetical compositions, whatever their merits, have been very unequal: in fact, they have struck us as resembling an elaborate and intricate mosaic, some portions of which were made of gems, and others of less costly materials, put in to fill up the requisite spaces. Then again they have, with all their excellencies, various individual faults. "The Cathedral" is, with all its power, too cum-

brous. The "Thoughts in Past Years" have, with all the exquisite sweetness apparent in many parts, a certain appearance of uniform design without the full reality, which somewhat baulks us. And the "Baptistery," though a work which will live to the end of time, and decidedly our favourite, is, to speak the truth, at times decidedly *prosy*.

In "The Creation" Mr. Williams has grasped a mighty idea, formed an artistic plan, and nobly fulfilled that idea and executed that plan. There is, too, in the detail much less of that obscurity which at times defaces his writings, than in any thing else which he has ever submitted to the public. We are conscious, however, that no mere "Notice" can do justice either to the merit or the importance of this work, and we shall, therefore, at once conclude with two or three extracts, reserving a more careful examination for a future occasion.

Of the exquisite passage upon Sunday, we cite the following beautiful stanzas :—

"Why are the poor so bright in their array ?
Because they are the children of the King.
This is His court and His great holiday ;
Therefore their best they to His service bring.
Ye trees put on your bright apparelling ;
Ye lilies of the valley lift your heads,
Your sun spreads o'er you his own healing wing !
Ye ladies and rich men in costly weeds
The glaring world each day alike your lustre reads."

And again,—

"The Sundays of our life, like stars aloof,
Ye seem to disappear, and then when fled
Ye stay, and gather on Heaven's vaulted roof,
And in the dead of night with noiseless tread
Ye come, and stand around my trembling head,
Like guests from other worlds, and drawing near,
Ye would speak with voices of the dead,—
'Your lives are gather'd with us ; year by year
Why were we sent ? and why did we to you appear !'
"Ye Sundays of our life, ye passers by,
Yet in remembrance live, and put on light,
Like witnesses which after death come nigh ;
And, haply oft forgotten, to our sight
Come forth again in weakness, or as night
Of age draws on or death, neglected throng
Of youth and childhood speaking now aright,
And pleading how we thoughtless did you wrong ;
How many thrilling nights and scenes to you belong !"

From the many fine passages before us we select the following, expressing as it does so powerfully our own sentiments towards Rome :—

“ But who shall speak thy wondrous goings forth,
Like some sepulchral spectre of the night,
Thou nam'd Aurora of the ill-omen'd north,
With lustrous train sweeping the aerial height,
Blood, gold and flame ; in men's bewilder'd sight
Riding on the meteorous canopy
To counterfeit the morning's blooming light,
Like that false Church which Time's dark night shall see,
Upon whose burning brow is written 'mystery.' ”

x.—“ *It is written :* ” or, *Every Word and Expression contained in the Scriptures proved to be from God. From the French of Professor GAUSSEN.* London : Bagster.

WE confess to taking up this volume with some degree of prejudice against it, in consequence of its rather singular title ; but before we had read a page, our attention was arrested by the nature of the subject, the force of the argument, the brilliancy of the language, and the richness of the illustration. Professor Gausсен upholds manfully the full inspiration of the Word of God, and in his good work he will have the hearty good wishes of all true Christians. He addresses himself to his task, not with a view to convince unbelievers, but with a view to confirm the faith of Christians in the divine and infallible authority of God's Word, and from all we have seen of his work we deem it a highly valuable and seasonable addition to the available provision made for Christian readers on this important subject. He discusses with ability the many difficulties raised in reference to the inspiration—such as the non-infallibility of translations, the variations in the text, and especially, with much ability and originality, the alleged contradictions and difficulties of the Scriptures. Nor does he spare his indignant reproofs of those divines, whether orthodox or heterodox, who have in any degree compromised the authority of the Holy Scriptures. In addition, we are happy to bear testimony to the strain of fervent piety which pervades the whole, and which often finds expression in words of earnest eloquence and impassioned zeal. We have perused a considerable portion of this work with the highest satisfaction and edification.

- xI.—*An Analysis and Summary of Thucydides. By the Author of "An Analysis and Summary of Herodotus," &c.* Oxford: Wheeler. London: Bell.

AN Analysis and Summary like that before us cannot fail to be of considerable utility to the student of Thucydides, in enabling him to retain in memory the various points of the history of the Peloponnesian war. The analysis appears to be very carefully executed; and it is preceded by an outline of the Geography of Greece, and a Chronological Table of the principal events; the Greek weights, money, and measures also being reduced throughout to the corresponding English terms.

- xII.—*Elements of Natural Theology. By JAMES BEAVEN, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, Toronto.* London: Rivingtons.

DR. BEAVEN, in this work, furnishes his readers with a clear and well-arranged digest of all the principal proofs of the existence, the moral attributes, and the Providence of God. The especial interest in the volume is, the frequent reference to the arguments and inferences of heathen philosophy, approximating so closely as they sometimes did to the truth. The argument from design which Paley has so ably drawn out, is here very well exhibited and illustrated; and on the whole we may remark, that Dr. Beaven's reasoning is throughout cautious and accurate.

- xIII.—*Ancient Coins and Medals: an Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Coining Money in Greece and her Colonies; its Progress with the Extension of the Roman Empire; and its Decline with the Fall of that Power. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS, Author of "The Coins of England." Illustrated by numerous Examples in Actual Relief by Barclay's Process, in the Metals of the respective Coins.* Second Edition. London: Grant and Griffith.

WE are happy to see that the work before us has reached a second edition, because it evinces, on the part of the public, a due appreciation of the learning, labour, and ingenuity which have combined to create this extraordinary volume. In point of fact, "volume" is an inadequate expression in this case, for between the two boards is included, not merely a very elaborate book, but a well-selected cabinet of coins and medals! The imitations in metal by Barclay's process are perfectly marvellous; and of the

letter-press which accompanies them we can speak in the highest terms, as not only evincing a thorough and deep knowledge of the subject, but as divested as much as possible of tedious antiquarianism, and enlivened by anecdote and interesting detail. The vast field traversed by the author affords, indeed, ample opportunity for the exercise of discrimination in the choice of materials, and he has employed his opportunities so judiciously, that we have no doubt his work will find a place on many a drawing-room table, as well as occupy an honourable position in every well provided library.

XIV.—*An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England; with nearly Four Hundred Illustrations.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Author of "*The History of Architecture*," "*Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral*," &c. Oxford and London: John Henry Parker.

ARCHITECTURE is gradually assuming amongst us an importance and a scientific character which would astonish our forefathers if they could return amongst us. The progressive character of the age is marked very strongly in *this* branch of the fine arts at least; and professors, peers, clergy, the ablest of our mathematicians, and the wealthiest of our aristocracy, are all alike interested in the minutest details respecting our ecclesiastical buildings. The press groans beneath publications on the subject. Volumes, pamphlets, essays, periodicals, meetings, societies, all attest the universal rage for architectural study. Amongst the leading men in the study, is the author of the volume before us; and we protest that, in opening his table of contents, we are perfectly overwhelmed with the weight of his erudition, and the multiplicity of his distinctions. We are alarmed at "geometrical skeletons," our amazement is increased at "arch-skeletons," and we experience a sensation of uneasiness in such connexion, at "corruptions of arch-tracery." We are compelled to scratch our heads at "subarcuated foils," "divergent vesicæ," "spiked foliation;" and we look as wise as we can at "reversed convergent tracery," "flowing skeletons," "quasi subarcuated windows," &c. &c. But, to speak seriously, Mr. Freeman has evinced a profound knowledge of his subject, which is one of high practical moment in architecture; and, by his classification, has contributed greatly to make it rational and intelligible. We are delighted to see that so profound an architectural student does not hesitate to reject the reveries of symbolism. We could excuse several faults in consideration of such a wholesome and, we must add, *coura-*

geous, avowal. But the truth is, that Mr. Freeman's work is one which, as it goes in a great degree on certain data, and occupies itself chiefly in classifying facts, is one in which great errors are not to be expected. It is copiously illustrated by wood-cuts—illustrative of window tracery, which constitute, by no means, the least part of its value.

xv.—*Faith and Practice : being Sunday Thoughts in Verse.* By a COUNTRY CURATE, Author of "*Thoughts in Verse for the Afflicted.*" London : Bell.

THIS little volume of poems is characterized by a simplicity and piety which will render it a profitable and agreeable companion to those whose tastes have not been formed on the refined and mystic poetry of the present day. The author selects simple and devotional subjects, such as good Churchmen and good Christians would wish to dwell on ; and he treats them just as a clergyman ought to do, and certainly in a way which is open to general comprehension. As we read the earlier part of his book, indeed, it occurred to us, that these are the sort of poems which would be very acceptable and intelligible even to the poorest classes, and in National Schools ; but the style rises afterwards. We take the following from Meditations in Lent :—

" Lord, now before the heavenly gate
I stand a penitent ;
Here on the threshold shall I wait,
To sanctify my Lent.

" Teach me to grieve, to fast, to pray,
Deploring all my sin ;
To rend my heart, to strive each day
Against the pride within ;—

" My soul to search, my guilt confess,
My appetites deny,
My goods impart thy poor to bless,—
My members mortify."

We cannot speak very highly of the poetical power manifested in this volume, but it is the production of a pious and very thoughtful mind, imbued with much poetic taste and feeling.

xvi.—*Handbook of Mediæval Geography and History.* By WILHELM PÜTZ, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren.

Translated by the Rev. R. B. PAUL, M.A., &c. London: Rivingtons.

THIS Handbook of Mediæval History and Geography is the second part of the series published by Professor Pütz; and it appears to be a valuable and useful compendium of information on the subjects to which it relates. It is very convenient to have at hand a manual like this in reading the history of the Middle Ages. The Appendix contains a series of questions on the various chapters for the use of students.

XVII.—*A Commentary on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans: with a new Translation, and Explanatory Notes.* By WILLIAM WITHERS EWBANK, M.A., Incumbent of St. George's Church, Everton. London: J. W. Parker.

MR. EWBANK appears to have executed his work with very great care, and from all we have seen of it, this commentary may be regarded as a very valuable accession to our Biblical literature. It is not overloaded with annotations, nor does it present a great variety of interpretations and criticisms, but goes straightforward to its point, and certainly it contributes to elucidate many of the difficulties in this difficult epistle. It is composed with good sense, and in a very pleasing tone. Tholuck's Commentary has been much employed, in addition to those of Calvin, Stuart, and Olshausen, and the homilies of Chrysostom.

XVIII.—*The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, from the Text of Johnson, Stevens, and Reed; with Glossarial Notes, Life, &c.* A New Edition. By WILLIAM HAZLITT, Esq. In 4 vols. London: Routledge and Co.

SHAKSPEARE's works for four shillings! What times we live in! Here is a critical edition of Shakspeare, well printed, and quite readable, for less than half what we used to pay for a single volume of an eight or ten volumed edition.

XIX.—*The Church in the World; or, the Living among the Dead.* By the Rev. J. BAINBRIDGE SMITH, M.A., formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor of Mathematics, and Vice-President of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. London: Rivingtons.

IN this pleasing and pious little volume, the services of the Church are connected with the spiritual presence of the beings who

are invisibly about us, and with personifications of the feelings and states of mind which should arise from the exercise of religious duties. It is one of that large class of books which afford instruction and interest to young persons in the present day, and many of which aim at elevating the feeling with which the services of the Church are attended. In seeking to create this reverential and thoughtful appreciation, there is the risk, which is not always avoided, of dwelling on the *means* of grace, and omitting to dwell on the *Author* of grace.

xx.—*Readings for Every Day in Lent. Compiled from the Writings of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. By the Author of "Amy Herbert," "The Child's First History of Rome," &c.* London: Longmans.

FROM the examination we have been enabled to bestow on this volume we cannot hesitate in recognising it as a very valuable addition to the devotional literature of our Church, comprising, as it does, many of the choicest passages in the writings of a pious divine, whose name is a "household word" amongst us. We have been impressed by the judgment evinced in the selection and arrangement of the materials of this work. The meditation for each day is succeeded by a prayer.

xxi.—*Narrative of a Singular Escape from a Portuguese Convent; with an Introductory Address. By the Rev. W. CARUS WILSON, M.A., Rector of Whittington.* Second Edition. London: Seeleys.

THIS little volume is calculated to be of very great utility at the present time, and cordially do we concur in the necessity of some such course as that which Mr. Wilson has suggested in the introduction, and which we are happy to perceive has been embodied in a bill recently laid before Parliament for the purpose of preventing the forcible detention of persons in nunneries. The details of the story, which present every evidence of authenticity, are enough to excite indignation in the mind of every English reader. How the members of a communion, which exercises the cruel coercion here stated, can appeal to the principles of religious liberty, would be difficult of comprehension to any but to those who have marked the unblushing effrontery with which the advocates of Romanism are endued.

The author describes the artifices by which an unfortunate young female was induced, at a very early age, to resign herself to the seclusion of a nunnery, near Lisbon, for which she was

wholly unfitted. She was the daughter of an Irish merchant who had a connexion with Lisbon, and when about seventeen, having been previously at a convent in Ireland, she was placed in one at Lisbon. After passing through the novitiate she was to take the veil, and was previously to be introduced to "the world."

"This was done in a manner not very likely to impress the poor girl with a favourable notion of what she was about to renounce for ever. She was mounted on a donkey, led by two priests, and conveyed through the main streets of Lisbon. The rabble surrounded, the boys hooted at her, and she was gazed at as a sight, till, terrified with the noise and notice she attracted, she declared, on her return to the convent, that she would cheerfully assume the veil, and never leave her peaceful abode again."

"Sister Jane," as she now became, was visited by her friends after some time. The abbess was present, and all seemed very happy and pleasant.

"Whilst the lady abbess was conversing with me, Sister Jane was laughing and talking very freely with the rest of the company; and some observations she made attracted the ears of the abbess, who said, with an arch look, 'Jane, take care, child; I am by you.' To which Jane replied, with seeming simplicity, and without any appearance of fear, 'Oh, mother, I forgot you were here!'"

The poor nun's gaiety, however, was all affected; for she had reason to be deeply anxious and unhappy at the time, as we may infer from the following circumstances:—

"Amongst the nuns in the Irish convent there was one young lady whose mind was superior to most of the others; and she took a great fancy to Jane, though she was some years older than my young friend. She would give Jane excellent advice as to her conduct, urge her to improve herself; and to none of her companions did Jane draw so closely as to 'Sister Mary.'

"About half a year before my introduction to Jane, she had been aware of an increasing dejection of mind in her friend, and had often urged her to disclose the cause; but Mary kept silence, and never could Jane prevail upon her to impart the subject of her grief. In the course of a few weeks, Jane heard that her friend was taken ill. She requested to see her; but was refused. She begged to be allowed to nurse her; but was told that 'Sister Mary's' fever was highly infectious, and that the nuns must not go near her. Not many days after this, the bell, which spoke the death of a member of the community, was heard to toll, and it was soon understood that Sister Mary's spirit had fled. Next followed her funeral; and the nuns attended the ceremony."

Several weeks passed away, during which Jane mourned the loss of Sister Mary; but strange to say, an impression grew upon

her mind, that, at times when she passed through the cloisters, she heard her name softly pronounced by the voice of her departed friend ; and on one occasion, as she was returning from midnight service, this impression became so strong, that she paused a moment, and, remaining amongst the graves in the cloisters,

" She then said, ' Did Mary call me ? You loved me whilst living, and I am sure your spirit would not injure me now.' The name of Jane was again repeated distinctly ; and she endeavoured to make her way to the spot from whence the sound seemed to proceed, putting the same question as before. The voice replied, ' I am dead indeed to the world, but not to you : look near such a grave, and you can see me.' Jane scarcely knew where she was. Her feelings were wrought up to the highest pitch of terror, curiosity, and tenderness to her departed friend. But she followed the sound ; and, making towards the grave to which she was directed, she observed a very small square grate in the ground, through which appeared a faint light. She knelt down, and looked through it ; when she discovered her long-lost friend in a sort of dungeon, with a lamp before her, and her bed, chair, and table.

" ' Is it my Mary I see, my own dear Mary ? ' exclaimed Jane. ' Yes,' replied her friend. ' Let my case be a warning to you : my illness, my death, and my burial were all deceptive.' You observed my low spirits : I loved you too dearly to unsettle your mind by giving the cause of them ; but I was so wretched in the convent, that I wrote a letter to my friends, entreating them to devise some method for my escape. This letter I unhappily entrusted to the old woman who sometimes brought us oranges, and she gave it to the abbess, who, with many bitter reproaches and threats, hurried me down here, where I have been ever since. I dared not call you by name, unless I could distinguish your voice amongst the sisters ; for I am sure if I made known my tale of woe, death by starvation would be the consequence, not only to me, but to those who heard me. I also felt that even if I did call, no one would dare answer my voice from those graves but yourself. You are the first person who has spoken to me for many weeks. My food is brought me in a tournoir, and the empty plates, &c., are removed in the same way. I am dead to all but you ; still, if your affection can give you courage to pass an hour with me sometimes on your return from the chapel, it will be the only soothing drop in my cup of bitterness."

The sequel of this tragedy is dreadful. The unhappy prisoner commits suicide in her despair. Sister Jane discovers the truth, and is in her turn visited with the most tremendous threats to induce her silence. She then resolves to escape ; and at length effects her purpose by means of her brother-in-law, who is himself obliged to leave Lisbon before the escape takes place, for fear

of being assassinated, if his share in the attempt should be discovered.

Unless we are under a very mistaken impression, we remember an account of a rescue of a nun from a monastery at Lisbon by officers of the British Navy, which appeared in the papers some time since. This narrative appears to comprise the particulars of that escape. It is very deeply interesting; and we should say that its extensive circulation, especially in parochial lending libraries, would be of great benefit to the cause of truth.

xxii.—*The Rise of the Papal Power traced, in Three Lectures.* By ROBERT HUSSEY, B.D., *Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

IN this very learned and accurate work, Professor Hussey traces briefly the rise and growth of the Papal Supremacy from the period of its origin at the Synod of Sardica, to the time of Innocent III. The Preface contains some valuable remarks on the distinctively aggressive character of the Church of Rome, which renders it so formidable to the rights of states, and to the existence of other Churches, that it cannot safely be entrusted with the same liberties and privileges as other religious communities.

xxiii.—*Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles, and especially their Conduct at the Time of his Apprehension and Trial.* By a COUNTRY PASTOR, Author of "*Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting a Future State.*" London: Parker.

THIS volume is marked by the vigorous logic and acute discrimination which are so characteristic of the author's publications, and which are at times combined with a freedom of speculation, or boldness of thought, by no means usual at the period when this able and distinguished writer commenced his career. It would be needless for us to mention more specifically the author of the work on "*The Scripture Revelations,*" &c. That work advocated the notion of the sleep of the soul in the intermediate state, and did not contribute to raise the writer's character for orthodoxy; but we have since then had so many worse notions, and more dangerous speculations advanced by a pretended orthodoxy, that even the "*Country Pastor*" appears quite harmless in comparison; and the writer in his true name, style, and title, quite so. In these days it is *really* a comfort to meet a man who is neither a Rationalist nor a Romanist, and the author of the volume before us is neither one nor the other. His essays

on the Apostles, though full of new and occasionally startling positions, will be read with instruction and improvement. We extract one or two passages.

"As for this Apostle receiving the surname of Peter (Rock), and being promised that 'on this rock Christ would build his Church,' this prediction was clearly fulfilled in two events. First, on the day of Pentecost Peter took the lead in addressing the *Jews*, and gathering them into the fold of the infant Christian Church. And again, he was chosen out of all the Apostles to go to Cornelius and his household, and there begin the opening of the Christian Church to the *Gentiles*.

"And here it may be worth while to remark, by the way, that the claim of a *series* of men, in long succession, to be each a successor of Peter, as the *foundation-stone* on which the Church is built, is not only groundless, but absurd and unmeaning. Even if Peter *had* possessed all the rights that have ever been claimed for him, and if certain men really *were* his successors in every thing else, still they could not conceivably be each of them a *foundation*. One can understand, for instance, that Romulus was the founder of the city of Rome, and that the kings who came after him were his successors as *kings* of Rome; but they could not possibly be each a *founder* of Rome."—pp. 13, 14.

And again, on the nature of faith, we have these excellent remarks:—

"For we should remember, by the way, that the virtue of their faith was greatly enhanced by their *ignorance* of all that was arising. Eminent faith does not consist in superior knowledge. On the contrary, there is no room for the exercise of faith in respect of any thing which we perfectly know and fully understand. A right faith consists in a well-grounded trust in some safe guide, when we do *not* know the reasons of the directions he gives, and have to take his word for the truth of what he says. If you believe that you are sailing towards the land, when you see the land before you in broad daylight, this would not indicate faith in your Pilot. But you *would* show your faith in him, if you believed this on his word, in a dark night."—pp. 23, 24.

The volume abounds in this sort of plain forcible illustration and argument.

XXIV.—*The Early Progress of the Gospel: in Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, in the year MDCCCL. At the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Hulse, M.A. By WILLIAM GILSON HUMPHREY, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London.* London: J. W. Parker.

THESE discourses are on the following topics—the progress of

the Gospel an Evidence of its Truth—the effect produced upon Jews and Gentiles by the Evidence of the Miracles—the effect produced upon Jews and Gentiles by the Evidence of Prophecy—the Christian doctrine and the Christian life—causes contributing to the Progress of the Gospel—hindrances occasioned by the calumnies of the heathen, and by the ill lives of nominal Christians—the effects of persecution—the efforts made by the heathen philosophy to resist and corrupt the Gospel—the resistance made to the Gospel by the Pagan superstitions—the relics of Paganism.

The above will afford some notion of the class of subjects treated of in these Lectures. We have been most favourably impressed by all we have seen of the volume. The views developed in it appear to be the result of much reflection, grounded on a competent knowledge of the subject, and we meet no extravagant assertions, violent expressions, or extreme opinions. There is much of that sober-mindedness and good sense which we have so frequently to desiderate in writings of the present day, and more especially in works bearing on such subjects as Mr. Humphry has here treated. His two concluding Lectures, in particular, we deem eminently valuable, tracing as they do with great ability, the gradual relaxation of Christian morality, and the corruption of Christian worship, under the influence of theories derived from Paganism.

xxv.—*A Short and Plain Instruction for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper, &c. By Bishop WILSON. With Notes, by a Priest of the Church of England.* London: Cleaver.

THIS edition of Bishop Wilson's Introduction to the Lord's Supper includes the Rubrics, now for the first time added; and is accompanied by an immense mass of rubrical information, detailing the mode in which service is celebrated in such churches as St. Barnabas, Pimlico, Margaret Chapel, &c., and also in the Church of Rome. We have no doubt the editor has bestowed great pains and attention on the study of Liturgical works; but we should have thought that some better vehicle might have been found for his lucubrations than the pious and simple pages of Bishop Wilson on the Sacraments. Is it advisable to put into the hands of communicants a volume crammed with discussions about "cruets," "credences," "purificatories," and "the Synod of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dumblane"—or even about "prick-song?" We protest we cannot look on such subjects introduced into such a book, as any thing but trifling with the most solemn parts of religion, and reducing the Sacrament to a mere matter

of form and ceremony. Are ritual matters the proper subjects for meditation at the Lord's Supper?

xxvi.—*De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones Decem Oxonii in Schola Theologica habitæ*, A.D. MDCLVII. A. ROBERTO SANDERSONO. *S. Theologiæ ibidem Professore Regio postea Episcopo Lincolnienſi. With English Notes, including an abridged Translation by WILLIAM HEWELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College, &c. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press.* Cambridge: 1851. J. W. Parker, London.

THE learned and ingenious work of Bishop Sanderson, "*De Obligatione Conscientiæ*," is in the present edition placed before the reader in a shape, for which students in Ethics have reason to feel indebted to Dr. Whewell. The addition of indices to the work is a great improvement; and the summary at the foot of each page, by Dr. Whewell, not only facilitates the comprehension of this difficult book, but supplies a convenient abridgment of it.

xxvii.—*A First Series of Practical Sermons. By the Rev. FREDERICK JACKSON, Incumbent of Parson Drone, Isle of Ely.* London: Hatchards.

THIS volume contains twenty Sermons; and we have pleasure in expressing our opinion, that they furnish an excellent specimen of what good parochial discourses should be. They are plain, and truth-telling, but animated, earnest, and diversified; and while unaffected in style, they appear to us calculated to arrest and retain attention. We have not read the whole of the work, but we have seen much to admire, and nothing to disapprove.

xxviii.—*Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians. By HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, D.D. Translated by the Rev. JOHN EDMUND COX, M.A. F.S.A., &c.* Edinburgh: Clark.

THIS Commentary presents undoubtedly a favourable specimen of German criticism; but we confess our uneasiness at seeing Clergy of the Church of England, and publishers of a decidedly "evangelical" character, engaged in the circulation of publications, which if they are not directly heterodox in themselves, are still dangerous, from their multiplied references to authors of the most unsound and grossly rationalistic views. We trust that in their anxiety to oppose "Puseyism," a large party in the Church will not become a prey to the crafty devices of false philosophy,

and be thus gradually deprived of that faith in the Scripture which they are now the foremost to maintain.

xxix.—*Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) and the Excommunicated Emperor. A Tale.* By JOSEPH SORTAIN, A.B., Trinity College, Dublin. London: Longmans.

THIS Tale conveys a very different impression of Hildebrand from that which has been fashionable of late, and we believe much more in accordance with the truth. The terrible effects produced by the iron will and the ambition of this great founder of the temporal supremacy of Rome, are pourtrayed with considerable power; but we apprehend that the author conveys too favourable an impression of the party opposed to the Pope, which was almost equally bad in its principles and conduct.

xxx.—*A Letter to the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, in Explanation of some Statements contained in a Letter by the Rev. W. Dodsworth.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew; Canon of Christ Church; late Fellow of Oriel College. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

To speak of this Letter in the manner which its importance deserves, would demand more space than is now at our disposal. We must therefore content ourselves with a very few general remarks.

The object of the Letter is to afford an explanation of the author's position and principles, at a moment when statements of the religious system inculcated by him, originating with his intimate friend Mr. Dodsworth, had been in uncontradicted circulation for many months, and had produced the most powerful effects upon the public mind. According to these uncontradicted statements, Dr. Pusey had been engaged in promoting the spread of Roman Catholic tenets and practices within the communion of the English Church. Now, considering the position which Dr. Pusey holds as the leader of the Tractarian party, and that the imputation thus thrown on him thus affected more or less all who were in any way connected with him, it does seem strange that no notice was taken of so serious a charge for nearly a year after it was made. However, it might have been at least expected, that when referred to, an exposition of principles would have been made, which would have put an end absolutely and for ever to any doubts or imputations connected with Mr. Dodsworth's charge. When a true son of the English Church is specifically accused of Romanism, there can be no doubt of the nature of his reply. He will speak in such language that there can be no

further mistake: he will declare that he condemns the Romish errors imputed to him.

But this, we regret to say, is what Dr. Pusey appears to be incapable of doing. He publicly exerted his influence to prevent any declaration against Romish error in the course of last autumn, at the meeting of the Bristol Union, and subsequently at a large meeting of the London Union on Church Matters; and in the work before us, his whole effort throughout is to justify the doctrines and practices which he has inculcated, by quotations from various writers, who are alleged to have taught in the same way as Dr. Pusey; and to justify them without attempting to prove that they are not substantially identical with Romanism;—and that Romanism teaches erroneous doctrines on those points, which ought to be condemned and rejected. In short, the state of the case is this:—Dr. Pusey is charged with having taught Romish doctrines. His defence is, that others in the English Church have taught the same doctrines that he has done! We cannot conceive a weaker and a more dangerous line of argument, inasmuch as it tends merely to transfer the objection against his tenets to those of the Church of England generally. The only effectual way of meeting the statement of Mr. Dodsworth was to show that Dr. Pusey could, consistently with his teaching and practice, condemn the errors of Romanism, and refute them. That he has not done so is, we fear, because he cannot do so with consistency; and because he is resolved to maintain consistency at all hazards.

XXXI.—*Poems.* By MARY ADA KING. London: Hatchards.

THESE poems are the productions of a very young lady, and are published, it appears, “in the faint hope of advancing the interests of her family, who have just suffered an irreparable affliction in the death of their beloved father.”

We do not know that we can more effectively aid in this object than by transcribing the following lines:—

“ TO MY FATHER, ON THE RECOVERY OF A HEAVY LOSS.

“ It was not very long ago

I saw a noble tree,

Which in a beauteous garden grew,

And seemed its deity.

“ Its stem was strong, its leaves were green,

It stood a comely sight;

Its foliage shelter'd summer birds,

And gave them rest at night.

• • • • •

" But soon the storm-clouds gathered fast,
The wind rose fierce and high,
The heavens looked dark and desolate—
A tempest sure was nigh.

" The rain came down a drenching shower,
And lightning fired the sky ;
The thunder roared, and shrieking winds
Went madly raging by.

" That tree had weathered storms before,
Whilst youthful currents run,
And hoped to live through future years
Beneath a genial sun.

" But Heaven yet called for better proofs
Of strength in battle's might ;
Right well it met the furious storm,
And nobly dared the fight.

" Now all the little feathered tribe
That sought in it repose,
To quit their leafy nests were driven
Before the evening's close.

" Full many fear'd the threaten'd loss
That dreadful day might bring,
And pray'd to God the storm might pass,
Yet spare the garden's king.

" My Father, this was like to thee,
When thou wert in adversity.

" The clouds withdrew, the rain o'erpast,
The winds forgot to sigh,
The golden sun was clear and bright,
The storm had travelled by." . . .

We regret that space prevents us from continuing this pleasing strain of poetry. The authoress has produced several pretty pieces, but her style is occasionally very unfinished.

xxxii.—*Sermons. By the late WALTER AUGUSTUS SHIRLEY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man.* London: Hatchards.

BISHOP SHIRLEY was a man of no ordinary ability and piety, and his Sermons, like every thing else that we have seen of his, are deserving of a perusal, and will amply repay it. There is something very peculiar in his style, which is not easily to be described—a flow of thought—an ease and eloquence of expression—a felicity of illustration—and frequently an originality of view,

which gives a considerable charm to his writings. But the Sermons before us have higher claims than these, in the deep and practical views of personal religion which they inculcate; and whatever opinion may exist as to the strict correctness of the author's doctrinal tenets in some points, no one can, we think, refrain from recognising the fervent piety and earnestness which pervade the whole.

XXXIII.—*An Argument for the Royal Supremacy. By the Rev. SANDERSON ROBINS, M.A.* London: Pickering.

MR. ROBINS applies himself, in the volume before us, to establish what all our greatest divines have invariably maintained—the right and power of Christian princes to interfere in the affairs of the Church. But Mr. Robins omits to point out, that if Christian people have a duty to obey Christian princes acting for the welfare of religion, Christian princes and rulers have an equal duty to guard and protect religion; and he may rest assured, that if the one duty is neglected, the other will be, in the long run, at an end. It is very true that Christian princes have authority over the Church; but if they should use their authority in opposition to God's law, and for the promotion of error instead of truth, they would not long retain their authority. James II. is an instance in point, and some will add Charles I. Let the State be *honest* in maintaining Christianity; and it may do nearly what it pleases. Such has, at all times, been the feeling of the Church.

XXXIV.—*The Church of the Redeemed, or the History of the Mediatorial Kingdom. Vol. I. By the Rev. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D., "Historiographer of the Church," &c.* Boston: Simpson. London: Cleaver.

THIS very learned and elaborate work is the first volume of Dr. Jarvis's History of the Church; and, commencing with the "Creation," carries down the history of the Church in five periods to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. We observe that Dr. Jarvis has dwelt at great length on the last period of the Jewish nationality; and, to say the truth, we think that, interesting as the details supplied by Josephus are, it is rather out of place to enter at great length on them in a Church history. We know that the universal practice, beginning with Eusebius, is opposed to us; but still we do think that matters like this, which are perfectly subsidiary to Christianity, should not occupy the prominent place

they too often do. For instance, we find that in the part of Dr. Jarvis's work referring to the history of the Church from the Ascension to the fall of Jerusalem, a period of forty years, there are only 13 pages out of 114 which refer actually to the history of the Church; the remainder being occupied with the history of the Jews or of the Romans. We do not know what Dr. Jarvis's plan of writing may be, but he seems to us to have taken a very cursory survey of the history of the Church during this period; and we should have thought that a careful analysis of the Acts and of the history of the Apostles subsequently to the resurrection, with some references to the legends of later times connected with this time, might with advantage have taken up a portion of the space occupied by the Jewish history. It appears to us that the principal object is superseded by collateral and subsidiary topics.

xxxv.—*Poems, Legendary and Historical.* By EDWARD H. FREEMAN, M.A., and the Rev. GEORGE W. COX, S.C.L., &c. London: Longmans.

THIS volume comprises a great number of poems in the ballad style on historical subjects; and reminds us a good deal of Aytoun and Macaulay. There is considerable poetical power in all we have read.

xxxvi.—*Hymnarium Sarisburiense, cum Rubricis et Notis Musicis,* &c. Londini: Darling.

A COLLECTION of all the old Latin hymns used in the Salisbury Breviary, with the old musical notation annexed. A considerable number of MSS. have been collated for this work. Its utility seems rather problematical.

xxxvii.—*Lays of Palestine.* London: Rivingtons.

A COLLECTION of poems on the principal events of the history of the Old Testament; evincing much piety, considerable imagination, and no particular felicity in composition, the style being in many cases rather involved and obscure.

xxxviii.—*Twenty-three Short Lectures on the Church Catechism.* By Archdeacon BERENS. London: Rivingtons.

WE should think this work will be found very useful by all persons who are engaged in teaching the Church Catechism. It fur-

nishes a complete popular commentary on it, and should be in the hands of all the clergy, and all Sunday-school teachers and school-masters.

XXXIX.—*Twelve Sermons.* By ROBERT SCOTT, M.A., *Prebendary of Exeter, and Rector of Luffenham, &c.* London: Masters.

A SERIES of very able and well-written discourses. We have been particularly struck by the earnest and faithful tone of the concluding sermon, on occasion of the author's retirement from a former parish. It is a very solemn and touching appeal to the consciences of his hearers.

XL.—*Family Prayers, Composed from the Book of Psalms by a Layman.* Edited by G. W. LEWIS, M.A., *Vicar of Crick, Derbyshire.* London: Hatchards.

THE notion of composing prayers in reference to the Psalms is not a new one; for Mr. Slade has produced some very excellent compositions of that nature. There is a large fund of prayers in this volume; but from the parts we have read, we are inclined to think that many of them would not be very well adapted for family worship.

XLI.—*Sermons, chiefly Catechetical.* By the Rev. R. DRUMMOND RAWNSLEY, M.A., *Vicar of Shiplake.* London: Hatchards.

THE greater part of this volume consists of a series of sermons on the Catechism, which extends as far as the end of the Creed. The discourses seem to be clearly and well written, and in a very practical and Christian tone. Their views appear to be very moderate and cautious.

XLI.II.—*The Life Everlasting; or, the Holy Life, the Intermediate Life, the Eternal or Consummate Life.* By JOHN WHITLEY, D.D., *Chancellor of Killaloe.* Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.

WE are glad to see a second edition of this work, because its perusal cannot fail to promote piety and devotion, and also because the large dimensions of the volume, and its consequent price, render its circulation some test of the value placed on works of a meditative and thoughtful character like that before us. The style is peculiar, eminently sententious, and uniform

throughout. Each sentence appears to be cast nearly in the same mould as its predecessor, and, in reading it aloud, it would be difficult to avoid getting into a chant or sing-song. Of the style which the book is composed in throughout, the opening of the first chapter will furnish a correct idea. From the Preface to the end of the book it is precisely the same.

“ The death of Christ is the life of the world : it is the great truth and fact of revealed religion ; at once the delight and wonder of angels in heaven, the fright and terror of devils in hell, and the peace and pardon of sinners upon earth. The passion is the centre of all our blessings, the spring of all our joys, the unfailing and overflowing source of life and bliss throughout earth and skies. For, ‘ the Lamb that was slain hath redeemed us by his blood, and made us kings and priests unto God and the Father,’ is the Hallelujah of Heaven. The cross is the prop and pillar of this world, of all worlds, for evermore. On the cross are based all our present peace and future hopes. It is our refuge and consolation here on earth,—it will be our boast and triumph in heaven above. The cross is the tree of knowledge and the tree of life united ; it opens our eyes to know the truth, and it gives us life and power to love and enjoy it. The cross is the life of holiness, and the death of sin,—the death of death itself, and of him that hath the power of death, the devil. By the bitter death and costly sacrifice of his Son, God has inflicted the curse, and found the ransom of our sins ; the debt has been paid, the forfeit exacted, and man redeemed. Christ on the cross is the true serpent raised by Moses to heal all the bites and stings of the old serpent. The surety and mediator of the new covenant has made a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. By raising our Surety, Representative, and Head, from the dead, God has shown that the price is paid, justice satisfied, the work accomplished, guilt atoned, and sinners saved.”

This passage will afford a fair specimen of Dr. Whitley’s style. Of his matter we can speak very favourably. His work evinces thought, research, and piety, of no ordinary stamp—abounding in illustrations derived from ancient philosophy—from history—from natural objects, and from science. Dr. Whitley is an orthodox Churchman of the old school, and pious old-fashioned Christians will hail the appearance of his book with joy, and give it a niche next to the “ *Whole Duty of Man*,” and Jeremy Taylor’s “ *Holy Living and Dying*.”

XLIII.—*Lectures on the Four Gospels Harmonised.* By the Rev. L. VERNON HARCOURT, M.A. Author of the “ *Doctrine of the Deluge*.” In 3 vols. London : Rivingtons.

THESE volumes are amongst the most valuable accessions to our
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store of homiletic theology that have come under our notice for a considerable length of time. They consist of a series of lectures on the Gospels harmonised, and arranged in short sections. In their general character they are not only practical and spiritual, but they abound with intelligent observation, and well-digested information; and to the more educated classes they will supply the kind of reading which is perhaps the best possibly adapted to their wants, combining, as it does, practical piety with the demands of a cultivated intellect and an intelligent mind.

XLIV.—*The Chronicle of Battel Abbey, from 1066 to 1176. Now first translated, with Notes, and an Abstract of the subsequent History of the Establishment.* By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., &c. London: J. R. Smith. 1851.

To those who have visited, or may visit, the splendid remains of Battel Abbey, rich as they are in historical recollections, and in architectural beauty, the volume before us will possess an interest which rarely attaches to antiquarian publications. But an original monkish history of Battel Abbey, comprising an almost contemporary account of the Battle of Hastings, of the history of William the Conqueror, of the foundation of the Abbey, and of all the particulars connected with its endowment and establishment, will possess, even for a larger class of readers, a very considerable value. The editor, whose family appears to have been connected, in the fifteenth century, with the abbey, by some transfer of property, has executed his work of translation apparently with great care and diligence; and he has subjoined a continuation of the history to the latest period. Some well-executed *fac similes* of the abbey records, add to the value of the work.

XLV.—*An Ecclesiastical Biography, containing the Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines, interspersed with Notices of Heretics and Schismatics, forming a brief History of the Church in every Age.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. Vol. VII. London: Rivingtons.

THE labours of the author of this volume, whether in the duties of his important parish, or with his pen, are enough to put most men to shame. Assuredly Dr. Hook is a living proof, that the production of works of research and of merit, does not depend in all cases on the enjoyment of what is called "literary leisure." The amount of reading requisite to produce such a volume as that before us—the thought and labour involved in the task of selection and abridgment alone—must have been very great;

but, however Dr. Hook has been enabled to find time to get through all his work, he has certainly produced an excellent volume of biography in this instance. We like all that we have read of it, particularly the lives of Luther and Melancthon, which occur in this portion of the work. We observe that Dr. Hook expects to conclude his undertaking in one more volume.

XLVI.—*The Chronological New Testament, in which the Text of the authorized Version is newly divided into paragraphs and sections, with the dates and places of transactions marked, the marginal references of the Translators, &c.* London: Blackader.

THIS edition of the New Testament, which is in the words of the authorized Version, is divided into new sections throughout by the editor, with a view to facilitate its study and comprehension. Chronological dates are frequently inserted, and the references are added; but we confess that we are unable to see that the editor has materially facilitated the study of the New Testament, unless, indeed, the printing of the marginal references at length be considered a marked improvement. We think it is very desirable; but we believe it has been already done by Mr. Moody.

XLVII.—*A popular Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.* By THOMAS STEPHEN, *Medical Librarian of King's College, London.* Second Edition. London: J. H. Batty.

FROM all we have seen of this little book, it seems well adapted for circulation amongst the intelligent middling classes and young persons. It comprises much sound information; and it certainly speaks out very manfully against Romish errors.

XLVIII.—*Hints for Happy Homes; or Amusements for all Ages.* London: J. and C. Mozley.

THIS tale is intended for young persons, and combines a great deal of amusing detail and stories, with accounts of games and amusements of all kinds.

XLIX.—*Tales for my Cousin. Translated and adapted from the German of FRANZ HOFFMAN. By FRANCIS M. WILBRAHAM.* London: Masters.

A VERY pretty series of tales. The young "Robinson Crusoe" in particular is extremely amusing.

L.—*A Vindication of the Church of England: in Reply to the Right Hon. Viscount Feilding, on his recent Secession to the Church of Rome. By the Rev. R. W. MORGAN, Perpetual Curate of Tregynon, Montgomeryshire.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS very able and well-argued defence of the Church of England deserves a far more lengthened notice than we can afford to bestow upon it at this moment. The Church is deeply indebted to Mr. Morgan for the amount of energy, earnestness, and learning which he has brought to bear on her defence in this work, and in his excellent book on the "Verities of the Church;" and we hope that we may be enabled, in our next number, to express more fully our sense of the value of these publications, and also of Mr. Collingwood's most sound and able volume of Sermons on the Church.

LI.—*Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels. By a COUNTRY PASTOR, Author of "Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting a Future State."* London: J. W. Parker.

THIS volume treats of the following subjects:—Angels—Reasons for Revealing to Man the Ministrations of Holy Angels—Cessations of Sensible Angelic Visits—Evil Angels—Reasons for Revealing to Man the Existence of Evil Spirits—Demoniacs—Temptations of our Saviour and his followers—Prevailing Errors relative to Satanic Agency. This will furnish some notion of the extent of the subject traversed by the author; and we are bound to say, that he has treated it with all his well-known acuteness and ability, and in such a spirit and tone as the subject calls for. His arguments and warnings against Rationalistic and Socinian theories, and against popular errors and superstitions, appear to be excellent, as far as we can judge. The whole work, as it seems to us, is calculated to maintain those doctrines which arise from the simple and common-sense view of the meaning of Scripture.

LII.—*Privileges, Duties, and Perils in the English Branch of the Church of Christ, at the present time: Six Sermons, preached in Canterbury Cathedral, in September and October, 1850. By BENJAMIN HARRISON, M.A., Archdeacon of Maidstone, Canon of Canterbury.* London: Rivingtons.

WE select from these pious and excellent discourses the following passage, as illustrative of the tone and the principles which pervade them throughout:—

“ Infidelity is even now ready to put itself daringly forth in various forms of error, adapted to different ranks and orders of men, to the learned and ignorant alike, ‘ high and low, rich and poor, one with another.’ And the emissaries of Rome meanwhile are ready on their part, indulging at once the spirit of progress and the love of novelty, with the semblance withal of antiquity; and that which is to satisfy the craving for absolute universal certainty in matters of religion. They will be endeavouring craftily to persuade men that the middle way of the Church of England, the old way which our fathers in the faith have trodden in purity and in peace, is a delusion and a dream; that there is no possible intermediate course between the unbridled licence of individual opinion, a proud self-sufficient rationalism on the one hand, or on the other entire unquestioning submission to the authority of an infallible Church, and of a supreme judge of controversies, a Vicar of Christ upon earth. They will be found stamping with that usurped authority, falsely claiming to be Divine, not only the twelve new articles which Papal supremacy in the sixteenth century dared to add to those of the ancient Creed, but also whatever so-called ‘ developments’ the spirit of a presumptuous or a profane theology may think fit to engraft on ‘ the faith which was once for all delivered to the Saints,’ and preserved and handed down in the Creeds and Confessions of the Church Apostolic, not Roman, but Catholic. Against the specious sophistries, the false sentimentalism, and the alluring enticements of modern Romanism, the unwary have great need to be put upon their guard; and those persons assuredly incur a heavy responsibility and fearful peril, who expose themselves to temptation by reading Romish writings, using Romish devotions, attending Romish lectures, allowing themselves to be drawn within the web of Romish influence, and ensnared by the subtlety of the well-practised controversialists, the proselyting agents and converts of the Church of Rome.”—pp. 108, 109.

The discourses appear to be marked by the learning and the sobriety of judgment which are eminently the characteristics of their respected author’s works.

LIII.—*The Treatise of Albertus Magnus* [1193—1280] *De adherendo Deo: Of adhering to God. A Translation from the Latin.* London: C. Gilpin.

THE merits of this little Treatise of Albertus Magnus are thus detailed in the Translator's Preface:—

"The treatise in question was the highest teaching of his well-instructed soul. Flowing from the centre of a mind, which fixed on the immovable ground of faith, had surveyed the glorious realities of the world in which spirit only lives, it shows that the antepast of that rest which remains for the people of God, could and should now be enjoyed by the new-born, in the harmonizing influence upon every faculty of the mind which the contemplation of it induces. As others, who have tasted of the powers of the world to come, he felt and saw that the great antagonizing power was the world present, in all its material relations and occurrences, distracting and dissipating the capacities of the intellect, and absorbing the affections of the soul; and by personal actual process was fitted to give the precious counsel afforded in this treatise 'Of adhering to God.' There is nothing that partakes of private bias, or colour of aught that is misanthropic, or peculiar to a particular notion or profession; nothing needing palliation or exception. The indwelling love speaking in the outflowing charity of act, the truth of God, here as ever, shows itself the only universal."

It appears to us that these encomiums are fully merited by the Treatise, which is certainly an interesting production, as having been written in the thirteenth century—a period not remarkable for purity of doctrine.

LIV.—*Hymns with Notes.* By JAMES JOYCE, A.M., Vicar of Dorking. London: J. J. Guillaume.

A COLLECTION of short Hymns on scriptural subjects, intended for the use of the poor. Each hymn is preceded by a passage of Scripture, and followed by a note containing appropriate remarks of a devotional character. It seems well calculated for circulation amongst the poor.

LV.—*The Way through the Desert; or, the Caravan.* By the Rev. R. MILMAN, M.A., Author of "*The Voices of Harvest*," &c. London: Masters.

IN this very well-written parable, the author proposes to himself to point out the evil of mistaking outward decency and respectability of life, and a righteousness according to this world, for that complete renovation and transformation which the Scriptures set before us as the mark of God's true children.

- LVI.—*Science Simplified, and Philosophy, Natural and Experimental, made Easy.* By the Rev. DAVID WILLIAMS, M.A.
London: Piper.

THIS Simplification of Science, in the shape of a Two-shilling book, contains a series of questions and answers on Animal Physiology, Vegetable Physiology, Mechanics, Optics, Astronomy, and Geology. Of course, it gives merely an outline. We observe it is intended for use in Schools, but the style appears rather too difficult to render it available for such a purpose.

- LVII.—*A Series of Texts: arranged for the Use of Christians in the way of Prayer and Promise, in the Hope of affording Guidance and Consolation in Seasons of Difficulty, Trial, and Affliction.* By a Lady. Edited by the Rev. W. SINCLAIR, Perpetual Curate of St. George's, Leeds. London: Hatchards.

THIS collection of Texts is arranged under the various subjects which are likely to give comfort and to impart instruction in time of sickness. The texts, comprising prayers or precepts, and the promises, are arranged on opposite pages, so that the reader can pass from the duty pointed out to the promise attached to it. The plan seems a good one, and novel.

- LVIII.—*The Museum of Classical Antiquities: a Quarterly Journal of Architecture and the Sister Branches of Classic Art. No. I.* January, 1851. London: J. W. Parker.

THIS is a new Quarterly Journal, intended to afford a medium for communications from antiquarians, architects, travellers, and others who may feel interest in the subject of classical antiquities, with a more especial reference to architecture and the connected branches of art. The number before us contains able and interesting papers by Fra Giocondo, M. Hiltorf, Professor Donaldson, Professor Schoenborn, W. W. Lloyd, Esq., Edward Falconer, Esq., and others, relating chiefly to architecture and classical remains.

- LIX.—*A Commentary on the Te Deum; chiefly from ancient Sources.* By A. P. FORBES, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin.
London: Masters.

THE little volume before us will be acceptable to a considerable class of readers: to others it will not be so. The very illustration at the commencement will give offence to some. In it God the

Son is represented surrounded by angels, one of which bears the Cross, while, on either hand, are seated a long array of kings, bishops and *monks*. Some of the *authorities* quoted in the body of the work will be regarded with jealousy at present. "St. Thomas Aquinas"—"Horst, *Paradisus Animæ*"—"L. de Granada"—"Cornelius à Lapide"—"The Synod of Bethlehem"—"Maldonatus"—"Rodriguez"—"Lorenzo Scupoli," &c.—are authorities more generally referred to by Roman Catholics than by orthodox Churchmen. We deeply regret the sanction thus given to those who look to Rome as their model; and we regret it the more, considering all that has been reported in reference to the author. We say this with the fullest sense of the piety which distinguishes the writings of Bishop Forbes, and with the highest respect for his office and himself personally; but under a feeling of no little anxiety and alarm.

LX.—*Thoughts on important Church Subjects. Seven Lectures.*
By R. C. COXE, M.A., Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Hon.
Canon of Durham.

THESE Lectures are, as appears from the title, printed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, "for the Churchwardens of St. Nicholas," and may be had at "the Vestry," and at various booksellers. This is really most gratifying. We observe the volume is dedicated to "Matthew Lee, William Young, Henry Ingledew, and William Nesham, at whose particular request and cost this volume has been published." We congratulate the excellent author on so complete a proof of the value placed on his Lectures by his own parishioners. We do not remember such an instance of appreciation. We are also glad to be enabled to add, that the acceptableness of these Lectures proves, that where a clergyman honestly and faithfully warns and guards his flock against Romish error, he need not fear to put forth the rights of the Church of England as a true and firm branch of the Catholic Church.

LXI.—*No Need of a Living Infallible Guide in Matters of Faith : a Series of Sermons, recently preached in Whitkirk Church.* By the Rev. ARTHUR MARTINEAU, M.A., Vicar of Whitkirk, Yorkshire, and Rural Dean. London: Rivingtons.

AMONGST the many publications which have recently issued from the press on this and kindred topics, Mr. Martineau's discourses on a Living Infallible Guide will hold an honourable place. His Sermons evince much thought, and a perfect acquaintance with his subject; and we shall be happy to see them obtain an extended circulation.

LXII.—*Papal Infallibility: a Letter to a Dignitary of the Church of Rome, in Reply to a Communication received from him.* By G. S. FABER, B.D., Master of Sherborne Hospital, and Prebendary of Salisbury. London: Rivingtons.

WE have perused this publication of Mr. Faber's with the highest satisfaction, and we commend it to the especial attention of our readers. In a short compass it comprises one of the best arguments against Rome that we remember to have seen. We must give our readers the benefit of one or two extracts on important points.

The Council of Trent itself, as Mr. Faber shows, appeals to the testimony of antiquity as proof of Romish tenets. The Church, according to this synod, and to the general run of Romish writers, *always taught* the doctrines she now does.

"The Council of Trent professes to deliver nothing *mero motu*. The key-note, which runs through it from beginning to end, is: that the Entire Scheme of Doctrine, which it propounds, has nothing of vicious Novelty in it, but was *ALWAYS* received in the Church Catholic. *SEMPER hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit.* The *ALWAYS* of this precise Scheme, exactly as drawn out and defined by the Council, constitutes the repeatedly declared ground of its obligatory acceptance. You are bound, say they, to receive it, not because *we* declare it by our own insulated private judgment, but because from the beginning it has ever been the clearly-defined System of the *Universal Church*.

"Here, then, on the very principle of Tertullian's Canon as also on the principle of Vincent's Canon, is a palpable Appeal to *FACT*. And the *FACT* in question, like any other asserted Fact, can only be established by *HISTORICAL TESTIMONY*. The Infallibility of the Council itself is virtually disclaimed. It delivers nothing by its own naked authority: it reposes the whole system of its well-defined Doctrine upon the asserted truth of an alleged *FACT*. Such being the case, we are invited, throwing all Conciliar Infallibility aside, to test the Assertion by Documentary Evidence from the very age of the Apostles. For, unless the test be carried up to the First Preaching of the Gospel, we plainly have no proof in the *ALWAYS*.

"This test, on the strength of the Tridentine Council's own authoritative recommendation, I proposed, between twenty and thirty years ago, to my then opponents Bishop Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth. But (*honor sit auribus*) the former, though at the request of Mr. Massingberd, who desired me to answer his so-called *Discussion Amicale*, I was even ultraistically polite to him, was so disgusted with me, that he declared he would never read another line of what I wrote: while the latter, who, uninvited by myself, somewhat literally took up the cudgels for him, pronounced me a born natural for putting forth so absurd and unreasonable a test as an Appeal to Historical Testimony, albeit propounded by the Council of Trent itself.

"Still, it was necessary to say *something*: and, accordingly, a reply was attempted by each of the two gentlemen; and, since then, yet a third reply to the difficulty, though not professing to be such, has been put forth by our friend Mr. Newman in his *Work on Development*.

"1. Dr. Trevern, in *his* answer, censured the unreasonableness of requiring, from the Documents of the three first centuries, any *written* proofs of the repeated statements of the Council of Trent, that the Faith defined by that Council had *ALWAYS* been in the Church of God: because, said he, the *Disciplina Arcani* forbade all committing of the Doctrines of the Church to *writing*; and delivered them, *orally alone*, to the initiated."—pp. 16—18.

"2. Mr. Husenbeth, when *he* stepped forward as the proxy of the bishop, took up quite a different ground: but, unluckily, it was altogether inconsistent with that of his principal; inasmuch that, of very necessity, the one made the other untenable.

"From this gentleman, we hear nothing of Dr. Trevern's solution of the difficulty through the medium of the *Disciplina Arcani*. On the contrary, *his* solution is, not that the proofs were *never* committed to *writing*, but that they *had been* committed to *writing* though unhappily through the envy of Time *they had all perished*.

"As for my luckless self, he avers, that I must be an absolute simpleton to think of demanding *written proofs* of the Tridentine Assertion from the documents of the three first centuries, when so many of them had been lost, that the scanty remnant formed only so many broken *stepping-stones*.

"I stop not to calculate the number and to measure the bulk of Mr. Husenbeth's *stepping-stones*, though some may think that he considerably underrated both their tale and their dimensions. Be that, however, as it may, he confessed his inability to produce the required *Written Documentary Proofs*.

"According, then, to Dr. Trevern, no *Written Proofs* ever existed: according to Mr. Husenbeth, *Written Proofs* certainly *had* existed in despite of the *Disciplina Arcani*, but unluckily they had all perished.

"Thus, in their *theories*, the two gentlemen differed *toto cælo*: but, in the *fact*, that, from the *Written Documents* of the three first centuries, they could produce no *proof* of the large Tridentine *ALWAYS*, they fully agreed. And, accordingly, from that day to this, neither of them has given the *required proofs*.

"3. So the case stood, when I was engaged with these two Divines.

"At *that* time, neither they nor myself had ever heard of the principle of *DEVELOPMENT*; though it must be confessed, that Mr. Husenbeth, whatever he might mean, *declared* his ability to prove the *ALWAYS* in the three first centuries, albeit not in the precise manner so unreasonably required by myself. But, *subsequently*, this same principle (unless Dr. Moehlor be a rival for the honour of its invention) has been propounded, in mood and form, by our ingenious friend, Mr. Newman; and has been adopted, I observe, as satisfactory, by yourself.

"With him, you state: that the *Germ* (such is your own very appro-

priate word) of all the doctrines which the Tridentines assert to have ALWAYS existed in the Church Catholic, really *did* thus exist; though the *Germ* itself was only gradually developed and expanded, through a long succession of fructifying ages, into the maturity, if indeed the *full* maturity, of the Tridentine Definitions.

"This new theory may, peradventure, be a making the best of an inveterately bad case: but like the two former theories of Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth, it *really*, so far as respects the three first centuries (even to say nothing of many still later ages), gives up the matter."—pp. 16—20.

We cannot specify any more of the excellent points made by Mr. Faber in this pamphlet, but we should like to see it printed in a cheap form and largely circulated. It is the best of his productions we remember to have seen.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AMONGST pamphlets and publications bearing on the recent discussions caused by the Papal aggression, and the Ritual contest, are the following:—"Remarks on the Influence of Tractarianism, or Church Principles, so called, in promoting Secessions to the Church of Rome," by the Rev. Theyre T. Smith, M.A., Vicar of Wymondham, &c. (London: Fellowes)—a very serious, thoughtful, and well-reasoned publication, deserving of the fullest attention; "The glorious Liberty of the Children of God," by "Emancipator," a nominal attack on Romanism, but really on the English Church; "A Letter to the London Union on Church Matters," by the Rev. Edward Edwards, Rector of Penegoes (Hatchards), a distinct and manly avowal of sound principles, including a repudiation of the Romanizing tendencies of some *soi-disant* Churchmen; "St. Mary the Virgin and the Wife," by the Rev. J. Moultrie (Whittaker), a poem for circulation amongst the poor, conveying much sound instruction in opposition to the wiles of Romish proselytism; "The Black Fever," another poem, in reference to Romanism, by the same author; "St. Paul's Prediction of the Falling Away, and the Man of Sin," four Lectures, by the Rev. J. W. Gleadall, A.M. (Cuming), applying those prophecies to the Church of Rome, in a popular way; "The Jurisdiction of the Crown in Matters Spiritual: A Letter to the Rev. M. E. Manning," by the Rev. F. Vincent, advocating the Royal Supremacy, but temperately, and in a right spirit, and alluding, in a respectful tone, to the doubts entertained of the faith of the clergyman addressed; "Sound an Alarm," a Sermon, by the Rev. C. Gutch (Masters), in opposition to the proposed suggestions for altering the Prayer Book; "What is the Church," a Sermon, by the Rev. Edward

Stuart (Masters), alleging that we have the same means of grace as are found in the Church of Rome; "Rome's Outworks," by the Rev. C. R. De Havilland (Hatchards), an able and well-reasoned refutation of Romanism, and containing suggestions for its repression; "The Hunting and Finding Out of the Romish Fox" (J. W. Parker), a reprint of a curious tract against Romanism, written by Dr. Turner in 1543; "Substance of a Speech at a Public Meeting at Monmouth," by Samuel Bosanquet, Esq. (Hatchards), a well-meant, but rather wild production, appearing to throw the blame of divisions quite as much on the Church of England as on Dissenters; "Was St. Peter ever at Rome?" by the Rev. J. S. M'Corry" (Dolman), a laboured attempt to prove that St. Peter was at Rome, and that Rome was the *Babylon* of the New Testament,—rather an incautious line of argument for a Romanist! "Historical and Practical Remarks on the Papal Aggression" (Rivingtons), a very unsatisfactory tract, calculated to unsettle, rather than confirm, faith in the English Church; "The Present Crisis," four Sermons, by the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson (Rivingtons), very sound, learned, and able in its references to Romanism; "Earl Grey's Circular," by Dudley M. Perceval, Esq. (Rivingtons), pointing out the encouragement given to Romish Aggression by the conduct of the Colonial Minister; "The Position of our Church as to Rome," a Sermon, by the Rev. Wilson Pedder (Masters), arguing the Catholicity of our Church against Rome; "On the Mode of Improving Present Opportunities," by the Rev. T. A. Maberly (Masters), suggesting an application for Convocation, and the freedom of the Church; "The Peril of Papal Aggression," by Anglicanus (Bosworth), a vigorous attack on Romish error and intolerance, and a recommendation of repressive measures; "Where has the Pope aggrieved?" by the Rev. H. Newland (Masters), dissuading from all opposition to the Papal Aggression; "The Church of England not High, not Low, but Broad as the Commandment of God," a Letter to the Prime Minister, by T. W. Peile, D.D. (J. W. Parker), suggesting an improved organization of the Church of England, with its Synods and augmented Episcopacy, as the true mode of meeting Romish Aggression:—a very valuable pamphlet; "Papal Aggressions; how they should be met," by "a Member of the United Church of England and Ireland" (J. W. Parker), recommending the expulsion of Tractarians from the Church; "Danger to the Faith," a Sermon at Haverstock Hill, by the Rev. J. Baines (Kingcombe), published by request of the congregation, and speaking even more freely against State Aggression than against Papal Aggression; "Cautions for the Times" (J. W. Parker), ably written tracts on matters connected

with the present state of the Church, and on *Papal Aggression*; "Notes on the Constitution of Sheepfolds," by J. Ruskin (Smith, Elder, and Co.), a curious medley of opinions on Church matters, violent against the priesthood, urgent for an increased Episcopate, for Church discipline, and for the union of Protestants; "The Unfruitful Vineyard," a Sermon, by the Rev. H. Lomas (Masters), very indignant at Lord John Russell's Durham Letter; "The True Cause of Dishonour to the Church of England," by the Rev. C. Marriott (J. H. Parker), pointing out State Aggression as the cause of fear now; "A Practical Address on Recent and Coming Events within the Church," by the Rev. George Sandby (Painter), strongly adverse to the Tractarian party, and yet not opposed to some alterations in our present system in the direction of Synods or Church assemblies of some sort.

We have also, amongst other pamphlets bearing on these and similar questions. "Lights on the Altar," by a Layman (Rivingtons), disapproving the practice; "Tractarian Tendencies," by Rev. Dr. Worthington (Hatchards), a strong attack on Mr. Bennett; "Dr. Arnold and Rev. W. J. E. Bennett," by John Wynne, an equally strong attack; "Party Spirit," by Rev. Canon Trevor (Bell), an expostulation with the Vicar of Sheffield, who had prevented him from preaching in the parish church; "A Plea for United Responding in the Public Worship," by Rev. J. F. Hodgson (Masters), a useful tract; "Assertions not Proofs: an Examination of the Rev. D. Wilson's Appeal" (Masters), an argument against Mr. Wilson's proposals; "Puseyites (so-called) no Friends to Popery," by Rev. J. Ingle: a well-meant pamphlet, but defending a cause which is no longer defensible; "The Prayers to be said or sung," by the Rev. W. B. Flower (Masters), in vindication of ritualism; "A Review of Rev. W. J. E. Bennett's Letter," by W. Thorpe, D.D. (Seeleys), in strong opposition to ritualism; "Defence of the Orthodox Party in the Church of England," by Hon. Colin Lindsay (Masters), comprising a defence of the alterations in divine worship recently effected, and general defence of what the author calls the "High Church Party;" "A Letter to Lord Ashley," by a Lay Member of the Church of England (Seeleys), suggesting alterations in the direction of dissent; "Statement of the Clergy of St. Saviour's" (Masters), an attack on the Bishop of Ripon for attempting to suppress Romanizing practices; "Memorial of the Churchwardens of Westbourne," by Rev. H. Newland (Masters), a tract in which the extreme indulgence and kindness of the Bishop of Chichester stands in strong contrast to the tone of defiance adopted by Mr. Newland. Amongst other publications we may

notice "Adult Evening Schools," a Letter to the Bishop Norwich by a Country Curate (Longmans), from which the following passage is extracted :

" The author of these pages entered upon the curacy of two parishes in this diocese in October. Though for the education of the rising generation of the poor of both parishes ample provision has been made for some years past, the older inhabitants, as in most parts of the diocese, are lamentably ignorant. To remedy this, Adult Evening Schools, meeting three times a week, were established in both parishes the management of which was confided to the author. They met the first time on the 3rd and 4th of December. At Parish A, the number on the first night was 11 ; at Parish B, 10. After the first week, the numbers greatly increased ; and the average attendance some time has been nearly 27 at Parish A, and nearly 40 at Parish B. The extent of knowledge at these schools is of a most elementary nature. At Parish A, not more than 3 or 4 can read with fluency. At Parish B, the first class, containing 14 or 15, read fairly ; the second class, read perfectly ; and some in the third class cannot read at all. Writing and arithmetic are in the same elementary state.

" But a gratifying feature presents itself, in the high promise which these schools afford. The payments, for which no credit is allowed, willingly made ; the desire to improve is most eager ; and the advancement is most rapid. Men who could not read a word, can now read and spell ; some who had never formed a letter, can now write neatly on paper. In the first class at Parish B, men who could read only in a fashion, but not spell, nor bear to be questioned, can now spell words and answer questions arising from the subject, readily and with gusto. They are, indeed, most eager to obtain knowledge, and in most cases they endeavour on off nights to improve themselves at home. Their interest too, comparatively unfelt before, which they take in the progress of their children or relations at the National Schools, is most pleasing and valuable.

" I might here state my firm conviction, that had the study of vocal music been introduced (which a local circumstance forbade) the number would have been far greater. As it is, I have good reason for expecting that the following winter will witness a more numerous attendance even without such a popular inducement.

" At Parish B, almost all of those who are not necessarily engaged meet between services on the Sunday : though no one is then present for themselves, they are most orderly and assiduous under the conduct of the monitors. They afterwards proceed to church. Attendance on Sunday is quite optional.

" The following is an analysis of the ages of the Adults at Parish B :

1	above	40	4	above	25
8	"	30	11	"	20
15 above 16."					

"These schools, now in the second year of their institution, are more prosperous than ever. They were re-opened in the early part of October: vocal music is introduced, and, even after paying a singing master, the whole system is entirely *self-supporting*.

"An important and most satisfactory feature in the plan is, the thorough approval it meets with from all classes. At Parish A, the school is most efficiently conducted by a private gentleman, to whom the author will *ever feel most gratefully indebted*; and his own occasional presence is not a matter of necessity, but a source of pleasure and satisfaction.

"At Parish B, in which the author is resident, another friend to the cause has come forward as a regular instructor, and the author's labours have been much lightened by the assistance of volunteers. Of these—the employers of the pupils—more would be happy to aid were their assistance really needed."—pp. 15, 16.

We have to notice the "Family Almanac" for 1851 (J. H. Parker), as containing a great deal of information about Foundation and Grammar Schools; "The Calendar of St. Augustine's College" (Rivingtons), an interesting volume; a "Sermon," by Rev. T. Woodward, at the Consecration of the Bishop of Meath, very able and sound; a "List of all the Sees of the Eastern Church," by Rev. J. M. Neale; "Scripture Politics," a Sermon by Rev. C. Girdlestone (Rivingtons), advocating Christian principle as the only true guide in politics; "The Naturalist," a cheap Monthly Magazine, on subjects referring to natural history, edited by Dr. Morris (Groombridge), and apparently very well executed; "Parochial Papers on Missions" (J. H. Parker), containing suggestions for establishing parochial associations for missionary purposes; "The Church patient in her mode of dealing with Controversies," a Sermon, by Rev. A. W. Haddan (J. H. Parker); "The Pew Question" (Masters), relating the successful issue of an attempt to make a church free; "God is Love," a Sermon, by Rev. H. M. Wagner, relating to the refusal to make a Church-rate at Brighton; "Substance of Speeches at Bridgend and Newport" (J. W. Parker), containing most interesting accounts of the state of religion in South Wales, and the exertions now being made to meet the destitution so prevalent there; "Two Sermons," by Rev. Osmond Fisher (Rivingtons), very sound and excellent discourses in reference to the Papal Aggression, and pointing out the necessity for the revival of synodal action.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AFRICA.—*Diocese of Cape Town.—Visit of the Bishop to a Kaffir Chief.*—The Bishop of Cape Town paid a visit, in August last, to a Kaffir chief, named Umhala, of the T'Zalambie tribe, at his kraal, on the Groubic, near Fort Waterloo. Having encamped at a short distance from the kraal, the Bishop, accompanied by the Rev. F. Fleming, who carried a blanket, and some beads and knives, as presents, and by Mr. G. Shepstone, the interpreter to the T'Zalambie Commissioner, proceeded on foot to the Kaffir camp. He was received by Umhala in his hut, in the presence of his counsellors, sons, and wives, amounting in all to forty or fifty souls. The hut was large and spacious, built on a circle of poles, about seven or eight feet high. In the centre was a wood-fire, the smoke from which, with the fumes of tobacco, filled the atmosphere. The Bishop sat near the door of the hut on the ground, on a skin, with Mr. Shepstone and Mr. Fleming on either side of him. Umhala sat opposite, in the middle. The Bishop opened the interview by asking Umhala, through the interpreter, if he knew him, and where he had seen him. He replied, "Yes, I know you, you are the 'inkosi enkulu'" (great chief) of the Christians, and I saw you with Smith at the great meeting at King William's Town." The Bishop then informed him that he was come to see him, and converse with him about sending him a missionary, or teacher, to instruct him and his people in the ways of God. Umhala expressed at some length, and with warmth, his obligations for the visit, and thanked the Bishop for his offer of a teacher, saying, he would treat him very kindly when he came, and listen to him. The Bishop then informed him, that he brought him a present of a blanket, at which he seemed much pleased, received it from Mr. Fleming, and then rose, and shaking hands with the Bishop, thanked him very warmly. The Bishop next asked Umhala, if the Archdeacon had not lately paid him a visit? He replied, "Yes, and he liked him very much," adding, "if you send me teachers for my people *he* must be one of them." The Bishop explained that he could not spare the Archdeacon, as he was a chief among the Christians. "Of that I am aware," replied Umhala, "but I am a chief among my people the T'Zalambies, and a chief ought to be taught by a chief. You, the great chief, I know cannot come to me, as you have to travel far, I hear, but *he* must come." The Bishop again tried to explain that he could not spare the Archdeacon for missionary work; but the old chief, though assenting to all the Bishop said, invariably returned to his point, "that he must have the Archdeacon as his teacher." The Bishop asked

him, "why he was so anxious for him in particular?" To which he replied, "that he liked him—he was a fine fellow—a chief—and ought to teach a chief." The Bishop told him "that a young man, the son of one of our greatest chiefs over the seas, had offered to come and be his teacher." Umhala replied, "he was very much obliged to him; he *might* come, and he would be glad to have him, but the Archdeacon must come too."

The Bishop then in a few words explained to them what their missionaries, when they arrived, would teach them. They all listened, some most attentively. Having ended his discourse, the Bishop proceeded to distribute, through Mr. Fleming, presents to the chief's children and counsellors, &c., consisting of beads and knives; after which he partook of some curded milk offered him by way of refreshment. The Bishop took particular notice of the children, as one by one they were presented to receive their string of beads—Umhala all the while enumerating his family, consisting in all of eight wives and twenty-six children. After a lengthened interview, the Bishop took his leave, and returned to his own encampment. The next morning at breakfast-time the chief appeared, attended by his eight wives, and reminded the Bishop that he had forgotten to give presents to them the night before. His Lordship promised each of them a handkerchief, which seemed to please them much, and after giving them some breakfast, took leave of the old chief, who, at parting, presented the Bishop with his assagai, as a token that there was peace between them.

Liberia.—The American Mission.—The Mission of the American Church to Liberia is in a most promising condition. The Rev. John Payne, D.D., the long-trying and faithful Missionary at Cape Palmas, who, at the last meeting of the triennial Convention, at Cincinnati, was elected Bishop for the Mission in West Africa, is about to return from Liberia to the United States, for the purpose of being consecrated. The Rev. C. C. Hoffman sailed from Baltimore for Cape Palmas, on the 21st of Dec. At this station multitudes of the natives, with their children, regularly attend divine service, and the various schools established by the Missionaries. A long line of coast, however, about 700 miles, between them and Sierra Leone, yet remains unoccupied by Episcopal Missions. There is a large tribe of natives anxious for instruction, at Bassa Cove, about midway between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone; and a plan has long been in contemplation for erecting there a Missionary church, schools, and, eventually, a theological seminary, for the colonists and native tribes. The territory of Liberia, within which no slavery is tolerated, now extends for 500 miles along the coast, from the Sherbro to the San Pedro. The form of government resembles that of the United States. The immigrant population amounts to about 7000: the natives to about 250,000 souls. The former are mostly liberated slaves, dependent on Christian nations for the means of erecting churches, chapels, and schools. Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, has established a theological seminary for training up blacks as Missionaries. In the island of Barbados, also, considerable interest is taken in the cause of

African Missions, and a general meeting of the Barbados Church Society was specially convened at Bridgetown, in November, with the view of originating a Church Mission from the West Indies to Western Africa.

AUSTRALIA.—Meeting of the Bishops at Sydney.—A conference of Australasian Bishops met on the 1st of Oct. last, at the Cathedral, at Sydney. Six Bishops, the Metropolitan of Sydney, the Bishops of Newcastle, Melbourne, Adelaide, Tasmania, and New Zealand, and sixteen clergymen, with others, received the Holy Communion together on the occasion. Touching the subjects discussed in the conference nothing has transpired. There was a public meeting held on the 29th of Oct., for the purpose of supporting the Bishop of New Zealand's mission to several islands within his diocese. An immediate subscription was proposed for providing the Bishop with a suitable vessel for visiting those islands, as his present vessel of twenty tons is considered unsafe. The Episcopal Conference, which broke up on the 31st of Oct., caused a great sensation at Sydney, and there is reason to hope that it will produce a beneficial and lasting effect both upon the population of Sydney, and upon the whole of our Colonial possessions in that part of the world.

Diocese of Newcastle.—Statistics.—The following account is given, by the Bishop of Newcastle, of the subdivision of his diocese into districts, under date of Aug. 3, 1850, and of the state of the Church at the different stations:—"1. *Newcastle*. Now laying out 500*l.* on the church, and building an excellent school. Forming plans also for a superior church grammar-school.—2. *Hexham*. New school, and master's house.—3. *Raymond Terrace*. New school. Enlarging church.—4. *Hexton, or Hunter*. Nice pretty church just finished.—5. *Donjoy*. Admirable school. Very nice church building; and parsonage agreed for.—6. *Morpeth*. Church beautifying. Master's house building. Admirable model-school built in stone.—7. *East Maitland*. The church to be new roofed and pewed.—8. *West Maitland*. The church enlarged and new pewed, or rather seated. Two excellent schools building.—9. *Singleton*. Admirable stone church just finishing; to be consecrated in about two months. Good school building.—10. *Jerry's Plains*. A beautiful stone church just finished in this district; to be consecrated in about three months. Two others building, one of stone and one of brick.—11. *Wollambi*. Stone church, finished and consecrated. Parsonage building.—12. *Muswell Brook*. Very handsome chancel added to the church. New church at Merton, just finished. Small new church, wooden, at Meriwa. New school at Cassilis; to be used temporarily as a church.—13. *Scone*. Tower building to church; school building at Wurrurndi (also temporarily as a church).—14. *Tamworth*. Parsonage just built. School building. Plans making for a church.—15. *Armidale*. Very pretty church just finished and consecrated. Parsonage and schoolmaster's house building.—16. *Clarence River*. Parsonage building.—17. *Darling Downs*.

Parsonage building. School building. To be used temporarily as a church.—18. *Ipswich*. Parsonage building; admirable school building.—19. *Brisbane*, Moreton Bay. A beautiful parsonage building; and church.—20. *Strand*. Parsonage, church, school.—21. *Port Macquarie*. Parsonage, church, school; parsonage now building.—22. *Patterson*. Parsonage and church.—23. *Brisbane Water*. Parsonage and temporary church.—These, at present, are my districts, or parishes, as they would be called in England; or rather counties (for some are 12 miles in length, by 80 or 100 in breadth). Two of these I have formed *afresh*, pushing out after the enterprising squatters, and being the first to supply their spiritual wants."

Melbourne Diocese.—Mission to the Bush.—The Rev. S. L. Chase, accompanied by Mr. Palmer, as a lay-assistant, left Melbourne, at the end of May, upon a missionary journey into the interior. He proceeded along the Sydney road to Wangaratta, turning off and stopping at various places on his route. From the last-named place he writes:—"All along the route we have experienced great kindness; and, whilst Mr. Palmer has been much occupied in selling books, I have found great opportunities of preaching the Word. I have slept at fourteen different places, and been absent from home seventeen days. Every thing has prospered with us, and I am greatly pleased with the manner in which my Christian companion has fulfilled his duty. By writing to all the settlers, whom I purpose visiting on my return (and each day is already arranged for), my hope is to meet as large congregations as can be collected, and that the good Lord may vouchsafe His gracious blessing is my earnest prayer." Immediately upon Mr. Chase's return, the Rev. J. H. Gregory purposes to set off upon a journey along the western port road, as far as Cape Shark.

Adelaide.—Institution for the Natives.—Archdeacon Hale, of Adelaide, is exerting himself to form an Institution, in which natives who have been brought up at the Adelaide school, and others, who may seem fit subjects for admission, may be gathered together in a separate community, apart from the vicious portion of the white population as well as the wild portion of the blacks, and kept under regular Christian instruction, and the enjoyment of the means of grace, with a view to their becoming gradually accustomed to habits of industry, and to a more settled mode of life. Port Lincoln has been selected as the locality for the intended institution. The Archdeacon has published an appeal, in which he states that the whole of the means at present employed for the instruction of the *aborigines*, in the neighbourhood of Adelaide, consist of *schools* for the *children* of either sex, who, however, on leaving the school, go forth again upon the world under circumstances the most unfavourable to their civil or religious culture. Their habits prevent the employment of any agency to keep them in mind of that Supreme Being whose name they have been taught to call upon. They are without pastoral superintendence of any kind, without the means of grace, without refuge or protection from the contaminations of vice which

surround them on every side. The funds for the support of the institution are to be supplied conjointly by the colonial government and by voluntary contributions, administered through the Church of England. The latter undertakes to *find, pay, and support* the missionary superintendent, and all other Europeans employed in conducting the affairs of the institution. The government aid amounts at present to the sum of 200*l.* for the erection of the necessary huts, and the promise to maintain a limited number of married couples for a period of twelve months.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—*Diocese of Nova Scotia.—Memoir of the late Bishop.*—The Halifax "Church Times" gives the following biographical sketch of the late Bishop Inglis :—"Our late respected and beloved Bishop was born at New York, on the 9th of Dec., 1777, during the height of the struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States, in 1783. His father, who had been many years rector of Trinity Church, in New York, then removed to England, and carried with him his only son John. In 1787, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, the late rector of New York, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, and came to this province at the close of that year. It was mainly owing to the exertions of that venerable prelate, who was the first Protestant Bishop appointed to any British colony, that an Act of Assembly was passed in the year 1799, under which King's College, at Windsor, was established, and his son, the subject of this memoir, received his education at that institution. In the year 1800, Mr. Inglis went to England, to advance the interests of his Alma Mater, and owing to his indefatigable exertions, a valuable library, and some large pecuniary contributions, were obtained from the friends of the Church for the infant college—to which he continued a most zealous friend throughout his life. Upon his return to this country, in 1801, he entered into Holy Orders, and was appointed to the mission of Aylesford, where he was ever beloved and esteemed. In 1802, he married Eliza, daughter of the late Hon. Thomas Cochran, by whom he had a large family. In 1805, he again went to England, where he continued his exertions in behalf of the college. On his return he was appointed ecclesiastical commissary in this diocese, and as the infirmities of age increased upon his venerable parent, his zeal and assiduity to those duties, which as commissary he could perform, were highly conducive to the interests of the Church. Upon the death of his pious father, in 1816, the Rev. Dr. Stanser, then rector of St. Paul's, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, and Dr. Inglis succeeded to the charge of this parish—and some are still living who look back with admiration upon the zeal and talents that he then exhibited in his Master's cause. In 1825, Dr. Stanser's health and advanced age compelled him to retire finally from this country, and Dr. Inglis was appointed his successor. The diocese at that time included New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Bermuda; but extensive as it was, no part of it was neglected by this

indefatigable prelate. The clergy, in particular, will long cherish his memory—and think with gratitude and pleasure on the exertions he ever made to increase their usefulness and their comfort.

"In Nov., 1849, this pious prelate was engaged in the performance of his episcopal duties, at a distance from his home, in the county of Lunenburg, where he was suddenly attacked by serious illness. Mrs. Inglis and his medical attendant, Dr. Almon, immediately went to his assistance, and under their watchful care, he reached his home with difficulty; but from that attack he never recovered—after suffering months of pain, he was advised to try a change of climate, and left this in the steamer *Canada*, on the 3rd of Oct. last. He reached England, but his strength was gone, and the melancholy intelligence has now reached us that he expired in London on the 27th of Oct. last."

Arrangements with regard to the See.—Since the death of Dr. Inglis, a letter has been addressed to the Clergy of Nova Scotia, by the Archbishop of Canterbury—being the first time that the head of the English Church has addressed the Clergy of any province of the empire,—in which His Grace urges the necessity of contributions being raised within the diocese towards the endowment of the vacant bishopric. The Government allowance of 2000*l.* a-year terminated with the life of the late Bishop. The *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* holds in trust a certain capital to be applied to the maintenance of "Bishops in North America," from which the Society will probably contribute liberally to the continuance of the See of Nova Scotia, "provided," as the Archbishop observes in his letter, "that the Clergy and laity of that diocese show themselves ready to meet such annual grant by a liberal contribution on their part." In consequence of this communication from the Archbishop, a meeting of Clergy and Lay Delegates of the diocese of Nova Scotia, which assumed the name of a "Convention," and conducted its proceedings after the forms of business adopted by the American Church, was called by the Archdeacon, to make arrangements with a view to the endowment of their Bishopric. Among the resolutions passed at the meeting is the following:—"That it be an instruction to the Committee of Correspondence, to mention to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury a feeling among Churchmen in this diocese, that some measures be adopted for securing to them some voice in the nomination of their chief pastors, after the present vacancy shall have been filled up; and to solicit his counsel with regard to the best means of regulating generally the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of the Church."

Since the arrival of this intelligence in England, the Rev. H. Binney, of Worcester College, Oxford, has been nominated to the Bishopric of Nova Scotia.

Canada.—Proposed Total Abandonment of the Clergy Reserves.—It appears, from a letter addressed by Earl Grey to the Governor-General of Canada, that the Government have it in contemplation to obtain the sanction of the Imperial Legislature to the Act of the Provincial Legislature, for the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves in the provinces to

general purposes. Petitions against this measure of spoliation have been transmitted, or are in course of transmission, from every part of the province. That from Toronto alone has no less than 10,000 signatures. The petition to her Majesty from Quebec enters fully into the history of the Clergy Reserves, and we borrow from it the following statement of facts, which it is important should be generally understood, as the subject will have to undergo discussion in Parliament:—

“ That in the year 1791 an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament, 31 Geo. III. c. 31, comprehending the appropriation of the lands called the *Clergy Reserves*, in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, *for the support and maintenance of a Protestant Clergy*, and indicating in all its following clauses the Clergy of the Church of England, and no other, as the body who were to be so supported and maintained :

“ That in the year 1793, your Majesty's royal grandfather, of blessed memory, King George III., following up the intention of the aforementioned Act, erected the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada into a diocese of the Church of England, in connexion with the Archbishopial See of Canterbury, of which the city of Quebec was made the See; and that in the Letters Patent appointing the Bishop to the same, express and formal reference is made to the aforesaid Act of appropriation of the Clergy Reserves,—the two measures being manifestly designed to form parts of one and the same plan, and the decision being practically made, in accordance with what was contemplated in all the clauses of the Act, as to *what* Protestant clergy were, under the Act, to be endowed :

“ That in the year 1816, the Bishop and Clergy of the Church of England were constituted Corporations by Royal Letters Patent, one corporation for Lower, and one for Upper Canada, for the management respectively of the Clergy Reserves, for the benefit of their own Church, within the then existing two Provinces, and that these corporations were beginning to put in train the efficient and advantageous administration of the said Reserves, when their proceedings were interfered with, and finally stopped, by the transfer to the hands of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the direction of the Clergy Reserves, and the introduction of the system of sales, conducted by that functionary,—in the manner of effecting which the most grievous and most extensive detriment, in all perpetuity, was done to the interests of the Church :

“ That the exclusive claim of the Church of England to the benefit of the Clergy Reserves, implied, as has been made to appear, in different measures of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, continued unchallenged and unquestioned till after the year 1820; and that when the efforts which were made to assert a rival claim produced a great amount of painful ferment and agitation in the country, the Clergy and members of the Church of England, in maintaining what, according to their clear and settled convictions, was their right to the whole profits of the Reserves, as the patrimony of the said Church, forbore from contributing to the excitement of the public mind upon the subject by any

inflammatory appeals or any coloured representations to suit the interest of their own party :

“ That in the year 1840, a vast concession was made to the parties adverse to the claims originally recognized as existing in the Church of England, by the enactment of an Imperial Statute for the division of the profits arising from the Clergy Reserves, under the provisions of which statute two-thirds of the proceeds of the lands then sold, and two-thirds of one half of the lands still unsold, were allotted to the Church of England in this Province :

“ That notwithstanding the facts herein already set forth, and the great inaccuracies of many of those representations proceeding from other quarters, upon which this legislative measure appears to have been based, the Clergy and lay members of the Church of England in the province peaceably submitted to this arrangement of the long-agitated questions respecting the Clergy Reserves, and accepted it, according to what they had all reason to do, as the final settlement of those questions, and the extinction, once for all, of all discussions and differences upon the subject; and that to this settlement they considered, and so your Majesty’s petitioners do now consider, the faith of the Government to be pledged :

“ That from the date of passing the aforesaid Act of 1840, up to the close of the year 1849, no discontent was manifested in any quarter on account of the provisions of the said Act, and that up to the present moment there has been no agitation of feeling in the province upon the subject :

“ That the Church of England population of Lower Canada is believed to approach, in numbers, to the entire aggregate of all other Protestant denominations within that portion of the province ; and that it consists, at the same time, to a very great extent, of the occupiers of poor and backward settlements, who mainly depend for the ministrations of religion upon the charity of the *Society in London for the Propagation of the Gospel*, the revenue up to this date derived from the Clergy Reserves supplying but a very small portion of the expenditure made upon the most frugal and parsimonious scale for this object.”

Under these circumstances the petitioners express their astonishment and alarm at the Act of the Provincial Legislature during its last session, in addressing Her Majesty for the total alienation of the Clergy Reserves from their original purpose, and their appropriation to education and other secular objects, a measure which they consider as an indication of a spirit of aggression towards the Church, and which they earnestly and solemnly deprecate as “ an act of spoliation which would be disastrous to the most sacred interests of human society, and openly hostile to the propagation of the truth of God.”

Proposed Convocation of the Province.—The Hon. P. B. de Blaquiére has addressed the Bishop of Toronto, since his return, in reference to the project entertained by the honourable member, to bring the establishment of a Convocation for the province before the Colonial Legislature. In reply, the Bishop says :—

“ You are aware, no doubt, that the Colonial Church is part and

parcel of the Church of England—as much so as the Diocese of London and Winchester, and that in the present state of the law it is not in the power of the Bishop to assemble his Clergy in Convocation without special permission from the Crown—and if it were assembled it would not perhaps prove satisfactory, as the Convocations in our Church have been always confined to the Clergy.

“At the same time, I am sensible that the present state of the Colonial Church is in some respects deficient, arising chiefly from its rapid extension and increasing wants—nor am I indisposed to consider what steps may be safely taken to remedy such deficiencies.

“But I am not prepared to suggest any without much further inquiry from my Clergy—the annals and laws of the Church, and also reference to my brother Prelates of Canada East.

“In the meantime I regret the movement which has been so irregularly made during my absence in England, and more especially as the subject of Convocation was fully noticed in my first Charge, which was delivered on the 9th September, 1841.

“In labouring to obtain what may be wise and good, we must proceed in harmony and good faith among ourselves, and on the principles which have directed the Synods and Convocations of former ages.

“Above all, we must respect the law as it now stands, and the acknowledged prerogative of the Crown—and if they interfere with the natural and divine action of the Church, we must seek for their modification on that behalf, by humble and respectful representations to the powers which can award relief.”

Diocese of Toronto.—Church University.—After his return to his Diocese, the Lord Bishop of Toronto convened a Meeting of the Church University Board, for the 21st of December, 1850, when his Lordship made a full report of his proceedings in Europe, relative to the proposed University, and to the present state of the undertaking. From this report it appears that the following contributions have hitherto been obtained:—

Subscriptions in Upper Canada in land, estimated at .	£7,562	15	0
In money, amounting to	16,708	2	6
3,391 Acres not valued, at the usual estimation of one pound per acre	3,391	0	0
Two Town Lots, not valued, but assumed to be worth	50	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£27,711	17	6
Donations in England to the amount of 10,000 <i>l.</i> sterling, including the grants of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the University of Oxford, currency about			
	12,444	0	0
Grant of land by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and within the city of Toronto, estimated at	3,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£43,155	17	6

The Report next considers the most proper mode of investing this

property until the new institution shall obtain a corporate character, either by an Act of the Legislature or by Royal Charter. For this purpose the Bishop proposes the appointment of a Council, composed of a limited number of gentlemen, to advise him in all matters respecting the College and its property, until a more formal constitution shall be obtained. In the meantime he proposes the property to be vested in a limited number of Trustees, who are to act under the instructions of the Council.

The Bishop further states that, while in England, he had made application to the Colonial Secretary for a Charter for the proposed College, and having been requested to furnish the heads of such a Charter as he thought desirable, had framed a draft, a copy of which accompanied the report, on the model of the original Charter of King's College, and of the system adopted in Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and his lordship adds that since the Government has granted to the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians and Methodists, Charters of Incorporation for Colleges of their own, he will not suppose it possible that they will withhold the same advantage from the Church.

The Report further states, that a site has been procured for the University, twenty acres of land, very eligibly situated, having been purchased for the purpose. The Bishop also, while in England, procured the plan of a new College, intended to be erected in Liverpool, which appeared to him, with some modifications, suited to the purpose, and he expects that a sufficient portion will have been completed before next winter, to commence the course of instruction.

Foundation of the new Cathedral.—The foundation stone of the new Cathedral of Toronto was laid by the Bishop on Wednesday, the 20th of November last. The edifice will be in the English decorative style of early architecture. The body of the church will consist of a centre and side aisles, marked by two lines of cut stone, clustered columns and lancet arches, with a clerestory pierced by triple-light columniated stone windows. The total external length will be 204 feet, and the width 117 feet; the internal dimensions of the main body being 112 feet, by 75 feet. The height of the centre aisle will be 80 feet, and that of the side aisles 42 feet, clear of the ceilings. The roofs will be open to the Church, the framing being of a rich Gothic character throughout, except in the chancel, which will have a groined ceiling, with moulded ribs and foliated bosses. The chancel will be 38 feet, 9 inches in depth by 42 feet in width, the back being semi-octagonal in form, and the five sides pierced by windows of rich and varied design, all executed in stone.

Diocese of Montreal.—Church Society.—A Church Society has been established for the diocese of Montreal, under the auspices of the Bishop.

CHINA.—Edict against Christianity.—The following curious edict against Christianity has been issued in China:—

“Wan, Prefect of the lower district of Ying-Chan, removed to his

present post from another of the same rank, and ten times honourably mentioned, issues this solemn appeal, in order that the hearts of men may be guided in the right way, and more respect be paid to the laws. Be it known unto you, that there is in the western world a doctrine of the Lord of heaven, the author of which is Jesus. So long as the barbarians practise or propagate this among themselves, expounding their books, and worshipping according to the precepts of that doctrine, there is no occasion for us to take notice of it; but it is not permitted to them to enter the Inner Land, and there to propagate this doctrine; and natives of the Inner Land who invite men from far places to come hither, with a view to their abetting them in inflaming and unsettling the minds of the people, and inveigling females to join their sect, or otherwise to violate the law, are punishable under the statute still in force. The provisions of the code are explicit; who shall venture to act contrary to them? Nevertheless it has come to my knowledge that the simple and unenlightened population of the village of Chid-kang and its vicinity have latterly invited such persons from a distance, and have seduced some to enter into communion with them, and that even females have joined their society—a serious breach of the law! It will be my duty to search out the guilty, and to punish them severely. Moreover I publish this appeal for the comprehensive instruction of the military, of the common people and others.

"You should know that Jesus, born in the time of Ngai Ti, of the Hán dynasty, ranks no higher than Hwa Tóh, Chuh-yu, and others of the same class, having merely possessed ability to heal the sick. His power of breaking seven cakes into food for three thousand men, is nothing more than the witchcraft of the rationalists, by which things are shifted from one place to another: in other ways he had no peculiar power. As to his extravagant title of the lord who made heaven, remember that the Three Sovereigns (B.C. 3369-2622), the Five Emperors (2169), Yáu, Shun, Yu, T'áng (1743), Wan, Wu (1105), the Prince of Chau, and Kung the Philosopher (Confucius—500), spread abroad civilization, as the messenger of heaven, hundreds and thousands of years before Jesus. The different countries beyond the sea had from an early date rulers, and peoples, forms of government, and laws to punish crime: did none of these exist until Jesus appeared to create them in the time of the Hán?

"The tale of the crucifixion of Jesus and of his ascension into heaven resembles the legend invented concerning Sun-nyam, who, having been drowned after the defeat of his army, became a Water Spirit, as his adherents say. It also bears some likeness to what the rebels of the white lily allege, who assert that the spirits of their brethren, executed with long and ignominious torments, rose into heaven from their bodies, and are there called to a new life among the heavenly existences.

"This doctrine, moreover, boasts that it encourages to virtue and represses vice; but this our learned men have constantly maintained. The dogma that those who believe in the Lord will be happy, and that after death their spirits will ascend to heaven, while the unbelievers will

be miserable, and after death their souls will be doomed to eternal imprisonment in hell, says precisely the same as the word of Wu San-sz—'Those who are good to me, are good; those who are evil to me, are evil.' Supposing, then, that the believers in the Lord were robbers, or else vicious persons, they must nevertheless all be made happy; those on the contrary, who are not believers in the Lord, but otherwise just and deserving men, should after death be all doomed to misery. Never before was the true order of reward for virtue, and punishment for vice, so perverted and confused. Is not such a religion fatal to the notions of good and right as taught us by heaven?

"Again, the terms 'palace of heaven' and 'prison of hell' are simply pirated from the lowest class of Buddhist writings; nevertheless the believers in Jesus vilify the Buddhists as people doomed for ever to the prison of hell. Of all the nations beyond the sea, none believes so much in this Lord of heaven as the Germans, and yet the inhabitants of Germany are scattered, their power is broken to pieces, and their territory has been more than once divided. Why then, since they believe in the Lord of heaven, is no happiness bestowed upon them? On the contrary, of all those who do not believe in the Lord of heaven, no nation can compare with the Japanese; on a quay in their port a crucifix is engraven, and every merchant who lands there, and does not tread on the crucifix, is forthwith beheaded as a warning to others. Besides, there is before the gate, an image of Jesus sunk into the ground, so that it may daily be ignominiously trampled on. And yet this kingdom has endured for 2000 years: why has not the Lord of heaven smitten it with calamity? It follows, then, that the statement regarding the power of the Lord of heaven to confer happiness or misery, is wholly without foundation; it will merely make the simple people, in this life, deprive their ancestors of the enjoyment of the oblations of sweet-smelling incense, and of the offerings which should be set before them in sacrificial vessels; while after death, they will become blind spirits, undergoing, moreover, the torments of burning till their bones are reduced to ashes. What happiness results from such a doctrine?

"Again, as to the adoration of the crucifix, it is derived from the stone tablet of the 'luminous doctrine,' signed with a cross, to determine the four quarters of the heavens, whence the professors of this creed, it is not known at what period, devised the tale of the crucifixion; but even if this tale were true, it would still be quite inexplicable why the worshippers of Jesus should adore the instrument of his punishment, and consider it so to represent him as not to venture to tread upon it. Would it be common sense, if the father or ancestor of a house had been killed by a shot from a fowling-piece, or by a wound from a sword, that his sons or grandsons should adore a fowling-piece, or a sword, as their father or ancestor?

"Although an edict of recent date has permitted the barbarians to expound their religious books to one another, it has not given them leave to proceed into the Inner Land, there to mix with the people, and

to propagate their doctrine; and if there are Chinese who invite them from distant places, and join with them in exciting and confounding men's minds, beguiling women, or otherwise offending against the law, they will be punished, as of old, according to the law of the land, either summarily, or after imprisonment, with death by strangulation, or with transportation to a greater or less distance, or with blows from the heavy bamboo; the law admits of no indulgence. But if subjects present themselves before the authorities, and declare that they repent, and therefore tread upon the crucifix, their punishment shall be mitigated by me in degree. The laws of the state are of strict severity, but they have always made account of men's repentance for their faults. If, therefore, there are men among you, simple people, who have suffered themselves to be instigated or misled in manner aforesaid, awake without loss of time, and make haste to save yourselves from the meshes of the law. But you who view this decree with an unfriendly eye, and continue to indulge your humour, be it known to you, that it will be my duty to curse you, and to bring you to justice and punishment, as a warning to the foolish and the perverse. Take heed to this, tremble and obey!"

FRANCE.—*The Lying Wonders of the Romish Church.*—The Romish Church in France has latterly exhibited the ridiculous spectacle of proclaiming two astounding miracles, and subsequently revoking them. The first is the miraculous appearance of the Virgin at La Salette, which we have formerly noticed; and in connexion with it the wonder-working fountain said to have sprung up on the spot on which the Virgin stood. With regard to the latter, a letter appeared quite recently in the *Tablet*, from the Brothers Perrin, the "Levites" in attendance upon the idol of "our Lady," who, in acknowledging a donation of 2*l.* from England, state, as they themselves affirm, "with truth," "that our Lady of Reconciliation has admirably continued these two years to work many bodily and spiritual conversions in favour of those who invoke her, and who make use of the water of the privileged fountain. We reckon up," they say, "above a hundred which all exhibit a supernatural character. The most striking have lately been published in a second volume by the Abbé Rousselot, Vicar-General of our diocese. And his Lordship has given his approbation to this volume, as to the first. We entreat you, Sir, if you have already been able to procure it, to have this work translated into the English language. It would assuredly give pleasure to the Catholics of your country, and even the heretics would read it with advantage. Whenever you have occasion for the water of the fountain of La Salette, or of books, medals, and images, all of them having the representation of the glorious apparition, you have only to address the order to us, and we shall hasten to satisfy your pious desire. We have inscribed all the names sent in the register of the Confraternity of our Lady of Reconciliation of La Salette. It now reckons more than 20,000 associates. It is sufficient to recite each day the Our Father and the Hail Mary."

In direct and somewhat awkward contrast with this statement, the *Ami de la Religion* contains a circular addressed by the Bishop of Gap, in whose diocese La Salette is situate, to his Clergy, in which that Prelate complains in indignant terms of the republication, in spite of a former remonstrance on his part, of a private letter which he wrote somewhat unguardedly in reply to the first report made to him of the alleged miraculous event, and to which "interested parties have endeavoured to give an official character." "We are in duty and conscience bound," the Bishop says, "to warn the Clergy and the faithful that we are strangers to this manoeuvre, and that they will be the dupes of a guilty intrigue, and a base speculation, if they suffer themselves to be persuaded that we patronize a fact with which we neither can, nor ought, nor are willing, to have any concern whatever. Several miraculous cures are spoken of as having happened in our diocese; we declare that we have not been able to verify a single one; even the one which is announced in our letter before referred to, has not been satisfactorily proved, and cannot therefore be cited as an evidence of the miraculous appearance of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette. You are to advise religious persons to be on their guard against tales of miraculous cures, when such cures have not been verified by scrupulous and prudent inquiries on the part of the ecclesiastical authority. There is in circulation also, in the diocese of Gap, an office called the 'Office of La Salette.' The lessons of the second nocturn of Matins are the tale of the apparition as told by the two shepherd boys. Never has there been a book of this kind more opposed to the holy liturgical rules, which, with so much reason, forbid the composition of fresh legends, especially upon the ground of facts not recognised by the Church. Accordingly, we strictly forbid, throughout our diocese, the recital of the Office of *La Salette*, until it shall have been approved by our Holy Father the Pope."

The other "lying wonder" is of more recent date. A short time ago the French Papers contained a long and circumstantial account, endorsed by the testimony of medical men, of magistrates, and officers of gens d'armes, of a miraculous picture representing the descent from the cross, in the Church of St. Saturnin, at Apt, in the department of Vaucluse. According to the account given, blood had been repeatedly oozing out from the wounds in the side, the hands, and feet of the Saviour; and while the most careful examination of the painting failed to discover any contrivance for producing this effect, the blood had been ascertained by a chemical analysis to be real human blood. On this miracle a Commission has since been appointed by the Archbishop of Arigua, whose report is unfavourable to the miraculous nature of the transaction, on the ground chiefly of the unsatisfactory character of the "*ecstatica*" who announced the flowing of the blood beforehand, and whose proceedings have, in more than one respect, given rise to suspicion.

The Temple of all Religions at Paris.—Our readers will no doubt

remember³ an extraordinary order given during the days of the Provincial Government by M. Ledru Rollin, for a series of pictures to be executed in the Pantheon by an artist of the name of Chenavaud, to whom a period of eight years was granted for the execution of the design, with an allowance of 4000 francs per annum,—the total expense of the decoration being estimated at upwards of 300,000 or 400,000 francs. At the recent Congress of the Academies of France, the subject was brought under notice; but from the monstrous character of the design, as contained in the programme published at the time, the Congress refused to believe that it was more than a transient whim which had been long abandoned. On inquiry, however, it was found that the order of M. Ledru Rollin was still uncanceled, and that the artist was actually proceeding with the cartoons, which were to be fixed up to try the effect, before the execution of the frescoes. A report was drawn up in consequence, from which we transcribe the following passage:—"The plan of the mural paintings in the Pantheon, as it has been designed and is in progress of execution, is an unprecedented *pêle-mêle* of the most contradictory ideas, the most different creeds, and the most opposite symbols. All the gods of Greece and India, as well as those of Rome and Scandinavia, occupy in it a place equal with that assigned to the true God; Olympus and Walhalla rank in it as high as Calvary. This is not all. There are apotheoses for the famous philosophers of all ages, and even for the Utopian visionaries of the nineteenth century. Pythagoras and André Fourier—shall we venture to say it?—are represented by the side of the Son of God! Next to the paintings intended to exhibit what is called 'the Christian system and the exaggeration of the glorification of the spirit,' there are others on which 'the rehabilitation of the flesh' is displayed in scenes which our pen cannot describe;.....as if this was the great progress of our age; as if the religion of Jesus Christ, which animates and pervades our society, our families, and our very hearts, were no longer any thing but an antiquarian curiosity, fit at the most to be mentioned, by the way, in this species of museum of eclecticism and modern pantheism." The report concludes with a resolution, unanimously adopted by the Congress of Academies, which, "in the name of Christian civilization, of morality and good taste," denounces as "a scandal and a profanation" the execution of a "project founded on the pantheistic idea of pagan Rome, and placing, side by side with the true God, the false gods of the past, and the false prophets of future times."

GERMANY.—*Activity of the Romish Church.*—The "Catholic Union of Germany," at its last meeting, appointed a committee which is to put itself in communication with poets, artists and others, as well as with the heads of the Church, with a view to the revival of "Catholic art," as a means to the propagation of Romanism in Germany. The resolution of the "Union" also recommends the active distribution of tracts and other publications. The local branches of the "Union" are

³ See English Review, vol. x. p. 242.

enjoined to use their endeavours for the establishment of St. Paul de Vincent associations among the working classes ; and their attention is particularly directed to the manufacturing population. Copies of the resolutions adopted were ordered to be transmitted to all the sovereigns of Germany. In Bavaria the Bishops have addressed a memorial to the King, protesting against such provisions of the new Constitution, and against all such previous edicts as are at variance with the terms of the Concordat, as well as against any interference whatever, on the part of the civil power, with matters of worship, and calling upon the latter to enforce the law against the profanation of Sundays and holidays, either by work or by public amusements and exercises. In Baden, on the motion of Carl von Hirscher, the first Chamber has voted an address to the Government, praying for the appointment, with the concurrence of the Episcopate, of a Commission, which is to prepare such laws and ordinances as shall secure greater independence and efficacy to the Roman Catholic Church, and to place sufficient funds at the disposal of the Bishops for extending the education of young men for the Romish priesthood. In Rhenish Prussia the Romanists are contemplating the establishment of "a purely Catholic University" in connexion with the Cathedral at Cologne.

Growth of Popish Superstition.—While every effort is being made by the Ultramontane party in Germany, to push the cause of their Church in the higher ranks of life, by the appliances of art, literature, and learning, and through political influence, the masses are operated upon by the revival of the ancient superstitions. In Bavaria and the Tyrol the old mysteries are being revived, and the passion of our Lord is made the subject of scenic exhibition. A couple of Capuchin friars are travelling about in the characters of thaumaturgs, attended by crowds, pretending to perform miraculous cures by the laying on of their hands, and anointing with oil. The extent to which these things are not only connived at but countenanced by the authorities, may be collected from the fact that Dr. Kreuzer, Professor at the Veterinary College at Munich, has been peremptorily removed from his office, in consequence of his having in his lectures adverted to the superstitious practice, of which some recent instances had occurred, of the people calling in the Franciscans, to read masses for their cattle during an epidemic.

The Free Congregations.—An application for the "Free Congregations" to be enrolled among the religious communities of the kingdom, and as such admitted to the privileges of other religious bodies, has been refused by the Government of Saxony, on the express ground, that, although they call themselves "Christian" associations, they have not in reality any religious character whatever. "Their leaders," so says the official document, "declare the belief in God to be a matter of indifference. They recognize, it is true, an all-creating and sustaining power, but leave every man free to form what notion he pleases of that power, to consider it either as the supreme and most perfect Spirit, or as a mere force which operates without will or conscience.

They denounce the Christian faith, even to the last remnants of it, as error and superstition, and endeavour to supplant it by philosophic speculations, based on this world only. They make war upon all religious bodies which take into account the relation of man to God, on the plea that a rational religion has to do only with the relations between man and man. They reject all religious belief, and give the mere outlines of a system of ethics, summed up in the notions of "liberty, truth, and fraternity." They pretend to follow the Apostolic injunction, "prove all things, hold fast that which is good;" but they overlook the fact that this principle is to be carried out to the end of life. After a short trial they reject every thing that may not be handled with hands, and in the void which they have thus created they find nothing worthy to be held fast. They aim at making human society, according to the precept of the Gospel, one flock; not, however, a flock under a pastor, but a flock which, without shepherd, runs astray. Yet, without any faith, without a definite idea of God, there is no religion, no worship, no religious communion." In proof of the correctness of this picture, the rescript quotes the very words of the petition itself:—"The Free Congregation rejects the fundamental doctrines of theological Protestantism; it has no dogmas, and can admit none; for the ideas of 'God and immortality' no faith is required, since they result from the wisdom and eternal consistency of the creation; harmony between the life and the moral law, is the main object kept in view by the Free Congregations; forms of worship they want only for mutual edification, and in order to cherish the idea of the divine majesty of man." In consequence of the ill odour into which the Free Congregations have fallen by their open avowal of the most advanced principles of infidelity, many of the "German Catholic" congregations, in which an element of primitive faith is still lingering, have officially disavowed all connexion with them; a measure the more necessary as their own recognition by the State was made dependent on their declaration on this point. Among the Free Congregations themselves, too, dissensions have arisen, and some of the leading bodies among them, that at Leipzig for example, are fast approaching their dissolution.

Singular Defence against a Charge of Blasphemy.—A cause is pending before the Prussian tribunals, in which a party is charged with blasphemy, on account of irreverent language uttered against the person of Christ. The first Court convicted him; the Court of Appeal reversed the sentence, on the ground that Christ and God were not identical, and the offence, therefore, not against God, but only against the society of Christians. This decision has also been appealed against, on the ground that Christ is one with God. The tribunals before which the question is pending, are the usual tribunals of civil and criminal jurisprudence.

INDIA.—*Diocese of Calcutta and Borneo Missions.*—The Bishop of Calcutta has been engaged on a visitation tour to the Malayan Peninsula and Borneo. His Lordship left Calcutta on the 11th of Nov., accom-

panied by Archdeacon Pratt, and by Mr. C. J. Fox, a student of Bishop's College, who was to remain in Borneo as Catechist. To qualify himself for this post, he would, as appears by a letter from the Rev. F. T. M'Dougall, the laborious Missionary of Sarawak, have to bestow two years in the study of the Malay language, to acquire it sufficiently for his Missionary work among the Dyaks; after which, he would have to learn the dialects of the tribes he may be placed with, as head men only speak Malay, and the rest know nothing but the Dyak of their district. Another qualification for Missionary labour in those parts is a knowledge of Arabic, which is both useful in learning the Malay language, and a great recommendation among the Malays, who look up to any one who understands the language of the Koran. From the *John Bull* we learn, that this interesting Mission is about to be reinforced by a Clergyman from England, the Rev. W. Chambers, curate of Bentley, Derbyshire, who has been appointed by the committee of the Borneo Mission as one of their Missionaries, with the especial object of extending the mission to the Dyak tribes in the interior; the letters lately received from Mr. M'Dougall and Sir James Brooke, expressing a decided opinion that the attempt may now be made with every prospect of success.

Diocese of Madras.—Declaration on the Gorham case.—The following document has been transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury:—

"To the Most Reverend Father in God, John Bird, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan.

"May it please your Grace,—We, the undersigned, the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Clergy of the diocese of Madras, desire to approach your Grace with the expression of our humble and affectionate sympathy and regard, under the trying circumstances in which you have been placed, connected with the late judgment of her Majesty in Council, in the case of '*Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter*.'

"We respectfully thank your Grace for your temperate, and at the same time, firm conduct, in resisting efforts to introduce into our Reformed Church a system of exclusiveness inconsistent with the character, and tending to rend asunder the greatest and purest establishment that has existed under this present dispensation. We cannot refrain from expressing our sorrow that so wise a judgment, concurred in by two Archbishops, should not have given more general satisfaction.

"Deeply lamenting the unseemly attacks which have been made upon your Grace, and praying that your valuable life may be long spared for the glory of God and the strengthening of our Zion,

"We are, may it please your Grace,

"Your Grace's affectionate and dutiful servants,

(Signed)

"THOS. MADRAS,

"VINCENT SHORTLAND, Archdeacon,

and seventy-three out of the eighty-five Clergymen labouring in this diocese, including all the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

New Church Organ.—A new Church organ has lately been started at Madras, under the title of "The Churchman." From the numbers before us, it appears to be conducted on moderate but definite and distinctive Church principles.

Visit of the Bishop of Colombo to the Mauritius.—The Bishop of Colombo has been paying a visit to the Mauritius, which has led to the formation, in August last, of a Church Association for the island, under the name of "The Mauritius Church Association." The principal objects contemplated by the Association are:—1. To promote the diffusion of Christian Knowledge, in accordance with the principles of the Church, by means of education, the dissemination of religious publications, and catechetical instruction.—2. To assist in the erection of Churches, the fitting up of Places of Worship, and the support of Ministers of Religion in those parts of the island which are unprovided with Clergy.—3. To establish a Mission for the conversion and instruction of the Indian immigrants, who now form so large a portion of the resident population, through the agency of Catechists and Teachers acquainted with their native languages.—4. And, generally, to direct the attention, and to concentrate the energies, of the members of the Church in the Mauritius, towards the prosecution of measures conducive to its welfare.

The funds of the Association are to be applied in aid of the erection of Churches, the fitting up of places of worship, the support of Ministers, Catechists, and Scripture Readers, and the establishment and maintenance of Schools in the Colony and its Dependencies. A subscription of 2*l.* per annum, or 4*s.* per mensem, or a Life Subscription of 10*l.* in one payment, constitutes membership, with the right of voting at all meetings. Subscriptions and donations may be given specifically for particular objects. The Bishop of the Diocese is to be the President of the Association, and is to be assisted in the management of its affairs by a Committee composed of the Clergy of the island and its dependencies as *ex-officio* members, and of nine laymen chosen annually, by ballot, from among the members, and re-eligible.

ITALY.—*Statistics of the Romish Church.*—The following account is given by the *Ami de la Religion* of the Romish Episcopate throughout the world at the beginning of the year 1851.—*Europe*: 6 Suburban Bishoprics; 78 Bishoprics under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope; 104 Archbishoprics; 419 Suffragan Bishoprics; 25 Delegations and Apostolic Prefectures.—*Asia*: 6 Patriarchates; 6 Archbishoprics; 46 Bishoprics; 43 Apostolic Prefectures.—*Africa*: 6 Bishoprics; 14 Vicariates and Prefectures.—*America*: 16 Archbishoprics; 85 Bishoprics; 10 Vicariates.—*In Partibus*: 5 Patriarchates; 65 Archbishoprics; 211 Bishoprics. Of the foregoing, 45 Bishoprics and Apostolic Vicariates are established within the dominions of the British Crown.

The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.—A correspondent of the *Tablet*, writing from Rome, says,—“It will be cheering to you to hear

that his Holiness is anxious to press on as fast as possible the examination of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, with the view to publish his solemn definition. A commission has been appointed to occupy itself with this important question: some learned theologians are to examine the ancient liturgies, others the Fathers, others the petitions of the Bishops of every part of the Church. It is expected that in a very short time his Holiness will be able to publish his final decision, and to console the Faithful who are anxious to increase the honours due to the Holy Virgin." Among the replies sent to the Pope from different parts of the world, one of the most important is that of Cardinal Romo, Archbishop of Seville, which fills an entire volume, and concludes with the most ardent wishes for the immediate declaration of the doctrine as an article of the faith. As regards the historical view of the question, the Cardinal adopts a most convenient line of argument. He admits that "if the matter depended on the opinion of the ancient scholastic writers, it would present no more probability than the Copernican system, when referred to a similar tribunal;" and he therefore proposes to "take for his guide tradition alone, and for his sole torch the true light which the Lord vouchsafes to us through the Holy Church." Following out this principle, he alleges various indications of the honour paid to the Virgin, and, concluding from the silence observed by the writers of the first ages on the subject of original sin in her, that her immaculate conception was taken for granted, he accumulates proofs of the growth of the doctrine in successive ages, down to the year 1843, when the petition of the General of the Dominicans, for leave to his order to celebrate the Immaculate Conception in the same terms as the Franciscans, removed the last opposition to the doctrine, and caused the worship of the Virgin to become the universal practice of the Romish Church.

Tuscany.—Popish Intolerance.—A diplomatic difficulty has occurred at Florence, where a Protestant chapel has existed for twenty years past, for the use of the Swiss Protestants. Among these are several hundred Grisons, whose habitual idiom is Italian, and for whose benefit, therefore, one of the services is conducted in that language. Of this service the Government of Tuscany has complained to the Prussian Ambassador at Rome, who, being himself a papist, advised the Protestant Consistory at Florence to hold their Italian service with closed doors, to abstain from all measures whatever for the propagation of Protestantism, and especially from the distribution of the Bible, and to turn away any Florentines who might present themselves at the doors to take part in the service. The Consistory having refused to comply with this advice, the Florentine Government has employed *gens d'armes* to attend the service, and note down the names of any subjects of the Tuscan government who were present. The parties whose names are taken down are afterwards summoned before the police authorities, and required to give a pledge that they will not repeat their attendance; failing which, they are served with a notice prohibiting their attendance, under a penalty varying from five days to two months' imprison-

ment. The Consistory has since been induced, by a repeated remonstrance from the Ambassador, M. Reumont, to substitute a French for an Italian service; but intends to lay the case before the king of Prussia, with a view to the restoration of the Italian service.

SWITZERLAND.—*Collision with the Papacy.*—The Great Council of the canton of Freiburg having, on the 11th of October last, issued a decree against the publication of ecclesiastical rescripts and documents without the consent of the civil power, the Papal *chargé d'affaires* in Switzerland, Mr. Bovieri, has addressed two formal protests, one to the Council of State of the Canton, the other to the Federal Council, against this "gross violation of the divine constitution of the Church, the authority of the Episcopate, the rights of the holy Apostolic See, and the supreme authority of the Church," and demanding, by way of reparation, "entire liberty for the Church in the canton, for its Bishop (M. Marilley), and its ministers." In the protest addressed to the Federal Council, Mr. Bovieri further complains, that three of his notes addressed to the Federal Council in 1848, in reference to the dispute touching M. Marilley, have remained unanswered, and presses for a reply. On the other hand the Council of the Canton of Freiburg has addressed to the Federal Council a memorial requesting that body to take steps for obtaining from the Pope the appointment of a successor to M. Marilley; but with this request the Federal Council, anticipating no doubt the result of such an application, has refused to comply. Meanwhile the Pope has conferred upon M. Marilley, as a token of his favour, the dignity of Assistant Prelate to the Pontifical Throne.

UNITED STATES.—*Trial for Heresy.*—Considerable attention has been excited by a trial for heresy before an Ecclesiastical Court, composed of Presbyters, in the Diocese of Massachusetts. The Rev. O. S. Prescott, late Assistant-Minister at the Church of the Advent, at Boston, was charged, on the prosecution of the Standing Committee of the diocese, with "entertaining and believing certain doctrines not held, nor allowed to be held, by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, but condemned by the Standards of the said Church as wrong, unsound, and heretical; and with having promulgated, taught, and defended the said doctrines, to the detriment of religion, the scandal of the Church, and the great injury of the cause of Christ; moreover, with having adopted, and encouraged others to adopt, certain forms and ceremonies not allowed by the Church, but contrary to her teachings and Standards, and opposed to the general usage and immemorial customs of the Church, and in violation of her common law, to the prejudice of the gospel and of the salvation of souls."

The unsound doctrines charged were:—1. The doctrine of the immaculate nature and character of the Virgin Mary; that she was without sin; that prayers may be, or should be, addressed to her; that she may be, or should be, regarded as an intercessor; that it is right, or proper, or allowable, for Christians to use the "Hail Mary" in their devotions:

2. The doctrine of Transubstantiation : 3. The doctrine that Auricular Confession to a priest, on the part of the members of the Church, is proper, allowable, and profitable ; adding, that he has allowed members of the Church to come to him, and make confession of their sins, in manner and form not allowed or sanctioned by the Church : 4. The doctrine that Priestly Absolution, in connexion with Auricular Confession, is allowable, desirable, and profitable ; and that he has heard private confession of sins from sundry persons, and has pronounced absolution in behalf of such persons, on occasions and under circumstances not contemplated by the Church, and in violation of the principles of the Church, as set forth in her Standards, and contrary to her established customs and usages : 5. Under the head of customs and practices repugnant to the teaching of the Church, contrary to the spirit and meaning of her Standards, and against the common order and established usages of the Church, and in violation of her common law, it was charged, in addition to the practice of both making and hearing auricular confession, that he has been in the habit, in performing divine service, of turning his back to the people, while reading the Psalter,—offering up prayers,—and reciting the creed,—contrary to the practice and custom of the Church in the diocese, since its first organization,—that he has practised these violations of the common law of the Church against the well-known and officially-declared admonitions and counsels of the Bishop of the diocese,—that in making the usual ascription to the Holy Trinity, at the close of the sermon, he has turned his back to the people, and his face to the Lord's Table as to the most holy place,—that he has paid, by divers turnings, or bowings, or genuflections, that reverence to the Lord's Table, which is indicative of a belief in the doctrine that the real body and blood of Christ are really and truly offered up thereupon, in accordance with the doctrine of Transubstantiation,—that he has allowed or approved, or permitted, in celebrating public service, at morning and evening prayer, portions of the Psalter to be sung, in place of the psalms and hymns in metre, which the Church has set forth for that purpose.

To this presentment the Rev. O. S. Prescott took exceptions on a variety of technical grounds, the principal of which were the following :—Because the presentment did not recite that information of the offence had been first given in writing to the Standing Committee, by a member of the Church. Because it did not set forth that upon the said information having been given to said Committee, they proceeded to a preliminary consideration of the case before making said presentment, and then saw fit in their discretion to make said presentment. Because the said presentment and preliminary consideration thereto (if any such consideration was had) ought to have been made by the clerical members of the Standing Committee ; whereas the same purported to have been made (if said consideration was had at all) by the whole Standing Committee, a majority of whose quorum might be laymen. Because it did not in any of the charges and specifications thereunder, specify the offences of which the accused was charged, with reasonable certainty as to

time, or place, or circumstances. Because the nature of some of the charges were of a kind over which the Court had no jurisdiction. After a considerable discussion the Court decided in favour of the exceptions, and the presentment thus fell to the ground. Mr. Prescott then applied, through his counsel, for leave to read a short responsive statement on the merits of the question; but this the Court refused. The statement intended to be read by Mr. Prescott, and since transmitted to the Bishop, is to the following effect:—

“ In the name of God, Amen! I, Oliver S. Prescott, Presbyter of the Diocese of Massachusetts, now under presentment by the Standing Committee of said Diocese, for trial, for violation by word and deed of my ordination vows, do solemnly declare, that I ‘willingly subscribe to the Word of God, attested in the everlasting Scriptures—to all the Primitive Creeds—to the four General Councils—and to the common judgment of the Fathers for six hundred years after Christ;’ I own myself bound by the following declaration: ‘I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrine and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.’ I acknowledge my duty of obedience to the Right Reverend Fathers, the Bishops of said Church, as the supreme authority therein, and the sole representative to me of the Catholic Church of God. To her have I devoted myself, body, soul, and spirit, and am still devoted. In her I am willing to live, in her I desire to die, with no other preparation than *worthily* receiving the Body and Blood of Christ which she dispenses. Haply I may err in trifles, but an heretic or an apostate, by the grace of God, I can and will never be. If one year of quietness and peace in believing, and four of preparation for the Sacred Priesthood, to which I believe myself ‘inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost,’ and ‘truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Canons of this Church;’ and if three years of active service in this office, be not a sufficient refutation of the charge that my life during that time has been a deception and a lie, studiously followed before the face of God and man without an object or effect, unless it be the service of the father of lies, I know not how one can be furnished by a mere declaration, or even a solemn oath. Yet I would give my asseveration, and invoke the sacred name of God, and call my life for the eight years last past to witness to the truth of this declaration.”

BISHOP ONDERDONK.—An arrangement has been made for the publication of a selection from the works of Dr. Onderdonk, with a view to his benefit, in two octavo volumes. The communications which have passed on the subject, show the strong feeling which is entertained in favour of the Bishop by his friends in the diocese. The originators of the design, in their application on the subject to the Bishop, say:—

“ Your friends in this Diocese cannot forget the valuable instruction and the high gratification which they received from your Sermons, your Episcopal Charges, and other compositions, while you had the care of

the Church in this State. Their recollection of this benefit heightens the regret which they feel at the present moment, that you have not been restored to the exercise of your functions, in compliance with the recorded wish of the Diocesan Convention, and at their being thus deprived for some further time of the profit of hearing you in the public services of the Church.

"In reflecting upon this subject, it has occurred to the undersigned, that they may alleviate this loss to themselves, to their families, and to the public, if they can prevail upon you to publish an edition of such of your sermons and works as you shall think best calculated to supply to them the want of your personal ministrations. We are of opinion that such a publication will have the further effect of raising your already eminent reputation as a preacher and theologian; and it will give us great pleasure, if you accede to our wish, to see that the work shall not involve you in pecuniary loss, and to endeavour to make it also the source of some indemnity to you, for a part of the inconvenience you have sustained for several years from not receiving any professional support."

The Bishop, in his reply, assures them of his deep gratitude for the kind manner in which they have adverted to his position and affairs.

Perversion to Popery.—The New York *Churchman* introduces the fact of a perversion which has recently taken place, and is likely to be followed by others, with the following indignant comments:—"We learn from the *Freeman's Journal* that the Rev. F. E. White, of this diocese, has violated his ordination vows by uniting himself with the Roman schism in this country. Mr. White had no pastoral charge at the time of his perversion, but officiated in St. Luke's church for some time after the secession of its late rector. The same paper states that there are some other clergymen of the Church who are prepared to follow this sad example. We suppose they will do so when they *find it convenient*. Probably these were among the dutiful Protestants who congratulated Archbishop Hughes on his accession to his new dignity, as he himself states. Why are not the names forthcoming? It might serve to accelerate their steps, either forwards or backwards. It would at least be more manly and honourable than the present course of disaffection and treachery sketched by the Papist organ."

The Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York, in which Mr. White last officiated, have made application to the Bishop of New Hampshire for a regular sentence of Deposition to be pronounced on him, on the ground of his having renounced the ministry of the Church, and given information that he had made his submission to the authority of the Roman See.

Election of Bishops.—The Rev. F. H. Rutledge has been elected to the See of Florida. Bishop Southgate has declined to accept the Bishopric of California, to which he had been elected.

Church Statistics.—The following data, illustrative of the increase of the Episcopal Church in the United States, are given by the *Banner of the Cross*. In 1800, that Church had 7 Bishops, with 220 Clergymen;

in 1819, 18 Bishops, with 281 Clergymen; now the numbers are 32 Bishops, with 1589 Clergymen.

The Romish Church.—The Prefect of the Propaganda has informed the Archbishop of Baltimore of the approbation given by the Pope and the Sacred College to the decrees of the Council recently held at Baltimore, and especially to the measures following:—The erection of new provinces, together with the designation of the suffragans, as well for the new Archiepiscopal Sees as for the Archiepiscopal See of St. Louis, previously existing; the erection of new Sees in the cities of Savannah, Wheeling, and St. Paul's, Minesota; and the appointment to the See of Monterey, in California, of Father Joseph Alemany, who has already been consecrated at Rome. In pursuance of this increased organization, the Romish hierarchy in the United States is composed as follows:—1. Archbishopric of Baltimore, with the suffragan Sees of Philadelphia, Richmond, Charleston, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Savannah. 2. Archbishopric of New Orleans, with the suffragan Sees of Mobile, Natchez, Little Rock, and Galveston. 3. Archbishopric of New York, with the suffragan Sees of Boston, Buffalo, Hartford, and Albany. 4. Archbishopric of St. Louis, with the suffragan Sees of Nashville, Dubuque, Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul's. 5. Archbishopric of Cincinnati, with the suffragan Sees of Louisville, Detroit, Cleveland, and Vincennes. 6. Archbishopric of Oregon city, with the suffragan Sees of Walla Walla, Nesqually, Fort Hall, and Colville. There are, besides, the See of Monterey in Upper California, and two Apostolic Vicariates of New Mexico and of the territory east of the Rocky Mountains.

The *South Carolinian* states that the newly-elected Romish Bishop of California is charged, in addition to his spiritual duties, with the duty of examining and exhibiting the titles of the old Jesuit property in California, with a view to lay claim to one hundred and fifty millions of dollars' worth of land, as the property of the early Jesuit missionaries in that country.

WEST INDIES.—*Diocese of Barbados.*—*Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Board.*—The Bishop of Barbados has established in his Diocese an Ecclesiastical Board, for the purpose of conference and consultation on matters affecting the external well-being and efficiency of the Church. The Board consists of the Bishop and the eleven Rectors, including the Archdeacon, with a Lay Deputy from each Parish, chosen by the Vestry, the Chancellor of the Diocese, and a Magistrate, nominated by the Governor as the representative of the Queen; every member of the Board being necessarily a communicant of the Church. Although the resolutions of the Board are not in law binding upon the Rectors or Vestries, still much good is expected to arise from the discussion of the various questions affecting the efficiency of the Church. Two meetings have already been held by the Board: one in February, the other in September of last year, the principal subject for consideration being, at the former meeting, education; at the latter, Church extension. The future meetings will take place in June and December, as being the seasons of the year most convenient for the purpose.

THE
ENGLISH REVIEW.

JUNE, 1851.

- ART. I.—1. *Entire Absolution of the Penitent. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.*
2. *The Church of England leaves her Children free to whom to open their Grievs. A Letter to the Rev. W. U. Richards. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY; D.D.*
3. *A Letter to the Bishop of London. By Dr. PUSEY.*
4. *A few Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London. By WILLIAM DODSWORTH, M.A.*
5. *Renewed Explanations, in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's Comments. By Dr. PUSEY.*
6. *Further Comments on Dr. Pusey's Renewed Explanation. By WILLIAM DODSWORTH, M.A.*
7. *Auricular Confession. A Sermon, with Notes, and an Appendix. By W. F. HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.*

IN the Pastoral Letter, recently issued to the Clergy of his Diocese, the Bishop of Exeter thus introduces a statement respecting the doctrine of the Church of England, as to Confession and Absolution :—

“Why have I deemed it necessary to trespass on your patience with this detail of matters, which are, I doubt not, already known to you? Because among the particulars which were the subject of the loudest clamour during the late exhibition of rampant Puritanism, this power of Absolution, most solemnly given to the Church by our Lord, after his resurrection, was assailed with every invective which lawless and triumphant ignorance could heap upon all who adhere to the faith ‘once delivered to the saints.’”

From a somewhat similar reason, we have determined to devote this paper to an examination of the theory of Confession and Absolution, as inculcated by Dr. Pusey, in the series of writings we have placed at its head. Not, indeed, that any mere “exhibition of rampant Puritanism,” would have led us to consider the question at any length, did we not firmly believe also that there is a deep-seated feeling of anxiety and alarm prevalent

among the soundest members of our own Church on this subject ; were we not convinced that the time has come, when the interests of the Church of England imperatively demand that the subject, in all its bearings, should be calmly, quietly, and dispassionately discussed ; that it should be distinctly ascertained to what the theory and practice of Dr. Pusey and his followers really extend ; whether there is, in fact, any real and essential difference between their teaching and the teaching of the Church of Rome, on this most important subject ; whether that teaching is, or is not, in accordance with the doctrine of the Church of England, as that doctrine is embodied in her own authorized formularies. The many lamentable examples of perversion to the Romish communion, which have lately occurred on the part of those who have been notoriously and avowedly putting in practice the system which Dr. Pusey has, for many years, been labouring to recommend in the English Church, and, especially, the wholesale instances of perversion, on the part of those clergymen, who, under Dr. Pusey's own immediate auspices, were lately ministering at St. Saviour's, Leeds, do, as it seems to us, render it absolutely necessary that the system itself should be carefully and minutely examined ; that we should ascertain whether, so far as Confession and Absolution are concerned, perversion to Rome is, or is not, the natural, we had almost said the inevitable termination, of the principles which, on that subject, Dr. Pusey has been inculcating amongst us. There are, indeed, two reasons why we enter upon the examination of this subject with very great reluctance. The one is, lest we should be supposed, for a moment, to do so with any feeling of hostility towards Dr. Pusey personally : the other, lest we should be deemed to undervalue that deep feeling of contrite penitence, and childlike humility, which, we sincerely believe, Dr. Pusey labours to build up in the souls of all those persons who are, in any way, exposed to his influence. With regard to the first point, we will only say, and we trust our readers will give us credit for expressing our honest and conscientious conviction, that, without the slightest personal acquaintance with him, we entertain for Dr. Pusey personally the very highest respect. We sincerely believe that he has in his teaching "desired¹," to use his own words, "honestly to carry out the principles and mind of the Church of England." We believe that he has been actuated by a single desire to win souls to CHRIST ; that his aim has been "simply to exercise, in obedience to the Church, 'the office and work of a priest, committed unto him by the imposition of the bishop's hands,' for the

¹ Letter to Bishop of London, p. 2.

relief of those souls who came to him for that end²." We believe that he has never had the slightest wish to desert himself, or to induce others to desert, the communion of the Church of England. But we believe also, or this paper would never have been written, that Dr. Pusey has not seen, in its entirety, the practical bearing of his own system. We think, moreover, that that system, as he has himself developed it, is *practically* identical with that of the Romish Church, and altogether contrary to the mind and intention of the Church of England; therefore is it, and therefore only, that we purpose to examine minutely into its details. With regard to the second point, we will only say this: If we thought that Confession, as inculcated by Dr. Pusey, were *essential* to the growth and the well-being of the inward spiritual life,—if we thought that the practice of Confession, as a rule of life, were recommended by the authorized formularies of the English Church, no consideration whatever should induce us to say one word on this subject in opposition to Dr. Pusey. But we do not think so. We believe, rather, that Dr. Pusey's system, legitimately carried out, does, undoubtedly, tend to make Auricular Confession the rule, and not the exception, believing also that the Church of England makes it the exception, and not the rule. We believe, moreover, that the Church of England, while making Auricular Confession the exception, and not the rule, does yet afford the fullest opportunity, does yet supply the fullest materials, for the most unfeigned humility, the deepest contrition, the most abiding penitence. It is because of this conviction, that we have determined to examine at length, to enter minutely into, the question of SPIRITUAL DIRECTION; to consider whether it is the mind and intention of the Church of England that every one of her baptized children should, habitually, use Confession to a priest, as a means of grace, for the sake of obtaining the benefit of Absolution. This, in fact, is the real question at issue. It is not, whether our spiritual Mother "allows" the use of Confession; not, whether she "recommends" it to those who cannot "quiet their consciences" without it; but whether she regards it as a means of grace to be used, *habitually*, by all earnest-minded Christians. This, we undertake to prove, is the system of Dr. Pusey, carried to its fair and legitimate conclusion; and this, we undertake to prove also, is not the system of the Church of England.

We do not purpose to enter at any length, further than is necessary to the due elucidation of our subject, into the questions between Messrs. Allies, Maskell, and Dodsworth, on the one

² Letter to Bishop of London, p. 2.

hand, and Dr. Pusey on the other, which gave rise to the publications which head this paper ; suffice it to say, briefly, with regard to the two former gentlemen, that, shortly before their perversion to Rome, they addressed to Dr. Pusey the following question : " Has the Church of England left the power of the keys unrestrained in the hands of her presbyters, so that they may use it freely for all who come to unburthen their griefs to them ? "

In this is involved the further question, " Has the Church of England the right to leave the power of absolving, freely in the hands of her presbyters, without restricting them ? "

In answer to these questions Dr. Pusey has proved to demonstration, in his letter to Mr. Richards, that the Church of England does leave, and has a right to leave, " her children free to whom to open their griefs ; " in other words, that she fully allows the practice of confession to any of her children, who *cannot quiet their consciences without it*, and moreover that any priest of our communion is at liberty to confess and to absolve all those who have recourse to his ministry. Such is briefly the history of Dr. Pusey's letter to Mr. Upton Richards. With regard to Mr. Dodsworth, the case stands thus : After the delivery of the Gorham judgment, Mr. Dodsworth was very earnest in his endeavours to obtain some emphatic declaration, on the part of the Church of England, with respect to the doctrine of Regeneration in Holy Baptism ; such a declaration, in fact, as should drive out of the Church all those who differed from him. Finding that Dr. Pusey, with that charity and kindly feeling to which we gladly bear testimony, was not disposed to have recourse to this extreme measure, Mr. Dodsworth addresses to him a letter, in which he charges Dr. Pusey with acting on this question in direct opposition to all his former teaching on the subject of Sacramental Grace ; in which he asserts that Dr. Pusey had " encouraged every where, if not enjoined Auricular Confession ; " had taught " the propitiatory sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist as applicatory of the one Sacrifice of the Cross ; " had recommended the use of crucifixes, and divers other practices, which were not a little startling to the minds of all sober members of the Church of England. This statement of Mr. Dodsworth was noticed by the Bishop of London in his Charge of 1850, whereupon Dr. Pusey, having, if we mistake not, been previously urged by the Bishop of Oxford to do so, published a " Defence of his own principles " in a letter to the first-named bishop. Mr. Dodsworth replies to this letter ; whereupon Dr. Pusey puts forth his " Renewed Explanation in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's Comments. "

With regard to Mr. Dodsworth's share in this matter, we think it right to make one or two brief remarks. A very

strong feeling of indignation was excited against that gentleman on the appearance of his letter to Dr. Pusey. That letter was considered, whether rightly or wrongly we do not presume to say, but at all events it was considered, in nearly all quarters, as a piece of petty spite against his former leader, because Dr. Pusey did not choose to follow Mr. Dodsworth in his crusade against the Evangelical party. Mr. Dodsworth thinks this very unreasonable. He labours very hard to prove that, so far from wishing to attach any stigma to Dr. Pusey in the eyes of all sound English Churchmen, he was really only anxious to do him a very great service; that he simply wished to hold him "to a consistent course of conduct"; that he "made the statement originally, and still adheres to it, not as in its leading features disparaging to Dr. Pusey, but, as to his honour." The "Dublin Review" of last April, in an article from which we shall have occasion to quote hereafter, thus speaks on this point:—

"Mr. Dodsworth is, we are satisfied, too kind and amiable a man to have any thought of what is commonly called 'showing up' his friend in the eyes of the Protestant public. He meant to state facts, and these facts Dr. Pusey has acknowledged. He meant no more, as we are bound to understand him, than to contrast Dr. Pusey's apparent wavering about the Gorham case, with the known character of his teaching and practice."

Now, we have really no wish to judge Mr. Dodsworth unfairly, but we must say that it is a little too much to apply the terms "kindness" and "amiability" to his conduct to Dr. Pusey. What would the Dublin Reviewer say, if the Bishop of Exeter should hereafter state, with regard to his pastoral letter (of which, by the way, we deeply regret to be obliged to say that we wish it had never been published), that he simply intended to do an act of especial kindness to the Archbishop of Canterbury! All we will say is this, that if Mr. Dodsworth did *not* design to "show up" his friend, as the Dublin Reviewer says, he might have used a less public method of admonition towards him—that if, on the other hand, he did intend to do so, he could not, if he had tried his hardest, have used means better calculated to attain the end he desired.

But we must say a few words with respect to another expression of Mr. Dodsworth, which certainly does seem, upon the face of it, of a very singular nature. He insinuates, in a note attached to his "Comment on Dr. Pusey's letter," that Dr. Pusey did actually countenance a more stringent declaration with respect to Holy Baptism, in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's first

* *Comments, &c.* p. 1.

"friendly" letter to him. Dr. Pusey clearly enough shows this not to have been the case, but with that we have obviously nothing to do. We merely allude to the matter for the purpose of drawing attention to the following strange assertion of Mr. Dodsworth. He says,

"Had Dr. Pusey used this strong language from the first, a different result *might* (sic) have followed from the united efforts of High Churchmen. As it was, happily, as I must now think it, Dr. Pusey's retraction or change of opinion came too late to be of any effect."

Now, if these words mean any thing, they must mean this; that, if Dr. Pusey had been content, in conjunction with Mr. Dodsworth, to anathematize all who differed from him, Mr. Dodsworth *might, quod dictu fœdum est*, have *still* been a member of the Church of England. Now, let it be remembered that, *before* publishing these "Comments," Mr. Dodsworth had subscribed the creed of Pope Pius IV., had been received into the bosom of the so-called Catholic Church, and, like all the recent converts of any note, with one bright exception, had done his best to vilify the Church of England, by the publication of a pamphlet called "Anglicanism in its Results," to which we may possibly allude somewhat more at length, in our next number. What *must* we think of the common honesty, *or* the common discernment, of a man who, situated as Mr. Dodsworth then was, could make such an assertion as that on which we comment? Mr. Dodsworth, if Dr. Pusey had been, *on one subject*, a little more decided, "*might*" still have been a member of the Church of England!—of that Church which has, according to his own showing, no priesthood, no sacraments, no spiritual character, no any thing which, as Mr. Dodsworth imagines, is a mark or note of the true Church of Christ! Surely the alternative is obvious. If Mr. Dodsworth can assert, *after* the publication of "Anglicanism in its Results," that he "*might*" have been still a member of the Church of England, we are driven, in consequence of that publication, to one of two conclusions—either Mr. Dodsworth would have remained in our communion, as a dishonest man, or else he can now be very insufficiently qualified to give any opinion on the merits of the controversy between the two Churches. We leave Mr. Dodsworth to explain this statement as he best can. Until he does explain it, any candid mind can, we imagine, think very little of his value, as a pervert to Romanism; can attach very little importance to any attack it may please him to make upon the Church of England.

But it is time, that, leaving the consideration of Mr. Dodsworth's conduct, we return to the subject we propose to investigate in this paper. We shall endeavour to show first, to what

extent the writings of Dr. Pusey show that he inculcates the practice of Auricular Confession. Secondly, we shall inquire whether Dr. Pusey's teaching is in accordance with the doctrine of the Church of England; and then, thirdly, how far the use of Confession to a Priest, as a means of grace, is encouraged by the teaching of Holy Scripture, and by the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church.

We need hardly remind our readers, what is the doctrine of the Church of Rome with respect to Auricular Confession. The Council of Lateran, in 1215, laid down the following rule, "That all the faithful of both sexes should, as soon as they come to years of discretion, faithfully confess all their sins in private, at least once a year, to their own priest:" while it was decreed by the Council of Trent, that, "to confess to a priest, all and every mortal sin, which after diligent inquiry we remember, and every evil thought or desire, and the circumstances which change the nature of the sin, is necessary for the remission of sins, and of divine institution; and he that denies this is to be anathema." Here, at least, the doctrine is laid down in terms unmistakably clear. Let us now proceed to examine whether there is any difference in fact between the theories of Dr. Pusey and the Church of Rome with respect to Confession. It may be well, however, first to state, to avoid any mistake on so important a point, how far we go along with Dr. Pusey with respect to the doctrine of Sacerdotal Absolution. Our difference with him is not as to the doctrine itself, but simply as to its practical application.

"We," to use his own words, "believe in common, that the power to absolve from sin in Christ's name, is given to all priests through their ordination. We believe that this power is committed to them by Christ himself, through the imposition of the bishop's hands with the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee, by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained.' We believe also that the power of excommunicating, or absolving from excommunication, is reserved for the highest order only. We believe, that on full confession of all the sins that burthen the conscience, with true repentance, the priest may, by Christ's authority committed unto him, absolve the penitent from all his sins in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and that what he looses on earth is loosed in heaven⁴."

Thus far there can be no difference of opinion between those who are content to take the formularies of our Church in their natural sense. But here we must stop in our agreement with

⁴ Letter to Mr. Richards, p. 7.

Dr. Pusey. Unless we have grievously mistaken the tenor of his writings on this subject, there is no one class of persons to whom he would not recommend the habitual use of Confession as, next to the reception of the Holy Eucharist, one of the very highest means of grace. We believe, most fully, that to no one does he "enjoin" Confession; we believe, equally, that there is no one to whom he would not strenuously recommend its habitual use. Let us see how far Dr. Pusey's own writings bear out this view of the case. He says:—

"I could not *enjoin* what the English Church leaves free. I recommended it in my University Sermons to those who felt that their case needed it⁵."

The question, then, obviously is, who are they, who, in Dr. Pusey's judgment, *ought* "to feel that their case needed it?"

Let us examine this question. In his sermon, "Entire Absolution of the Penitent," the following words occur:

"The object of this sermon is the relief of individual penitents. Consciences are burthened. There is a provision on the part of God in his Church to relieve them."

Again:

"They cannot estimate their own repentance and faith. God has provided physicians of the soul, to relieve and judge for those who 'open their griefs' to them⁶." "Yet such," he says, "are not the only cases to which the provisions of our Church directly apply. She explicitly contemplates another class, tender consciences, who need comfort and peace, and reassurance of the favour of their heavenly Father. For (blessed be God) there are those who feel the weight of any slight sin, more than others do 'whole cartloads:' and who do derive comfort and strength from the special application of the power of the keys to their own consciences."

He then refers to the well-known words of our Communion Service, and thus continues:

"What minister of Christ then should take upon himself to drive away 'his lambs,' as if persons were to have less of the ministry of comfort, the less they had offended God? As if any thing ought, in the estimation of the Christian minister, to be of slight account, which disturbs the peaceful mirror of the soul wherein it reflects God."

Now, in order to estimate the full force of these very solemn words, and we trust our readers will give us credit for approaching the consideration of this subject with a deep feeling of respect for the earnest love of souls which dictated them, we must place in juxtaposition to them a passage from Dr. Pusey's letter to Mr. Richards.

"All'," he says, "who have any experience in Confession, know

⁵ Letter to Mr. Richards, p. 6.

⁶ Ibid. p. 7.

⁷ p. 70.

that the minds of many are as much disquieted by *those slighter sins*, which are called 'venial,' as others are by those called 'deadly' sins. They will frequently be a subject of Confession, and are a legitimate subject of Confession among us also, for the Church, in her exhortation, invites all who cannot quiet their conscience. *They will often be, as the soul grows in grace, the only sins to be confessed. Yet the soul grows in grace through their Confession. The power of the keys is exercised as to these also; and God does give grace on its use*.*"

Now the first thing which strikes us in these two passages is the meaning which Dr. Pusey would attach to the word "Penitent." Doubtless, in one sense, all Christian men must be penitents, and, doubtless, also, the more the spiritual life is built up, and confirmed, and strengthened within them, the deeper will be, day by day, their penitential sorrow for past sin. But surely these are not the class of persons to whom, in its strictest sense, the word penitent ought to be applied. Surely, at least, it was not so in the Primitive Church. We know perfectly well who were there meant by the "Penitents." They were not persons whose consciences were disquieted by those sins of infirmity to which all men, as long as they are "burthened by the infirmity of the flesh," must ever be subject, but rather persons who, in consequence of some sin of a grave character, were debarred from communion with the faithful, until they were restored, after a long course of penitence, by *public* Confession and by *public* Absolution. But now, obviously, the penitent, to whom Dr. Pusey alludes, will be very frequently such, in a very different sense indeed to the penitent of the early Church, and, as we firmly believe, taking the word in its strictest sense, of Holy Scripture. The penitent, according to Dr. Pusey, will be *every one*, who feels himself burthened with a consciousness of sin. To *every one*, who does so feel, Dr. Pusey holds up Confession to a priest, and Absolution at his hands, as one of the greatest means of comfort and consolation. But now surely the grand doctrine of Holy Scripture and of the Church of Christ is, that all men, however high may be their attainments in holiness, are *daily* sinning, and "coming short of the glory of God;" that all men, even the greatest saints, do daily commit "sins of thought, word, and deed against the Divine Majesty," and therefore surely it is evident, that, according to Dr. Pusey, the use of Confession to a priest, as a means of grace, must be, in its practical application, absolutely unlimited. If the power of the keys, in Confession and Absolution, ought to be applied to all individually who feel their consciences burthened by sin, *of whatever character*, and if this *must* be the case with all true Christians, and the more so

* The italics are ours.

the higher they advance in spiritual attainments, then surely it will follow, as the only legitimate conclusion, that *all true Christians* are bound, as they value their soul's health, to have recourse to Auricular Confession, in order that they may receive the benefit of individual Priestly Absolution.

But, moreover, Dr. Pusey tells us, that the Church of England, in her exhortation, when notice is given of the Holy Communion, "explicitly contemplates another class, tender consciences, who need comfort, and peace, and reassurance of the favour of their heavenly Father." To these is Confession especially salutary, as a means of grace. Now we beg to ask, who are they who, being Christians indeed, do not come under this category? Can there be one man living, having any knowledge of his own condition as a guilty sinner in God's sight, having any desire and yearning for God's love and favour, who does not, daily and hourly, need "comfort, and peace, and reassurance of the favour of his heavenly Father;" who does not long for a *daily* assurance that God is to him, personally and individually, a "reconciled Father in CHRIST JESUS?" Well then, if this be so, surely it will follow again, that all such persons, in other words, all sincere Christians, act most rashly and unadvisedly, who do not, according to Dr. Pusey, have habitual recourse to Auricular Confession, as one of the most direct means of obtaining comfort and peace of mind. Therefore do we say, that, even from the passages we have now quoted, and, did time allow, they might be multiplied tenfold, the theory of Dr. Pusey with respect to spiritual direction is briefly as follows: A "Physician of souls" is provided for the relief of "penitents," and "tender consciences." Inasmuch then as all true Christians are penitents; inasmuch as the consciences of all such will necessarily be tender; therefore, for all true Christians does the Church provide a Physician of souls, and the remedy he administers is Auricular Confession, and special, personal, Absolution.

And now that we have clearly shown the universality of Dr. Pusey's theory with regard to Confession, let us see, in the next place, whether his practice, so far as that practice can be gathered from the writings before us, is coextensive with it. That Dr. Pusey does not in terms "enjoin" Confession we are quite sure, but that he does so represent its value, as *practically* to enjoin it, we have no doubt whatever. In other words, to state our meaning as broadly as possible, we are quite convinced that, were Dr. Pusey a parish priest, there would not be a single person in his parish, provided he steadily acted up to, and practically carried out, Dr. Pusey's teaching and ministerial guidance, who would not, habitually, and systematically, use Confession, either to Dr.

Pusey himself or to "some other" priest of the Anglican Church. Let us then endeavour to substantiate this position, premising that we are not now, in any wise, considering whether Dr. Pusey's teaching and practice on this subject be right or wrong, be, or be not, in accordance with the mind and intention of the English Church, but simply, what is the real nature, the actual extent, of that teaching, as it is carried out in practical operation. We will quote, in the first place, a passage from the letter to Mr. Richards:—

"In their plain and natural sense²," says the writer, "the words, 'Let him come to me, or unto some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word,' do (as all must have felt, *and as we have all shown by our actions, whether in confessing or in receiving confessions*¹;) leave it quite open to any of us to choose whom we think best fitted for our own case."

Now be it remembered that Dr. Pusey is writing to a priest of the English Church, at the request of certain other priests, and in so doing he states that they have *all* practically carried out *their* view of the exhortation in our Communion Service, by having recourse to special Confession to a priest. Who can doubt, for a moment, that every one brought within the sphere of their influence, would, by their distinct and explicit recommendation, have recourse to the same method of obtaining comfort and consolation?

Again, in discussing the question whether "bishops and clergy were allowed by the positive law to choose their own confessor," Dr. Pusey proves, clearly enough, according to the practice of the Romish Church, the affirmative of the position, and then he adds:—

"Much more may we, priests or laymen, submit ourselves, for the time, to those to whom, as ministers of God, we lay open the wounds of our souls³."

Again he says:—

"But bishops are not limited to their own priests, nor is this even suggested by the decretal. If the bishop were to confess to another bishop (and surely it would be"—not, observe, would have been, but would be—"nothing strange, that a bishop should use Confession to another), he would be submitting himself to one to whom he could in no way give jurisdiction; and who, of himself, had none over him."

We quote this passage as proving, when taken in connexion with those already quoted, that, according to Dr. Pusey, no one, no class, no individual, from the humblest "penitent," using the word

² Letter to Mr. Richards, pp. 17, 18.

¹ It may be well to state that the italics are our own, unless where otherwise specified.

³ Letter to Mr. Richards, p. 38.

in its strictest sense, to the greatest saint, from the lowest minister about holy things, to those who sit in the highest places as "over-seers of the flock of God," *ought* so far to undervalue his spiritual privileges, as to neglect the habitual use of special Confession to a priest, as one of the greatest means of grace.

But there is one case to which, on this point, we must refer more at length, because it illustrates, still more precisely, Dr. Pusey's teaching and practice. Perhaps we had better give the statement of the matter as it appears in Mr. Dodsworth's "Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London." Mr. Dodsworth is endeavouring to do that which,—we are sorry to be obliged to say so in connexion with Mr. Dodsworth—we are also doing, viz. to prove the universality of Dr. Pusey's teaching and practice with respect to Confession. He says:—

"Dr. Pusey and I had been associated together in the establishment of a Sisterhood of Mercy; and it was certainly an understood thing, though not absolutely enforced, that the Sisters should use Confession; *as they all, in fact, do*."

Now, what is Dr. Pusey's answer to this statement? He says,

"I am quite sure that the accurate statement would have been, 'we certainly *anticipated* that the Sisters *would* use Confession' (sic). This, certainly, I did anticipate. From my experience as to the class of minds likely to be drawn by the grace of God, to devote themselves to the service of Christ in his poor, *I could not doubt that the same minds would most probably be drawn to Confession*. I should expect this of any institution formed by any one in the English Church, which (on whatever principle it was established) should propose as its end and aim, to serve Christ himself in his poor and sick. *I should expect that it would either melt away, or that its members would sooner or later, one by one, come to use Confession*. But I should think it wrong to aid in forming a society in which it should be 'an implied and understood thing,' that the members '*should* use Confession'."

And then Dr. Pusey goes on to protest against any further allusion to the practice of these Sisters of Mercy. He says,

"Confession being, amongst us, a voluntary act, ought to be held sacred; and no one has, I think, a right to publish to the world, whether ladies, who have retired from the world to serve Christ in his poor, do or do not use Confession. It, as well as every other circumstance of their devotional life, is sacred between God and their own souls."

It may be well, before commenting on this passage, to give Mr. Dodsworth's further reply to it. He says.

"I feel bound, reluctantly, to state the grounds upon which I made

² Comments, &c. p. 6.

⁴ Renewed Explanations, p. 21.

the original assertion, 'by encouraging every where, if not enjoining, Auricular Confession.' I had then the following circumstance in my mind. Soon after the establishment of the Sisterhood of Mercy in my late parish, a young woman came to the house with the view of being admitted as a 'lay' or 'serving' sister. On my calling to see her soon after her arrival, *she told me at once she could not stay, because from a conversation which she had had with Dr. Pusey, she found that she would be required to use Confession; and under this impression, she actually left the institution.* Dr. Pusey tells me that he does not remember this case; but it made too vivid an impression on my mind to be easily effaced. I can only place my recollection, which is as clear and distinct as if the circumstance had occurred yesterday, against his. Again, in the original rules drawn up for the Sisterhood, under which they lived for some time, and which were read over every week in the community, there was a rule, a copy of which is now before me, 'on Confession.' It begins as follows, 'Whenever you use Confession, make your preparation as follows, &c.'"⁵

Now, there are two observations suggest themselves with reference to this question. It does, in the first place, seem to us absolutely inconceivable, how Dr. Pusey, with a knowledge of these facts before him, could possibly object to Mr. Dodsworth's statement, that he had "encouraged every where, if not enjoined, Auricular Confession." Leaving the "serving sister" out of the question, let us take the case as Dr. Pusey himself puts it. A Sisterhood of Mercy is founded, consisting of ladies who desired "to serve Christ in his poor," by devoting themselves to works of charity and mercy. Of this Sisterhood Dr. Pusey says emphatically, "we certainly *anticipated* that the Sisterhood *would* use Confession." He says, moreover, "I should expect that any such institution would either melt away, or that its members would sooner or later, one by one, come to use Confession." Then, further, distinct rules for Confession are drawn up, which rules are read over every week in the community. And yet, with marvellous inconsistency, Dr. Pusey adds, "But I should think it wrong to aid in forming a society in which it should be 'an implied and understood thing' that the members should use Confession." Now we do not wish for a single moment to charge Dr. Pusey with wilful misrepresentation, but we must say, that, if ever there was a case in which any thing was "implied and understood," using these words in their ordinary sense, then was it "an understood and implied thing," that these Sisters of Mercy *should* use Confession.

Dr. Pusey states, again, that he did not "enjoin" Confession. We fully believe it, as he says so; but, surely, there is such a

⁵ Further Comments, &c. p. 4.

thing as moral force, and moral compulsion. As Mr. Dodsworth very truly observes, - I might be of opinion that a course of advice amounts in effect to the enjoining of the practice, which he thinks no more than an encouragement to it.

But then comes the further question. *Could* not Dr. Pusey, according to his own showing, to have enjoined Confession upon these Sisters of Mercy? He wishes to establish a certain institution; he thinks that every one who joins it, will in time, use Confession; he thinks that if Confession be *not* used, the institution must fall to the ground: and, moreover, one of the rules of the institution itself is, *how* Confession should be used. Surely, then, the more straightforward course would have been to have said in terms, that which really was the case practically, that the use of Confession to a priest should be one of the fundamental conditions of joining the institution.

But we must notice, secondly, Dr. Pusey's very singular sensitiveness as to the practice of these Sisters of Mercy, with respect to Confession. Mr. Dodsworth has put this point very forcibly. He says *,—

"Before I leave this subject of Confession, I must say that I cannot understand how Dr. Pusey can esteem it a betrayal of confidence, simply to state the fact that the Sisters do use Confession. Is it not, according to his own showing, an excellent and edifying practice; nay, and essential, in his view, to the very existence of such an institution? Can it, then, be wrong to have stated that this practice, *essential* to its permanence, is to be found in the institution?"

We are sorry to be obliged to say, that we fully agree with Mr. Dodsworth on this point. We beg to ask, would Dr. Pusey esteem it a breach of confidence if any one were to state that, in an institution founded by him, the Sisters *must* have been admitted into the English Church by the Sacrament of Holy Baptism? Would it be a breach of confidence to state that they habitually, and at stated intervals, partook of the Holy Eucharist? We apprehend that Dr. Pusey would not assert this. Inasmuch, then, as we have clearly shown that Dr. Pusey regards the habitual use of Confession to a priest as a means of grace, second only in value to Baptism, and the Holy Eucharist, it surely would redound, according to his own principles, to the honour, rather than to the discredit, of the Sisters to state that they habitually had recourse to that means of grace which their founder so strenuously recommends. The mere fact of Dr.

* Further Comments, &c. p. 5.

Pusey objecting, not, as he might fairly enough have done, to the manner, but to the matter, of Mr. Dodsworth's statement, respecting the Sisterhood, shows, in our judgment, most clearly, that he has, unwittingly, placed himself in an utterly false position, with respect to his recommendation of the use of Auricular Confession.

But now we ask our readers, have we, or have we not, proved to demonstration the position we set out to establish, that, according to Dr. Pusey, it is at once the bounden duty and the highest interest of every sincere Christian, as he values his spiritual welfare, to carry out in detail a system of Spiritual Direction, differing in no one essential particular, in no practical respect whatever, from that of the Roman Church? In other words, to use, habitually and systematically, Confession to a priest, for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of Absolution. The *details* of Confession are, as Mr. Dodsworth asserts, and as Dr. Pusey perforce admits, completely identical in the Romish usage, and the usage of Dr. Pusey and his followers. In fact, in his answer to Mr. Dodsworth's Comments, Dr. Pusey makes the following startling acknowledgment,—an acknowledgment over which Mr. Dodsworth does not forget to sing an *Io Pæan*:—

"I certainly do believe that the great change which the English Church made as to Confession was, that it ceased to be compulsory. Confession, when made, must be made in one and the same way; only, in the English Church, it is, from beginning to end, voluntary."

And this, then, according to Dr. Pusey, was, so far as Auricular Confession was concerned, the whole and sole result of the Reformation! This it was which alone Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and Bramhall, and Usher, and a host of others, laboured to establish! When these great pillars of the English Church denounced, as Dr. Pusey knows full well they did denounce, the Romish Confessional, they objected, not to the *system* of the Romish Church, not to the *details* of that system, but simply to its compulsory nature! They wished to make no alteration whatever in the practice, but simply wished to leave it an open question, simply a matter of voluntary choice, whether members of the English Church should or should not adopt it! We can only say that we "would not hear the *enemy*" of the Church of England make such an assertion, for sure we are that no heavier charge could be brought against our Reformers than Dr. Pusey has by implication brought against them. All that, forsooth, they and the great divines of the seventeenth century did in this point, was deliberately to leave it an open question, a matter of free choice, whether Christian men should or should not use one of the most valued means of grace to which they could possibly have re-

course ! As if that Church would not show the greatest love for the souls of her children, which, taking Dr. Pusey's view with regard to Confession as the correct view, should *not* leave it a voluntary question, whether so beneficial a practice should or should not be universally adopted, but should insist rather upon all her children adopting it. In opposition to Dr. Pusey's teaching on this point, we will simply quote the following passage from Usher's "Answer to a Jesuit," and then leave our readers to judge whether, in the opinion of Usher, "the great change which the English Church made as to Confession was, that it ceased to be compulsory."

"Be' it therefore known unto him (the Jesuit) that no kind of Confession, either public or private, is disallowed by us, that is any way requisite for the due execution of that ancient power of the keys which Christ bestowed upon his Church. The thing which we now reject, is that new picklock of sacramental Confession, obtruded upon men's consciences, as a matter necessary to salvation, by the canons of the late conventicle of Trent, where those good Fathers put their curse upon every one that either shall deny that sacramental Confession was ordained by Divine right, and is by the same right necessary to salvation. This doctrine, I say, we cannot but reject, as being repugnant to that which we have learned, both from the Scriptures, and from the Fathers.

"For in the Scriptures we find, that the confession which the penitent sinner maketh to God alone, hath the promise of forgiveness annexed unto it, which no priest upon earth hath power to make void, upon pretence that himself or some of his fellows were not first particularly acquainted with the business, 'I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid: I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' And the poor publican, putting up his supplication in the temple accordingly, 'God be merciful to me a sinner,' went back to his house justified, without making confession to any other ghostly father, but only the Father of Spirits; of whom St. John giveth us this assurance, that 'if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Which promise, that it appertained to such as did confess their sins to God, *the ancient Fathers were so well assured of, that they cast in a manner all upon this confession, and left little or nothing to that which was made unto man.* Nay, they do not only leave it free for men to confess, or not confess their sins unto others, which is the most that we could have; but some of them also seem, in words at least, to advise men not to do it at all, which is more than we seek for."

And now then, let us see how far the view, which Dr. Pusey has taken of Auricular Confession, is justified by an appeal to the

⁷ Quoted by Dr. Hook in Appendix to Auricular Confession, note F. p. 58.

authorized formularies of the Church of England. It may be well, perhaps, to state here once for all, that we use the term "Auricular" in no invidious sense, but simply as the only term which will properly express Confession to a priest, in contradistinction to Confession to the Almighty.

Let us then suppose a case. Let us imagine an enlightened Roman Catholic, having no knowledge whatever of the Church of England system, with no prejudices either for or against it, to sit down to the perusal of the writings of Dr. Pusey on the subject of Auricular Confession and Absolution. If he reads these writings attentively, the conclusion at which he must arrive will be, that Dr. Pusey, professing to act in accordance with the mind and intention of the English Church, sets the highest conceivable value upon Auricular Confession, as a means of grace; that he asserts in plain terms that there is no difference whatever between the doctrine of the two Churches on this point, except that, in the one, Confession is voluntary, in the other, compulsory.

Then let us suppose further that our Romanist, having fully ascertained Dr. Pusey's mind and intention on this matter, applies himself to a careful study of the formularies of the English Church. Now what will he expect to find in them, reasoning from the practice of his own Church? He finds there Auricular Confession inculcated, and practised, *as a system*. He finds the "Confessional" set up in every Church. He finds the priesthood regularly trained up in all the details of this system. He finds a body of divinity, carefully compiled by some of the most eminent theologians, for the express guidance of "Confessors." He finds "manuals of Confession" meeting him at every turn, drawn up with the express object that nothing may be omitted, which is essential to the use of so important a means of grace. Now, then, what will he find *corresponding to all this* in the system of the Church of England? He will find four authorized exponents of that system, the Book of Common Prayer, the two Books of Homilies, the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, and the Thirty-nine Articles. He turns then to the Book of Common Prayer as the most important of these, and what does he find there? He finds that Confession to a priest is never once mentioned from one end of the Prayer Book to the other, except in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and there only as a hypothetical case, where it is said: "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, *if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter*." He finds in the Communion Office the following sentence:—"And because it is requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore if there

be any of you who, by this means, cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of Absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness."

But now, from the Prayer Book, our inquirer turns to the Homilies. In the second part of the Sermon on Repentance, he finds it specified, that "there be four parts of Repentance." 1st, A diligent perusal of the Scriptures; 2nd, "An unfeigned Confession and acknowledging of our sins"—not to the priest, but—"unto God." 3rd. Faith in Christ; and, lastly, A new life. But this is not all that he finds in this sermon. He finds an especial reference to the practice of the Church of Rome, with respect to Confession, which is thus noted in the margin. "*Answer to the adversaries which maintain Auricular Confession,*" the reference itself being as follows:—

"And whereas *the adversaries* go about to wrest this place,"—alluding to the well-known passage in St. James—"for to maintain their Auricular Confession withal, *they are greatly deceived themselves and do shamefully deceive others:* for if this text ought to be understood of Auricular Confession, then these priests are as much bound to confess themselves unto the lay people, as the lay people are bound to confess themselves unto them. And if to pray is to absolve, then the laity by this place hath as great authority to absolve the priests, as the priests have to absolve the laity."—"I do not say," it is added, "but that, *if any do find themselves troubled in conscience,* they may repair to their learned Curates or Pastors, or to some other learned godly man, and show the trouble and doubt of their conscience to them, that they may receive at their hand the comfortable salve of God's Word; but *it is against the true Christian liberty, that any man should be bound to the numbering of his sins, as it hath been used heretofore in the time of blindness and ignorance,*"

—in the time, i. e. according to Dr. Pusey, when "*the adversary*" did, precisely that which the Church of England does now, except *only*, that she made Confession compulsory!

And now let us turn to the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical." What does our inquirer find there with respect to Auricular Confession? Not one single word from beginning to end. The subject is not even alluded to, and more than this, there is, if we may so speak, a *studied* silence respecting it. In these Canons, we find full directions about "things appertaining to Churches:" for instance, it is directed that there shall be, in every Church, the great Bible, and Book of Common Prayer;

a font of stone for Baptism ; a decent communion table ; a pulpit ; a chest for alms ; and so on ; but there is not one word with regard to the "Confessional" or place for hearing Confessions, which *used*, in mediæval times, to be set up in every Church. Therefore, we say, that the "Canons," practically ignore the use of Confession, as part of the system of the Church of England.

And now, lastly, our inquirer turns to the Thirty-nine Articles. Does he find Auricular Confession either enjoined, or recommended, here? On the contrary, he finds much, both directly and by implication, against it. For, first, it is asserted, that that which Romanists call the sacrament of penance, with which, in their Church, Confession is closely connected, is spoken of as "not to be counted for a sacrament of the Gospel," but as having "grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles ; partly" as being in common with other rites, a "state of life allowed in the Scriptures," but yet having not like nature with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that it has not "any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." And, secondly, the Homilies—and, therefore, all that they say with respect to Auricular Confession, are spoken of as "containing a godly and wholesome doctrine." But, besides this, having gone through our formularies, our Roman Catholic querist must take into consideration, the feeling of the popular mind in the two Churches, with respect to Confession. In his own Church the practice is regarded not only as a legitimate but as an essential part of the system. In the Church of England, on the contrary, he will find that any direct approximation to the Romish system on this point is looked upon (and may it ever continue to be so !) with the greatest possible suspicion. And now, then, we would ask, what *must* be the conclusion of any enlightened Roman Catholic who, with no prejudices, but simply seeking for the truth, should thus place the system of Dr. Pusey in juxtaposition with the system of the Church of England, as he himself has deduced that system from her own authorized formularies? Would he not, *must* he not, say, either that Dr. Pusey has most grievously not misrepresented, for that we are sure he would not do, but most grievously mistaken the mind and intention of the Church of England, with respect to Auricular Confession ; or else, that the system of the Church of England is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare?—a system which pulls down with one hand that which, according to Dr. Pusey, it builds up with the other—a system which, according to the same authority, differs in no way practically, with respect to Auricular Confession, from that of the Church of Rome ; and yet, not only does not say one single word in recommendation of Confession to a Priest, but does, both directly and by implication, condemn the

system of the Romish communion ! Surely, judging as an honest man, he would say, in the language of the "Dublin Review," and sorry, most sorry, are we to be obliged to agree with any thing, in reference to Dr. Pusey's teaching on this subject, which emanates from such a quarter, that the words of our Communion service are—

"Words which certainly justify an Anglican clergyman in receiving a Confession, on some special point of conscientious difficulty, with a view to holy communion. It is, however, quite a different question, and one which, we should have thought, required a distinct reference to ecclesiastical authority, whether these words, quite unsupported by the general practice of the Church of England at any period of its history, can be considered to form a warrant for that extensive administration of the Confessional powers which Dr. Pusey founds upon them. For such a construction of these words will be seen to transfer the judgment of the necessity for Confession from the penitent to the clergy, and to change the rare occasion of an individual and partial scruple into an habitual and conscientious requirement ; in short, it supposes the clergyman to say to his flock : 'If you have no such scruples about going to holy communion, you ought to have them.'"

We have inserted these remarks of "the adversary," because we honestly believe that they put the only interpretation upon the oft-quoted passage of our Communion service, of which that passage will fairly admit. It will be our object, in the next place, to justify that passage ; in other words, to show that, when the Church of England allows Auricular Confession, not as a general rule of life, but simply as a special remedy for some special disquietude of conscience, she is perfectly right in so doing. We purpose to inquire whether Auricular Confession is sanctioned, *as a rule of life*, by the practice of the elder dispensation ; by the teaching of Holy Scripture ; and by the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church.

First, then, How stood the case among the Jews ? The best authorities justify us in saying that Confession to a priest was a practice utterly unknown to the Jewish Church. Calmet tells us :—

"In the ceremony of the solemn expiation, under the Mosaic law, the high priest confessed in *general* his own sins, the sins of other ministers of the temple, and those of all the people."

He says, also, that the Jews, at the present day, make private Confession of their sins in the day of solemn expiation. This they call Cippur ; but this Confession is made not to a priest, but

mutually to one another, and it is attended with mutual scourging. And Broughton also tells us:—

“ But besides this general Confession, the Jews were obliged, during the ten days preceding the feast of expiation, to make a particular Confession of their sins, *either to God alone, or in the presence of a few persons*. If their sins were a breach of the first table, or offences against God only, they were not obliged to confess them before men; and Maimonides says, it would have been a piece of impudence to do so. But violations of the second table, or offences against their neighbour, were to be acknowledged in presence of their brethren.”

Thus much, then, for the practice of that elder Church, in whose footsteps, be it ever remembered, Christianity was originally modelled. Such was the working of that system which was a figurative introduction to Christianity.

And what, in the next place, does Holy Scripture assert with respect to Confession to a priest? We reply, in the words of one who has proved himself a staunch and consistent English Churchman:—

“ Search the Scriptures from one end to the other; from Moses to Malachi, and from Matthew to the Apocalypse, and not one word in all the Bible will you find about Confession to a priest. If Confession to a priest were necessary, if, that is to say, it were a means of grace, surely we should find some express, some unequivocal injunction for the observance of it. But not only is it not enjoined; it is not even suggested.”

There are, indeed, some who will “wrest” a certain passage of Scripture in defence of the practice of Auricular Confession. Like the Pontiff, who, because Scripture tells us that there were “two great lights, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night,” therefore, at once, drew the conclusion that the temporal sword was subordinate to the spiritual; so, because our Saviour said, on healing the leper, “Go thy way, show thyself to the priest,” therefore our Lord “recommended,” if He did not “enjoin,” Auricular Confession. Let us hear the Homily on this point:—

“ Do they not see that the leper was cleansed from his leprosy, afore he was by Christ sent unto the priest for to show himself unto him? By the same reason we must be cleansed from our spiritual leprosy; I mean, our sins must be forgiven us, afore that we come to Confession. What need we, then, to tell forth our sins into the ear of the priest, sith that they be already taken away?”

And now let us see what was the practice and the teaching of the Primitive Church with respect to Auricular Confession.

⁹ History of Religion, folio, 1—271.

¹ Auricular Confession, p. 18.

There is no doubt upon one point, that Confession was not only "recommended," but "enjoined" by the early Church, in the case of those persons who had fallen into grievous sin. There is no doubt also, that this Confession differed very materially indeed from Auricular Confession as it is "enjoined" by the Church of Rome, and as it is "recommended" by Dr. Pusey. The Confession of the early Church was public Confession of the "penitents," delivered, after a long and laborious penance, before the whole congregation; but it had no reference whatever to private and Auricular Confession. And in like manner the office of the penitentiary priest, to whom Romanists refer with such triumph, and whose office was abolished by Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius, was a very different person indeed from the "confessor" of the Romish Church. Great scandal was sometimes caused by the public confessions of grosser sins; and therefore the penitentiary priest was appointed, not "to receive private confessions in prejudice to the public discipline, much less to grant absolution privately upon bare confession before any penance was performed, *which was a practice altogether unknown to the ancient Church*;" but simply to decide whether the particular sin confessed was of a character to be expiated by public or private penance. To use the striking language of Hooker:—

"They," the Romanists, "are men that would seem to honour antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Christ the Fathers held no such opinion; they did not gather by our Saviour's words any such necessity of seeking the priest's absolution from sin by secret, and, *as they now term it*, Sacramental Confession. Public Confession they thought necessary by way of discipline, not private Confession, *as in the nature of a sacrament*, necessary."—*Eccl. Pol.* 6. 4.

Let us see, in the next place, what was the teaching of the early Church on this subject:—

"St. Chrysostom²," says Archbishop Usher, "of all others is most copious in this argument. 'It is not necessary,' saith he, 'that thou shouldest confess in the presence of witnesses; let the inquiry of thy offences be made in thy heart; let this judgment be without a witness; let God only see thee confessing.' Again, 'Therefore I entreat and beseech and pray you, that you would continually make your confession to God. For I do not bring thee into the theatre of thy fellow-servants, neither do I constrain thee to discover thy sins unto men: unclasp thy conscience before God, and show thy wounds unto Him, and of Him ask a medicine. Show them to Him, that will not reproach, but heal

² See Bingham, 18, 3.

³ Ibid. 18, 11.

⁴ Answer to a Jesuit. Quoted by Dr. Hook, pp. 60—62.

thee. For although thou hold thy peace, He knoweth all. Let us not call ourselves sinners only, but let us *recount our sins, and repeat every one of them in special*. I do not say unto thee, Bring thyself upon the stage, nor, Accuse thyself unto others; but I counsel thee to obey the prophet, saying, Reveal thy way unto the Lord. Confess them before God, confess thy sins before the Judge, praying, if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy memory, and so look to obtain mercy.'" To use the words of the same great divine, "St. Augustine, Cassiodore, and Gregory make a further observation upon that place of the thirty-second Psalm, 'I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin,' that God, upon the only promise and purpose of making this confession, did forgive the sin. 'Mark,' saith Gregory, 'how great the swiftness is of this vital indulgence, how great the commendation is of God's mercy, that pardon should accompany the very desire of him who is about to confess, before that repentance do come to afflict him; and remission should come to the heart, before that confession did break forth by the voice.'"

Usher then proceeds to quote St. Basil, St. Ambrose, Maximus Taurinensis, and Prosper, and thus concludes:—

"By this it appeareth, that the ancient Fathers did not think that the remission of sins was so tied unto external confession, that a man might not look for salvation from God, if he concealed his faults from man; but that inward contrition, and confession made to God alone, were sufficient in this case."

There is no doubt, indeed, that the early Church *did* not only allow, but recommend, private Confession; but this was only in some special cases¹. Thus, in the case of lesser sins, men were *advised* to confess mutually to one another; and in the case of private injuries, to confess and ask pardon of the injured party. And so, if men could not quiet their consciences without it, they were advised to have recourse to a priest, not for the purpose of sacramental Confession, but that he might give them spiritual counsel, and also advise them whether it was proper for them to expiate their sin by public penance. In the words of Hooker:—

"Men being loathe to present rashly themselves and their faults unto the view of the whole Church, thought it best to unfold first their minds to some one special man of the clergy, which might either help them himself, or refer them to a higher court, if need were."—*Eccl. Pol.* 6. 4.

In fact, their practice was exactly identical with that of our own Church. They neither "enjoined" Auricular Confession, as does the Church of Rome, neither did they "recommend" it as a

¹ Bingham, 18, 3.

rule of life, as does Dr. Pusey; but they simply "allowed" it as a means of special comfort and consolation to those who could not without it "quiet their own consciences."

"Neither they nor we," as Usher well says, "do debar men from opening their grievances unto the physicians of their souls, either for their better information in the true state of their disease, or for the quieting of their troubled consciences, or for receiving further direction from them out of God's Word, both for the recovery of their present sickness, and for the prevention of the like danger in time to come."

And now we trust we have clearly shown that Dr. Pusey can find no warrant in the authorized formularies of the English Church for making Auricular Confession the rule of life. We trust we have shown also, that the view taken of Confession by the Church of England is justified, not only by the perfect silence of Scripture, but by the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church. But then, perchance, it may be objected, that the view we have taken of Auricular Confession must also tend to the disparagement of the benefit and comfort of Sacramental Absolution, to which, beyond all manner of doubt, the Church of England attaches a very high value. We answer, that we do nothing of the kind—that the two cases are perfectly distinct. Dr. Pusey, indeed, more than any man living, has by his writings, unwittingly we fully believe, disparaged the forms of Absolution which, in her daily service, and in her Eucharistic office, the Church of England has supplied for the comfort and consolation of her children. This, in fact, is our heaviest complaint against Dr. Pusey, that he has, by his recommendation of private Confession, with a view to private Absolution, tended to make the public forms of Confession and Absolution, which our Church enjoins, comparatively worthless. Let it be assumed, that the earnest-minded Christian does require a *daily* assurance of God's love and favour,—does *daily* need to be told that God has, upon his sincere repentance, pardoned his sins, and blotted them out from his remembrance. We say, that the Church of England does, in her daily service, supply such an assurance,—an assurance sufficiently precise, sufficiently comprehensive, for all ordinary occasions. Let us hear one of our most eminent ritualists on the Confession and Absolution of our daily service, quoted, strange to say, by Dr. Pusey himself, in the appendix to his Sermon at Oxford⁶ :—

"This Confession," says Dr. Bisse, "is in its form most solemn, in its extent most *comprehensive*; for it takes in *all kinds of sin, both of omission and of commission*. And whilst every single person makes this general Confession with his lips, he may make a particular Confes-

⁶ Entire Absolution of the Penitent, p. 69.

sion with his heart; *I mean, of his own personal sins, known only to God and himself, which, if particularly, though secretly, confessed and repented of, will assuredly be forgiven.* This is the privilege of our Confession, that, under the general form, every man may mentally unfold 'the plague of his own heart,' his particular sins, whatever they be, *as effectually to God, who 'alone knoweth his heart,' as if he pronounced them in express words.* And this Confession of sins being duly made by the whole congregation, then the priest standing up, doth, in the name and by the commission of God, pronounce the Absolution; which, if rightly understood, believed, and embraced by the confessing penitent, ought to be of like comfort to him as that declaration of Christ was to the man sick of the palsy, 'Be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee.' "

And yet Dr. Pusey prefaces this view of the public Absolution, so "solemn and comprehensive" as it is, with a remark which goes very far indeed to deprive it of all its force and all its efficacy in the opinion of those who carry out his teaching:—

"This view," he says, "is the rather added, because, *UNTIL individual Confession is more common, it may often be a very great comfort thus to include each person's own burden of sin in the general Confession; it will be more real, and the Absolution more availing!*"

In other words, this "solemn and comprehensive" form of Confession and Absolution, complete and perfect in itself, according to Dr. Bisse, will, according to Dr. Pusey, do very well for a makeshift, but will be, comparatively, of no value whatever when the "penitent" has had recourse habitually to private Confession and private Absolution! We do not, of course, intend to charge Dr. Pusey with any *intentional* disrespect to the forms of Confession and Absolution in our daily service; but he has, assuredly, used language which will fully justify the inference we have drawn from it.

But we have further testimony as to the completeness of these forms. Our own Hooker thus speaks of them':—

"Seeing day by day we in our Church begin our public prayers to Almighty God with public acknowledgment of our sins, in which Confession every man, prostrate as it were before his Glorious Majesty, crieth against himself, and the minister with one sentence pronounceth universally all clear whose acknowledgment so made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reason is there every man should not, under the general terms of Confession, represent to himself his own particulars whatsoever, and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite spirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine grace, *as if the same were severally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, imposition of hands, or all the ceremonies and solemnities that might be used for the strengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy*

towards them! Such complements are helps to support our weakness, and not causes that serve to procure or produce his gifts, as David speaketh. The difference of general and particular forms in Confession and Absolution is not so material that any man's safety or *ghostly good* should depend upon it."

But we have not yet done with the public service of our Church. There is another form of Confession and Absolution, if possible, even more solemn, more comprehensive, than that in our Order for Morning and Evening Prayer,—a form, be it specially remembered, which it is the earnest wish of Dr. Pusey and his followers to bring into *daily* use. We allude to the form in our Eucharistic office. We would ask any one carefully to read over the Confession and Absolution provided for us in that office, and then to say whether it is possible to provide forms better calculated to afford comfort and peace of mind to the true penitent,—to say whether it can be in any wise desirable, practically, to supersede their use by the adoption of private Confession and private Absolution,—whether it can be desirable to teach, if not in terms, yet virtually to teach that, to use again the words of Hooker, "it standeth with the righteousness of God to take away no man's sins until, by Auricular Confession, they be opened unto the priest."

And now, then, we are in a position to argue this question upon the lower ground of expediency. If, as we have proved, Auricular Confession was wholly unknown to the Elder Church; if it is wholly unsanctioned by Scripture; if its use, as a rule of life, is entirely unsupported by the practice and teaching of the early Christians; if it is neither enjoined nor even recommended, except in certain special cases, by the Church of England; we are entitled to ask now, Is it expedient to make Auricular Confession the rule of life; to hold it up as a means of grace, second only in value to Baptism and the Holy Eucharist; to represent it as a privilege, which ought to be eagerly and thankfully embraced by all true Christians? We will briefly state the reasons why we think it is not expedient. We object, then, in the first place, to the revival of Auricular Confession in the English Church, because it is a practice which never can by any possibility be regarded in any other light, than with the greatest suspicion, by the vast majority of English Churchmen. We are fully convinced that it is a system to which it is impossible that popular opinion can ever be reconciled. Men cannot forget, if they would, the fearful evils which *have* been committed, the horrible abominations which *have* been mixed up with this practice in the Church of Rome. We would pass very lightly over this painful part of the subject, but we cannot but feel that there is no security against the same

evils, and the same abominations, being mixed up with the system in this country, if the teaching of Dr. Pusey and his followers, were ever carried out to its full extent, especially when it is considered that the same school, by which the system of Auricular Confession is adopted, strongly recommends, if it does not enjoin, celibacy among the clergy.

But we object to the revival of Auricular Confession, secondly, because it is a system which of all others has the strongest tendency to render those, especially the younger clergy, by whom it is adopted, dissatisfied with the teaching of our own Church, and therefore to lead them on, insensibly, to the Church of Rome. Experience and reason alike demonstrate the truth of this assertion. There is no denying the fact, that they who have left us, were the very men who carried out this system in its fullest details. Witness the clergy at St. Saviour's, Leeds. Witness Mr. Maskell, Mr. Dodsworth, and many others who might be named. Reason proves this also. A young priest enters upon the duties of the parochial ministry, deeply imbued with Dr. Pusey's teaching upon this subject. He begins by introducing Auricular Confession, as one of the most important features of his parochial system. He finds himself, in a very short time, regarded with grave suspicion. He finds himself, whether rightly or wrongly we say not, but the fact is so, branded as a "Romanizer." He is charged with introducing the Romish system into the Church of England. What is the natural consequence? He begins to compare the merits of the Anglican and Roman Communions. He argues, not, under the circumstances, very unreasonably, that, if Confession to a priest be so great a means of grace as he considers it, that Church must stand on the higher ground, which enforces it upon her members, which does not leave its observance an open question, and thus is he led, insensibly, to take refuge in that communion, where alone he can be at liberty to carry out the system to its fullest possible extent.

But we object, lastly, to the revival of Auricular Confession in the Church of England, because, instead of fostering that manly independence of character which, as we contend, the Church of England *does* foster among her members—an independence perfectly compatible with the deepest personal humility, with the deepest individual penitence—it tends rather to foster a sickly sentimentalism, a morbid state of feeling and temperament, altogether alien to the *natural* character of the English people. We have no wish to press this point invidiously, but still we would ask any one to compare the Italian peasant, taught, as he is, to put God's minister between the Almighty and himself; taught,

as he is, to regard the priest as one who, by his own *ipse dixit*, can open or shut to him the kingdom of heaven; with the Englishman of a similar station, carefully trained in the true system of the English Church; taught to look up to his parish priest, with affectionate reverence, as the dispenser of God's Word and sacraments; as his guide, his friend, and his adviser; but yet taught to look upon himself as a responsible being, accountable to God alone, and to no human authority, for the use he makes, alike of the talents entrusted to his care, as well as of those means of grace which the Church affords him;—we ask any man to make this comparison, and then to say, on which side lies the greater truthfulness of character, the higher rectitude of principle, the stronger stedfastness of moral purpose. Sure we are he will find, that the comparison is immeasurably in favour of the system of the Church of England, provided that system be carried out in her own legitimate method. Let any one, again, compare the general state of society in Italy and in England, and then say, whether it is desirable to establish a system of "Spiritual Direction," in our happy English homes, akin, in any respect, to that system of Auricular Confession, which is, avowedly, the keystone of the Romish communion. Let us not be misunderstood. We are far from supposing that Dr. Pusey wishes to introduce, or to carry out any such system, as that to which we allude; but we say confidently, that it is impossible for any man to draw the line where he pleases; that it is utterly impossible for Dr. Pusey, or any one else, to say with certainty that he can prevent a recurrence of "those inconveniences which the world hath by experience observed" in Auricular Confession as practised by the Romish Church "heretofore." We do contend that the whole system of Spiritual Direction is, *from its very nature*, liable to be so fearfully misapplied, that it is very far better, unless a necessity of adopting it is laid upon us, to avoid its introduction under any shape, and in any way whatever.

But perhaps it will be said, that this necessity does now exist amongst us; that the practice of Auricular Confession is essential to the full development of that deep humility, that earnest penitence, which are inherent characteristics of the true Christian. We think not. Dr. Pusey has drawn a very striking picture, in his Letter to Mr. Richards, of the benefits which have already resulted from the employment of Auricular Confession; but the question is, Are these results necessarily tied to, and altogether dependent upon, the employment of such a system? For our own parts, we are perfectly satisfied that, so far as these

results arise from a healthy, and not a morbid, state of feeling, they are *not* so tied, they are *not* so dependent. We are fully convinced that they will rather be the natural fruits of an earnest love, on the part of every individual parish priest, for the souls of his people; the natural consequence of a careful training in the system of the Church of England, as that system is embodied in her Book of Common Prayer. We are not now speaking of exceptional cases. We are not considering the instances of persons reclaimed from a long continued course of licentious profligacy, or from a state of debasing ignorance bordering on heathenism. We are speaking of those who have been carefully trained, at the parent's knee, in the system of the Church of England; who have been, from their childhood, taught their responsibility before God, taught to cherish their Christian privileges: and we say that, for such persons, the system of the English Church, legitimately interpreted, is all-sufficient. And so with respect to Holy Communion. Dr. Pusey thus speaks on this point:—

“This is most certain, that to encourage indiscriminately the approach to the Holy Communion, without a corresponding inward system, whereby they, who are entitled to do so, should know intimately the hearts of those whom they so encourage, has brought with it an amount of carelessness and profanation, which, if known, would make many a heart of those who have so done, sink and quake.”

We say, first, that there are none so “entitled;” that there are none, who, in Dr. Pusey's sense, have a right “to know intimately” the hearts of their people; none, who have a right to demand that “every man¹,” to use again the words of Hooker, “should pour into their ears whatsoever hath been done amiss.” We say, secondly, that if this grievous profanation, and most grievous would it be, has occurred, it has arisen, not from a neglect of Auricular Confession, but from gross neglect of his bounden duty on the part of the parochial minister. We assert confidently that, if persons come to the Holy Communion unprepared; if they approach God's altar “lightly, unadvisedly, and wantonly;” the guilt of that profanation lies at the door of those who should have taught them better; that *they* are responsible who have not, habitually, taught their flocks to consider “the dignity of that holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof;” who have not urged upon them diligently and carefully to “examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread and drink of that cup.” It is most unreasonable to charge such profanation upon the neglect of Auricular

¹ Entire Absolution, &c. p. 49.

¹ 6, 4.

Confession. It might just as reasonably be said that, if a parish priest has daily prayer in his Church, and does not exhort his parishioners to embrace the *privilege* of attending it, that their non-attendance is the result of a deficiency in the Church's system, and not of the gross neglect of that individual clergyman.

Finally, then, do we say, let us endeavour, in our parochial ministrations, to carry out, to their fullest possible development, the *legitimate* principles of the Church of England. Let us be satisfied with her teaching, content neither to fall short of it, nor to go beyond it, but there let us make our stand. Our dear spiritual mother will, if we follow her guidance, supply every thing which is needful for the necessities of her faithful children. She supplies, in her own system, without imposing any necessity for a recourse to the "distinctive" features of the system of the "Adversary," the fullest materials for "the visible cleansing of souls," for the deepest penitence, for the "repentance unto salvation not to be repented of," for the strongest "hope in Christ," for "the freshness of grace, the joy of forgiven souls, the evident growth in holiness, the angel-joy 'over each sinner that repenteth.'" And as to the special subject we have treated of in this paper, we would, if we may venture to do so, earnestly implore our clerical brethren, and especially the younger clergy, not, on the one hand, to aim at carrying out in practice a system, which has, at least, a tendency to exalt Auricular Confession to the level of the two great Christian sacraments; nor, on the other hand, to follow, in the slightest degree, those who would undervalue the benefit and the comfort of Sacramental Absolution; but rather, following the plain and manifest direction of their Prayer Book, fairly and legitimately interpreted, to teach their flocks that Confession to Almighty God is the rule of the Christian's life, Confession to a priest the exception, and that only when there is special need of special guidance and special consolation. Let them take as their guide, in this respect, the language of one of the soundest of all our old divines.

"In sum," says Hooker, "when the offence doth stand only between God and man's conscience, the counsel is good which St. Chrysostom giveth, 'I wish thee not to bewray thyself publicly, nor to accuse thyself before others. I wish thee to obey the prophet, who saith, Disclose thy way unto the Lord, confess thy sins before Him; tell thy sins to Him, that He may blot them out. If thou be abashed to tell unto any other wherein thou hast offended, rehearse them every day between thee and thy soul. I wish thee not to confess them to thy fellow-servant, who may upbraid thee with them: tell them to God, who will cure them;

² Letter to Mr. Richards, p. 8.

there is no need for thee in the presence of witnesses to acknowledge them; let God alone see thee at thy Confession.' If hereupon it follow, as it did with David, 'I thought, I will confess against myself my wickedness unto thee, O Lord, and thou forgavest me the plague of my sin,' *we have our desire*, and there remaineth only thankfulness, accompanied with perpetuity of care to avoid that, which, being not avoided, we know we cannot remedy without new perplexity and grief. Contrariwise, if peace with God do not follow the pains we have taken in seeking after it, if we continue disquieted and not delivered from anguish, mistrusting whether that we do be sufficient; it argueth that our sore doth exceed the power of our own skill, and that the wisdom of the pastor must bind up those parts, which being bruised, are not able to be recured of themselves³."

And, if we imagined that aught we can say would have the least chance of influencing the eminent and learned person, to whom we have so frequently alluded in this paper, we would earnestly ask, whether the time has not arrived, when the true interests of the Church of England imperatively demand that he should reconsider the course he has hitherto taken. That that course has been taken most conscientiously, most sincerely, we gladly and willingly admit. If we had *not* thought so, this paper would have been written in a very different spirit. But while we allow this, we *must* feel also, that the course Dr. Pusey has taken, has been most ill-judged, and has been productive of incalculable mischief to the Church of England. Surely he ought to read the "signs of the times" with sufficient clearness to perceive this himself. Surely by this time he ought to be convinced, that his theory of Confession is one which never can, by any possibility, *work well* in the English Church; that, so long as he continues to hold his present views, and to follow his present course, so long is he depriving himself of tenfold the influence he might otherwise possess. And so as regards our position with respect to Rome; if the recent act of Papal Aggression has not opened Dr. Pusey's eyes to the utter impossibility of any thing ever satisfying the Roman Church short of the subjugation, the fusion into their own body, of the Church of England, he must be blind indeed. He surely *must* feel now that, if there be war with Rome, that war is a war of self-defence; and that, as it is the duty of every good citizen, no matter how great a lover of peace he may be naturally, to defend his country in time of invasion, so must it be the duty now of every sound English Churchman, to defend the rights and liberties of his own Church against Romish arrogance, and Papal usurpation. Deeply, most deeply, do we regret the course which Dr. Pusey's section of the High Church party has thought fit

recently to adopt. They have wantonly thrown aside a golden opportunity of doing their duty to the English Church, and, at the same time, *by doing their duty*, of acquiring the confidence of the English people. And what have they gained by their present position? Simply this; they have alienated the support of thousands, who would have sided with them heart and soul, on all questions affecting the Church. If, instead of allowing disgust at the Durham letter to turn them from the paramount duty of defending the Church of England, they had quietly, in their own several spheres, collectively and individually, done their duty, they might have won the esteem and respect of well-nigh all by whom they were heretofore suspected. The English people are a frank and generous people. They will respect those, however they may differ from them, who are sincere and straightforward, but they turn with indignation from men who, calling themselves English Churchmen, allow the insults of a latitudinarian Prime Minister to divert them from the path they ought to follow; who, by not assisting, betray the Church of England in the hour of her greatest need. And let Dr. Pusey be well assured that this feeling is not confined to the "rampant Puritanism" lately exhibited. It is spreading very widely amongst the clergy also. Surely recent events prove this. No person of common capacity for judging, and of unprejudiced mind, can doubt this, who looks at the recent meeting of the National Society in its true light. Why did the largest meeting of clergy which has assembled together since the Gorham meeting reject, by so large a majority, Mr. Denison's motion? Not because they differed from Mr. Denison substantially; not simply, as D. C. L. complacently imagines, because of the advice of the Bishop of the diocese; but because they could not trust the party by whom Mr. Denison was principally supported; because they had no security but that they who, at that meeting, clamoured the loudest in support of the "Catholic faith," would, some of them, as others have done, by whom he was supported last year, go over to the greatest enemy of that faith, and still more refuse to defend the Church of England against that enemy's invasion. We do not speak idly on this point. We *know* that this feeling had great influence upon the meeting; and we confidently assert, that it ought to have operated as it, in fact, did. Men have got tired of co-operating with those who are always *talking* about the "Church," but who, when the "Church of England" is wantonly and insolently attacked, not only will do nothing themselves to defend her, but impugn the motives, and throw every obstacle in the way, of those who wish to do so. We warn Dr. Pusey and his followers, that the tide of

reaction is rapidly setting in ; that, unless it be arrested, incalculable mischief will be the result ; and for that result they, and they alone, will be responsible. We are quite satisfied that that result may be prevented even yet. We are quite persuaded that the vast majority of the English people are as yet true to the real principles of our Church ; but we will not answer for them long, if they see much more of such gross violations of good faith as we have lately witnessed at St. Saviour's, Leeds,—if they see the so-called “ friends of the Church ” standing aloof from her in the hour of her greatest necessity, and leaving her defence to those who are only too glad to assume the foremost position. Depend on it, the people of England will never sympathize with “ Romanism ” within the Church in any shape, or under any circumstances ; neither will they tolerate the teaching, which, whether premeditatedly or unwittingly, has a tendency to lead to it. If in their dislike of one extreme, they are led to incline to its opposite, they will be responsible who might have restrained them within, *by keeping there themselves*, the middle path of safety. If the “ whirlwind and the storm ” do ever overwhelm the Catholic faith of the English Church, it will only be from the open treachery, or the lukewarm supineness, of those who might have “ ridden ” upon the one, who might, by the commonest prudence, have guided and “ directed ” the other.

- ART. II.—1. *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn, of the Convent of Friars Minors, Kilkenny; and Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin. Together with the Annals of Ross, Edited from MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with Introductory Remarks. By the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A.B., M.R.S.A., Dean of Clonmacnois.* Dublin: Printed for the Irish Archæological Society.
2. *Original Letters and Papers in illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland, during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Edited, with Notes from Autographs in the State Paper Office, by EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., M.A.* London: Rivingtons.
3. *Rise and Progress of the Irish Church Mission Society: the Reformation in Connemara, Dublin, &c., and the Journal of a Tour in the County of Galway, in company with the Rev. Alexander R. C. Dallas, M.A., in June, 1850. Second Edition.* Dublin: W. Curry and Co. London: Hatchard; Nisbet and Co.; Wertheim and Macintosh.
4. *Early Fruits of Irish Missions. A Letter from an Eye-witness after a Missionary Tour during June and July, 1850. Second Edition.* London: Published by the Society for Irish Church Missions, 14, Exeter Hall, Strand.
5. *Eleventh Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland, being for the Year 1850.*

WHEN we look back for a few years, and recall to mind the opinions which then seemed to have gained almost general acceptance with regard to the Church question in Ireland, and when we compare those views with the more enlightened sentiments which have been gradually superseding them of late, we cannot but recognize the working of a Higher Power, in bringing about a change which, as far as it has proceeded, is replete with consolations to every faithful adherent of the Reformed Church in England and in Ireland. This alteration in the public mind has not been the result of any efforts or exertions made by the advocates of sound principle; for they had ineffectually protested, almost despairingly, against the successive steps by which Romanism was being gradually invested with power, and permitted to crush and to subvert the Established Church. It was

in vain that the adherents of England and of her faith pointed out the danger and the manifold evils of giving to Romanism the practical ascendancy in Ireland. It was in vain that they lamented and protested against the endowment of Romish seminaries, and the recognition of Romish bishops. They saw Romanism advancing with rapid steps to absolute ascendancy and dominion, and were continually expecting the spoliation of their own Church. Each concession made, had only inflamed the pride and increased the enmity of Romanism ; yet each Ministry, as it succeeded to the reins of power, seemed to vie with its predecessors in anxiety to gratify the wishes of that priesthood. It was difficult to say whether Tories, or Whigs, or Radicals were prepared to go to the greatest lengths, or to depend more implicitly on the Church of Rome for the means of governing Ireland. It seemed to be generally held, that a great mistake having been committed in attempting to rule Ireland on the principles of Protestant ascendancy, the only safe course was to invoke the aid, or rather to conciliate the friendship, of those whose influence over the majority of the population was evident and undeniable. It was supposed that means might be found to obtain effective influence over those clerical leaders, by holding out to them the prospect of endowment by the State ; and it was not disguised that hopes were entertained that they might thus be made useful instruments in promoting the order and peace of the community.

With such views, the statesmen of England supported, session after session, the demands of the Roman Catholic party. They were refused nothing except the absolute destruction of the Church of Ireland, for which the country was not yet prepared. They were permitted to pass measure after measure favourable to their own system—were gratified by concessions of all kinds—and were enabled to remove many of the bulwarks which the old legislation of England and Ireland had raised against Papal usurpation and error. Nor was this all. The Parliament of England was seen to court the friendship of the Papacy, by passing a Bill for the purpose of establishing diplomatic intercourse ; doubtless with the hope of gaining influence over the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood ; while the Sovereign was advised to express her sympathy with the Pope in his expulsion by the Roman people ; and the Ministry of England appeared before the public as correspondents of the Papal Nuncio at Paris, and as well-wishers to the restoration of the Papal dominion over an oppressed and reluctant nation.

In short, Romanism was making rapid strides towards the accomplishment of its various objects under the patronage of suc-

cessive Ministries, who were deceived as to its real character. We have no doubt that the Ministries of Lord Liverpool, and the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell, all of whom, in their turn, did whatever was in their power to gratify the Romish Church, were actuated by the wish to promote the general interests of the country; but they were deceived as to the real tendencies or character of Romanism, in *these* countries at least; and have been grasping after a shadow in their attempts to rule Ireland through the Romish priesthood.

And of this many of our politicians seem to be partially convinced. Lord John Russell has apparently altered his view of Romanism. He has acknowledged—and we honour him for the candour and manliness of the avowal—that when, some years since, he was of opinion that territorial titles ought to be conceded to the Romish Episcopate, he was under very different impressions of the character of Romanism from those which he now entertains. It is obvious also, that a vast change has been wrought in the minds of Liberal politicians generally, with the exception of the remains of Sir Robert Peel's party; and on the whole, indeed, it seems somewhat doubtful which section of the political world in England has receded furthest from the doctrines which were prevalent till within the last year or two.

Rome boasts, with some reason, of her success in effecting conversions: but in the present case, she has worked almost a miracle. She has converted a thoroughly Liberal legislature, intent only on gratifying her in all ways, into a hostile, irritated, and jealous body of men. She has convinced the most liberal that it is impossible to reconcile freedom with the Papal ascendancy. She has succeeded in awakening the public mind in England to an hostility to her claims, which has not been equalled on any occasion since the Revolution, and perhaps scarcely since the Reformation itself. She has had, however, the satisfaction of holding a Synod in defiance of the Crown and Government of England, and of exercising the power of ecclesiastical censures for the purpose of extinguishing the liberal institutions for education which had been established with a view to gratify her. She has had the satisfaction of ignoring the English and the Irish Church, and of setting aside the Royal Supremacy, by establishing a new hierarchy in England, and issuing Bulls for erecting new bishoprics in Ireland. She has had the satisfaction of trampling on the ancient and modern laws of England, in appointing and sending cardinals, and legates, and bishops by her own authority. She has exulted in the successive insults which she has been enabled to offer to the Crown, Parliament, and people of England. Did the Government and the whole Liberal

party remonstrate against the proceedings of the Thurles Synod, and evince the utmost soreness and annoyance at so great an insult! the reply of Rome was, to issue the Bull appointing the pseudo-hierarchy in England, and to create Dr. Wiseman a Cardinal. Were the English nation and the Government incensed to the most extreme degree at so outrageous a violation of the national rights, liberties, and laws? the reply of the Papacy was, in the midst of the turmoil, to issue a Bull erecting the See of Ross in Ireland, in direct defiance of the law! Did the Parliament and the people, with wonderful unanimity, but wonderful moderation, proceed to take steps for the purpose of asserting the laws of England, and at least *claiming* the old rights of the Crown? the answer of the Papacy has been—a confirmation of the decrees of the Synod of Thurles, and an anathema against the Government Colleges! In short, the course pursued by Rome has been pretty much that of a man who begins by calling you by some opprobrious epithet; and, when remonstrated with, endeavours to mend matters by kicking you; and, when you get very angry, concludes the matter by tweaking your nose, spitting in your face, and breaking his stick on your back! Such is, positively, the sort of treatment which the British nation has been undergoing of late; and while it is never the practice of England to threaten, or to express in strong or exaggerated terms the national feeling, we trust that Rome will yet have reason to know that she has succeeded in putting an end to all friendly feelings on the part of England; and that not only her partisans in these countries, but the Papal Government itself, will have reason hereafter to regret their present insolence and defiance of the English laws.

The tone of the Press exhibits, in the most striking way, the change which has been effected in public opinion. When we remember that for a series of years the “Times” had been amongst the warmest advocates of all measures tending to promote the interests of the Church of Rome; when we bring to mind its unwearied exertions to obtain the endowment of the Romish priesthood in Ireland, as a measure dictated by the wisest policy, and as holding out the only prospect of keeping that country in peace and good order;—it is curious to mark the alteration in its tone, which recent events have effected. Who could recognize, in the following remarks, the identity of this journal with the “Times” of 1848, which supported the interests of the Papacy, assailed the cause of Italian liberty, and urged the endowment of the Romish priesthood?

“There appears too much reason to fear that the same spirit of intolerant and narrow-minded bigotry which has induced the Pope to

sacrifice the substantial interests of the Roman Catholics of England is about to achieve a second triumph, not so much over the Protestant Government as over the moral and material advancement of the Irish people. Under the evil guidance of those whom Lord Shrewsbury appropriately calls, in his letter to Lord John Russell, the anti-English party, Pius the Ninth is reported, and we fear with truth, to have resolved on proscribing the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, forbidding positively the priests from having any connexion with them, and threatening the disobedient laity with all the vengeance of ecclesiastical censure. The boon which Parliament, in its wisdom and liberality, bestowed on the Irish people is snatched away from them by their spiritual head, and the doctrine is broadly avowed that the free and impartial instruction of the laity in secular knowledge is found in this nineteenth century to be utterly inconsistent with the advancement or even the existence of the Catholic faith. The same power whose adherents so earnestly insist upon the compatibility of allegiance to her commands with loyalty to the sovereign and obedience to the law, now puts aside these flimsy professions, and tells us, through the voices of her best accredited organs, that she will endure no rival in the mind or in the kingdom in which she has once obtained a footing. In her view, no department of secular knowledge is innocent or admissible which is not taught under the immediate superintendence of ecclesiastics, whose ignorance and shallow presumption may represent the truth of science as a profane fiction, and the magnificent march of nature as a splendid phantasmagoria. To give just enough knowledge of these things to counteract the influence and dispel the charm of their novelty and their grandeur—to inspire just so much taste for the arts as may train the senses to take delight in pompous processions and empty decorations, without permitting the mind to go deep enough into their study to feel the worthlessness of tawdry and flaunting ceremonies—to mutilate and interpolate the page of history till its darker or more startling warnings lose their significance—to emasculate philosophy and poetry,—these are duties which the Church wisely trusts to no profane hand, but reserves to herself as most able to fulfil them. No wonder that the spectacle of a Pontiff—who but a few years ago astonished Europe by the proofs which he gave of the sincerity of his belief that the cause of the Church of Rome was not inconsistent with intellectual progress—now formally recanting his error, and striving to obtain the most despicable of ends by the most odious of means, by employing ecclesiastical tyranny as the means of intellectual degradation—should fill with transport the popish press, the only portion of our periodical literature for which an Englishman is ever called on to blush. It is not alone the triumph of ignorance, nor the palmy prospect which intellectual impotence opens to bigotry, nor yet the arbitrary and un-English manner in which these mandates of intolerance are to be enjoined upon the clergy and forced upon the laity, that charms them. These things undoubtedly are sweet to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland; but, to use the words of their own national poet, there is in the conduct of the Propaganda something more

exquisite still. It is the gross and studied insult to the Queen of these realms, who has condescended to accept the patronage of the institutions at which the meddling and mischievous priesthood of Italy are hurling their anathemas; it is the insult to our national honour and independence, the injury done to those patriotic feelings which Englishmen of every creed and shade of opinion once combined to cherish and encourage, which is to the organs of the Roman Catholic priesthood the daintiest dish in the banquet of intolerance over which they riot and revel. It is much to have stricken down knowledge, to have blighted that humanizing and conciliating influence which the early association of men of the most different creeds and opinions never fails to produce; but it is the shock given to our characteristic and almost superstitious veneration for our ancient laws and institutions, to all which makes us what priest-ridden countries are not and never can be, which fills the Popish press with jubilant exultation. We shall not follow the bad example set us of affecting to despise and undervalue the mischief which, in this their hour, it is granted to these men to do. They cannot, as they pretend, control our Parliament or make void our legislation; but they can undoubtedly, by the systematic abuse of their spiritual influences and the prostitution of the ordinances of the Church for the purposes of a base conspiracy against the progress and happiness of their flocks, effect much evil. Still, we question whether, misled by previous successes of the same kind, the Church of Rome has not fallen into the error of overrating her powers of mischief, and mistaken the intenseness of her evil will for the extent of her power. No doubt the leaders of the counter-revolutionary party throughout Europe, in their abject dread of another political crisis, and their desire to cling to and to employ in their defence every reactionary tendency which society contains, have flung themselves into the arms of the Pope, and have bartered their future destiny and their progress for the support of the spiritual power. Spain has submitted and Austria tamely bowed her head to the yoke. No doubt, also, in the extreme ultramontane party in Ireland Rome has instruments as ardent and unscrupulous as ever employed the resources of civilization to reproduce barbarism, and the cultivation of the intellect to insure its degradation."

At a time, then, when public opinion seems to have righted itself to a certain degree—at a time when statesmen and politicians have learnt by bitter experience that in dealing with the Church of Rome, they must not expect to control that Church for the promotion of English political objects, but must expect to be controlled by it to the unhesitating promotion of exclusively Roman Catholic objects; and instead of exercising authority over it, must submit to its dictation—to the dictation, too, of the "Irish Brigade"—at such a moment, perhaps, there may be some chance of a fair hearing for the Church in Ireland—for THAT BRANCH OF OUR NATIONAL CHURCH, which has been, to a great extent, given up to the demands of Romish faction—which has for years

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felt itself perpetually on the eve of being offered up as a holocaust to appease the rage of Romish intolerance.

We trust that, in pleading for that branch of the United Church, in endeavouring to show that, on every ground of honour and justice, and even of sound policy, it should be maintained, and not merely maintained, but encouraged, and strengthened, and befriended in all fair and lawful ways; in endeavouring to prove that whatever faults, and defects, and failures may be connected with it in the public opinion, are not inherent in its system, but are easily separable from it, and are not justly to be imputed to it,—we shall be doing some service at the present time both to Church and State, and may be listened to with more impartiality of judgment than we could have hitherto anticipated.

We believe that we may fairly reckon the Protestant population of Ireland at about two millions, of whom the great majority are resident in the province of Ulster, being descended from English and Scottish ancestors, who settled there in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First. The descendants of the Scottish settlers, probably to the number of about 700,000, continue for the most part Presbyterians; but they have, on the whole, remained on amicable terms with the Established Church, and attached to the English connexion, feeling, probably, the necessity of mutual support in the presence of an intolerant and violent Popish majority.

The number of Romanists in Ireland was about six millions, previous to the late famines and pestilences; but this number must have been largely diminished within the last few years. The causes which have led to diminution of population have operated chiefly in those parts of Ireland where Romanism is the religion of the population; and we think there can be little doubt that while Romanism has lost a million of population, Protestantism has lost nothing. Thus, then, we have *two millions* of Protestants on the one side, and *five millions* of Romanists on the other.

Now it must be admitted, with great regret, that the Protestants are in a considerable minority in Ireland. We shall hereafter touch on the reasons why they are so. But, notwithstanding this, they are a numerous, a courageous, and a high-spirited body of men; and they constitute the only part of the population which is really attached to England. Had England to hold possession of Ireland merely by military force, without the presence of a body of Protestant inhabitants, the tenure would be far more costly than it is, and perhaps it would be impossible eventually to retain that country; for instances are but rare in which an army has been able permanently to occupy an extensive territory, where

the whole population were combined in a resolution to resist it. The Romish population of Ireland has, at all times, from various causes, been turbulent, and willing to throw off the English dominion. The Protestant population, on the contrary, has been, from various causes, as a general rule, orderly, obedient to the laws, loyal, and attached to the interests of England. Thus the existence of Protestantism in Ireland is a positive benefit to the empire; it is a means of maintaining its integrity, and of preventing a large and important island from being separated from England, and falling under the influence of some foreign power, such as France.

And, in addition to this, it may be observed (in reference to the question of the day), that the *Queen's supremacy* is only recognized in Ireland by the Protestants. That doctrine, grounded so deeply in the English law, has always been openly rejected by the Romish priesthood and population in Ireland. Its recognition or rejection has been the great question for ages between Romanists and Protestants. The latter all acknowledge, as the former universally deny, that the Queen has a supremacy in ecclesiastical causes. The latter admit the right of the crown to appoint bishops; the former reject it. If, therefore, the royal supremacy is to be maintained at all, it can only be so by sustaining, more or less, the cause of the Church in Ireland. To relinquish that course would be merely to give the See of Rome the undivided supremacy over the whole of Ireland,—to restrict the Queen's supremacy to England.

But the events of the last few years have shown that the supremacy in England itself is not perfectly secure against all attacks. It has been seen that, amidst the stir and excitement of these times, the royal supremacy itself has been called in question; that the extent of its power has been narrowly scanned and scrutinized; that the tribunals of law have been, on several occasions, appealed to against alleged abuses of the supremacy; that men have learnt to argue against the absolute and unconditional power of the crown, or rather of its ministers, in ecclesiastical matters. It has been thus seen that the supremacy in England itself is not so impregvably seated that no argument can touch it or weaken it; and this gives a weight and significance to the assertion or denial of that principle in Ireland which it would not otherwise possess. If the supremacy be relinquished in Ireland,—if, in one part of the empire, the crown permits its ecclesiastical supremacy to be rejected or set aside,—a dangerous precedent is established for England itself. The Queen holds the same royal dignity in Ireland as in England; if her ecclesiastical supremacy is relinquished in one country, there can be

no principle to retain it in the other: it can be no longer an essential prerogative of the crown: it may be abolished, for good reasons, in England also.

It is clear that the maintenance of the Royal Supremacy in England is materially connected with its maintenance in Ireland; and if it be maintained in Ireland, it must be by upholding the only body of men who really acknowledge it, *i. e.* the members of the Established Church. That body is indeed a minority; but still it holds its ground very firmly: it has courage and perseverance; and it ensures a certain recognition of the Royal power in Church and State, which renders it eminently serviceable to the English Crown. It may be an English garrison or advanced guard in a hostile country, as it has sometimes been called; but wherever it exists, the Supremacy of the Crown exists along with it; and where it does not exist, the Supremacy of the Crown is rejected with insult.

To many of our readers—and to the majority of the English people, the Church in Ireland will commend itself on still higher grounds than those we have adverted to. They will feel that it upholds the same religious truth which is enshrined in the affections of the people of this country—that it is upholding that truth in the midst of foes—that it is a mission carrying the word of the Gospel amidst the dark and almost heathen superstitions which enshroud the minds of our fellow-countrymen. And to those who wish for the progress of Gospel truth, it must ever be a matter of the deepest interest and of the most earnest anxiety, that the Church in Ireland may not only be maintained in the possession of her miserably scanty endowments, but may be rendered in the highest degree efficient; and that every possible care may be taken to appoint none but men of piety, ability, and zeal to her various offices. The Church in Ireland is holding her ground, and even gaining ground, in the midst of enemies who are thirsting for her destruction; and she has been preserved, as it were by miracle, amidst the revolutions of these times. Those who look beyond mere human and secondary causes, will connect this almost miraculous preservation of the Church with her undoubted maintenance of truth; and will feel that God has Himself protected this witness, when all men seemed leagued together against her; and will thence gather hope that some great work is yet in store for her.

To the Church in England, the preservation and the advancement of *HER OWN CAUSE* in Ireland is a matter of the deepest moment to her own well-being and security. The attacks of her enemies have been directed against the Irish branch of the United Church, as weaker numerically and politically; but the same fell spirit of enmity which thirsts for the overthrow of the one, looks

to it chiefly in the hope and expectation of gaining a vantage ground for the overthrow of the other ; and if the Church of England was ever tempted to withdraw herself from the contest and permit her sister or daughter Church to perish unaided in Ireland, she has learnt at length that the common enemy is bent equally on her own destruction. She has seen her existence ignored, and her hierarchy confronted by a Romish hierarchy claiming the allegiance of the people of England in tones in which undisguised hatred and contempt for herself, are mingled with the loftiest assertions of spiritual authority, and the most unbending resolution. The thorough sympathy between her own immediate rivals and the Romish hierarchy in Ireland has appeared in the most striking way of late. The enemies of the Church in Ireland are combined with those of the Church in England, and there can be no doubt now, that in maintaining her sister Church in Ireland, the English Church will be merely protecting her own most vital interests.

But from such considerations we would turn to others of a different description. We would appeal to those sentiments of honour and generosity, the claims of which the people of England never fail to recognize—nay, we would appeal to their sense of justice itself—whether the invariable, steadfast, and much endearing loyalty and fidelity of the Protestants of Ireland, does not deserve the protection and favour of this country—whether those who are allied to us in blood, in religion, in political faith, and who have ever steadfastly upheld the union of the empire and the rights of the Crown, have not a just claim on the Government and the nation for encouragement and for support. They have been maintaining England's cause, because they were English in religion, and in principle and feeling ; and it would be little consistent with the generosity of England, to consent that they should be exposed to any discouragement. It is rather the part of the Government now to extend its favour as far as may be, to the friends of English connexion, and the consistent and faithful adherents of the Crown.

It is not our intention to pass any censure on the conduct of former governments in their dealings with the Protestants of Ireland ; but we think that every candid observer must admit that their loyalty has not been untried—that they have not been without discouragements. It was the policy of England, from the time of King William III., to place the Government of Ireland in the hands of the Protestant party, just as it has latterly been the object to entrust it to the Romish priesthood. The Protestants were deprived of this old ascendancy within our own recol-

lection, with all the influence, power, emolument, and advantages of all kinds connected with it. But scarcely had this change taken place, when they found the Government, under an influence hostile to them, withdrawing its aid from all charitable and educational institutions which had been instituted for the purpose of maintaining the established religion, or which even possessed a Protestant character. They beheld their clergy reduced to the verge of starvation by a general combination amongst the Roman Catholics to withhold their tithes, and obliged to exist on public subscriptions and alms. They witnessed the extinction of nearly half their episcopate for the gratification of their truculent and exulting enemies. They saw year after year the resolution of political parties in Parliament, almost carried into effect, to extinguish the provision for the established worship, wherever the Romanists had gained an ascendancy in point of numbers. They saw the old loyal processions, which had been customary from the days of King William, suppressed by force, and treated as riots: they saw the pecuniary assistance of Parliament withdrawn from an education society formed on the most liberal principles, simply because it prescribed the reading of the Scriptures; and they saw those funds transferred to another society formed for the purpose of gratifying the Roman Catholics, and which has fallen under their management. They saw their old political franchises and corporations changed, with a view to give to Romanism a general ascendancy. They saw the most eminent lawyers systematically passed over, because they were Protestants, and third-rate barristers placed over their heads, because they were Romanists. Their associations in defence of the laws and constitution were denounced as illegal. Their leaders were attacked in Parliament, and frowned on by the State. And yet, they have passed through this long and severe trial with untainted loyalty, and in unswerving obedience to the law. They NEVER yielded to the temptations held out to them by the Romish or the Repeal party. They have remained firm in their attachment to the Crown of England; and they have been ready at any moment to come forward with fearless and ardent loyalty in defence of the rights of that mother country which has so ill requited their steadfastness.

Assuredly England is bound in honour, and in justice, and with a view to her own security, and the maintenance of her hold on Ireland, to extend some degree of encouragement to the Protestants of Ireland; to evince some sense of gratitude for their most deserving conduct; and to assist, in all fair ways, in strengthening their cause. We have no wish to see them resume their

former ascendancy, even if it were possible : all they could now look to, is full protection for their lives, properties, and institutions, and fair treatment in every way.

We will take the chief grievance under which they are now labouring. The exclusion of the Irish Church Education Society from all aid by Government, is a harsh and unfriendly proceeding. The Government may be of opinion that the opposition made to the Board of Education is unreasonable ; but still it evidently proceeds from conscientious motives, and has been sustained at heavy sacrifices of all kinds, and it certainly does seem that when, in England, the Government is obliged to compromise education matters in the best way circumstances will admit of, and when it is even ready to approve a system so completely founded on a system of compromise with different sects and denominations as the Manchester and Salford Education scheme,—it does seem, we say, harsh and inconsistent, to press for the establishment of a uniform system throughout Ireland. We think there ought not to be any real difficulty in settling the difference between the Government and the Church of Ireland in relation to the education question ; and that there would not be, if there were a disposition on both sides to act in a conciliatory spirit. All the Church asks is support for schools conducted on principles she approves of. She ought not, in our opinion, to interfere with the National system as carried out in existing schools, or with any future proceedings of Government in supporting schools of the Romish, or Presbyterian, or Dissenting bodies, if such steps should necessarily follow from any arrangement with regard to Church schools. We trust that the National or Government system is doing good in Ireland : nay, we feel assured that it is so ; because any education which communicates the power of reading, is calculated to shake the dominion of Romanism *sooner or later*. We believe, therefore, that the National schools are preparing the way for something better ; but, if the Protestants of Ireland feel themselves precluded by religious principle (however mistaken that principle may be supposed to be) from cordially taking part in the National plan of education, assuredly they ought not to be pressed further, nor should they be left without aid or support in their effort to promote the education of the poor. Without the slightest assistance from the State, they educate upwards of 100,000 children¹, about one-fifth of the number educated in the National schools

¹ The Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland for 1850, states the number of schools at 1882, and of scholars at 108,450. For the support of these schools the large sum of 38,258*l.* was raised in Ireland in 1850. We trust that this most deserving society may be enabled to continue its exertions on their present scale ; but the finances evidently need continual care, and require to be recruited by aids from England.

managed by the Romish priests, the Presbyterian ministers, and the friends of the Government policy, which must, of course, be attended by considerable numbers of Protestant children also.

We are aware that the subject is one in which the interests and the feelings of Irish Protestants are deeply bound up; and it may perhaps appear somewhat presumptuous in us to offer any suggestions on the subject, to those who have borne themselves so nobly in the contest for great principles, as the clergy of the Irish Church have done; yet still, as spectators standing somewhat aloof from the contest, we may possibly be enabled to take a calmer survey of the general character and tendencies of that conflict than those who are directly engaged in it, and may be enabled to express an opinion dictated by a regard to the wider interests connected with the subject, apart from all personal considerations and party associations.

On a survey of the present state of the question, it seems to us that it would be highly desirable, were the Church ere long to initiate some negotiations with Government, with the view of entering into an agreement, without further appeal to Parliament, by which the Church might obtain aid from Parliamentary grants without compromising her own principles.

It must be needless here to refer in detail to the reasons which may be adduced to show the desirableness of removing the obstacles to agreement on this important subject. That some settlement of the question, which would enable the Church in Ireland to receive aid from Government, is desirable; that the funds for Church education are inadequate, and are raised with very considerable difficulty, may be inferred from the applications made to Parliament for participation in the Parliamentary grants for educational purposes, and from the numerous and largely-signed petitions presented from the clergy¹ and laity of Ireland, in support of these applications.

But, omitting various inconveniences of a practical nature arising out of the present state of things, we would refer only to the serious evil of a permanent state of difference between the Government and the great body of the Established Church in Ireland. To the members of a Church which has ever been distinguished for its loyalty, and which recognizes the Royal Supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, it must assuredly be a matter of deep

¹ It is a fact most honourable to the clergy of Ireland, that notwithstanding the avowed resolution of the Government to restrict its patronage to those who support the Government plan of education, there are less than 200 of the Irish clergy out of a body of 2000, who are favourable to that plan. See the "Speeches of the Bishops of Ossory and Cashel" at the Dublin Meeting, 1850, published by the Church Education Society, p. 30.

regret, to find themselves compelled to adopt any course which is not in harmony with the policy of Government in matters of a religious nature; and nothing less than the conviction that a great and vital principle was compromised in the National scheme of education for Ireland, could have weighed with the Primate and the majority of the Irish prelates, and almost the whole of the inferior clergy, to take steps for carrying on independently the work of education in Ireland. The Reports of the Church Education Society, and the declarations of its leading supporters, warrant us in saying, that such is a correct statement of their views, and that political and party views of any kind are alien from their purposes and object. Whether the Church, in fact, judged aright in this point—whether a vital and essential principle was involved in the question—will, doubtless, furnish matter of question and doubt to many persons: we must confess, that it has always appeared to us one of those mixed and complicated cases, in which men of equal piety and sincerity, and attachment to the Church, might be found on different sides of the question. But, the position assumed by the majority of the Irish Church, is, at all events, clearly and unequivocally based on principle; and from that principle it is impossible that they can now recede. They are pledged to maintain in their schools the effective use of the Bible. They have upheld that principle in the face of the world; and their character, as a body, is involved in the maintenance of the ground they have selected.

Having thus briefly adverted to the present position of the Church in relation to the education question, we would offer some few remarks on the position of Government. Independently of the general interest of the State in the adjustment of differences and the removal of disquietude from all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, there is, in this case, a special inconvenience arising from the high character and station of many of those by whom the Government plan of education has been disapproved, and by the consequent disapprobation of that class of the community which it ought to be the wish of the State to conciliate in every way. There is also the inconvenience arising from the apparent harshness and injustice evinced in refusing to the Established Church in Ireland any aid for schools conducted on the same principle as those to which aid is freely extended in England. In addition to this, the principle of scriptural education is one which, at all times, appeals effectively to the national feeling in England. Recent events have largely strengthened that feeling; and, amidst the struggles of party, it would be difficult to predict, with any certainty, the issue of renewed attempts in Parliament to obtain for the Irish Church Education Society a share of the

educational grants. If that point were gained, the State would be then supporting, in fact, two rival Societies, without exercising any control over one of them. And, be it remembered, that the minorities in favour of the Church Education Society have been increasing, and that on the last occasion no less than 144 Members supported by their votes Mr. Hamilton's motion.

Under these circumstances, it would certainly seem to be worthy of consideration, whether some means might not be found for avoiding any further trials of strength, and for adjusting the question in an amicable spirit. We might suggest, that at a time when the Government have evinced their desire, to a certain extent, to maintain the rights of the Episcopate of Ireland against foreign and domestic usurpation, it might neither be an unpropitious season, nor an ungraceful action, were the Irish Church to seek for the amicable adjustment of her existing differences with the Government, and thus present herself in favourable contrast to Romish sedition and intolerance.

We now proceed to offer a few suggestions which may, perhaps, contribute to those more practically conversant with the question some little aid towards the removal of the difficulties connected with it.

The object of the Church, as far as we can gather it, is simply to maintain schools formed on such principles as she approves. She does not attempt to interfere with Government in the disposal of the educational funds. If the Government choose to apply those funds to the support of schools in which the Church does not recognize a desirable system of teaching, the Church is not responsible for it, and is not on that account bound to refuse Government aid.

An arrangement, then, which seems to meet some at least of the difficulties of the case, might be, to place the schools of the Church Education Society for Ireland in connexion with the National Board, by giving to the latter the right of inspection by inspectors approved by the archbishops—those schools *to be conducted hereafter on their present principles*.

The existing schools in connexion with the Board of Education would *continue to be conducted on their present system*; and thus a very large amount of mixed education would be given on the Government principle.

In the case of schools to be founded hereafter, the founders might be allowed the option of establishing them on the Government system, or on that of the Church Education Society; or even to make them Roman Catholic or Presbyterian schools. We should not suppose that the two latter classes of schools would be founded to any great or inconvenient extent; because the

Government system has been already adopted by the Romish priesthood and by the Presbyterians. Should they be sought for, it would be for the Education Board to make arrangement for their inspection in whatever mode they might deem advisable.

The Government having in England adopted a system analogous in many respects to the above, and a favourable opinion having been expressed by Members of Government of the proposed Manchester and Salford education scheme, which extends aid to all the existing schools of different denominations, it would seem, that in point of *principle* there is nothing to prevent them from recognizing a system of a similar character in Ireland, and thus at once removing the chief obstacle to the settlement of the education question.

Such a plan as that suggested, would leave each party in the full possession of their present position. It would secure to the Church its actual schools with the power of increasing them. It would secure to the Government the continuance of their own system *in the great majority of the schools throughout Ireland*, with the power of increasing them. It would leave to Roman Catholics and Presbyterians no grounds of complaint on the score of injustice; while it would hold out little prospect of such an increase of sectarian schools as might, on the whole, frustrate the objects of Government in establishing a united education. We should suppose that the Board of Education might very fairly hereafter refuse its aid to new schools in any locality which might be established on a different principle from its own; unless it could be proved on certain data, that there was ample room for both. It could not be, we think, expected to contribute to the erection of schools in local opposition to its own, and which might have the effect of emptying the latter. Having thus stated our views of the possibility of some arrangement between the Church and the Government on the question of education, which we trust will be taken in good part, we would turn to a very cheering and gratifying subject—the prospects of Church Missions in Ireland.

The patient and Christian conduct of many of the Irish clergy during the privations to which they have been frequently reduced—the large benevolence which they exhibited during the years of pestilence and famine which have lately afflicted Ireland—and their assiduity in the discharge of their sacred offices—opened to them the hearts of a suffering and afflicted people, and prepared the way for the work of Christian missions. The possibility of triumphing over the prejudices so deeply implanted in the minds of the native Irish, had been already demonstrated by the success of the missions established and maintained for a series of years in the island of Achill, by the Rev. Edward Nangle; and at Dingle,

in the south-west of Ireland, a similar work had been crowned with success, notwithstanding the most violent persecutions.

From time to time the labours of some assiduous preacher, such as the Rev. Mr. Murray, at Askeaton, in Limerick, or the clergyman at Castle-island in Kerry, had been met by the conversion of hundreds of his parishioners. Such cases proved, beyond question, the impressibility of the Irish mind, and held out encouragement to systematic exertion at a favourable season. Such a season, as we have observed, did at length arrive; and the work of missions amongst the Romanists in Connaught was commenced with singular judgment, zeal, and success. The work has gradually proceeded, enlisting in its aid the services of Irish teachers, and converted Rómish priests, until, in the diocese of Tuam alone, the bishop has recently been obliged to make an appeal for aid towards the building of no less than ten new churches for as many congregations of converted Romanists.

At the commencement of this article will be found the title of a little publication, which comprises a series of deeply interesting and delightful details on the origin and progress of this great work. We have before us several other publications connected with this movement, which bear testimony to the piety, and the excellent judgment of those who have taken its direction, and to the admirable organization which they have brought to bear on the object to which their energies are directed; but we do not deem it necessary to enter into details on this point, and shall content ourselves with observing that the arrangements are calculated to enlist at once the most intelligent of the population in furtherance of the work—to approach them in the way least calculated to awaken prejudice—and to make their peculiar tastes and feelings subservient to the promotion of the work of conversion; while, at the same time, the most unremitting labour and assiduity are ensured.

On the general mode of action we have to offer one or two remarks. It is conducted to a very great extent by lay agents: that is, all the subordinate and preparatory work is carried on by schoolmasters, readers, &c. Now we are aware that in the minds of many persons there is a kind of apprehension that the adoption of lay agency in a case like this is a species of irregularity—an infringement on the office of the ministry—and that missions ought to be conducted only by ordained ministers. But we think that, if they will take the trouble to peruse the publications of the “Irish Church Mission Society,” they will find that such apprehensions are not borne out in this instance. They will find there, that lay missionaries are employed where it would be impossible for the clergy to obtain a hearing—where all the prejudices of the

people would be up in arms against them—and where it is necessary to prepare the way, by exciting attention and communicating knowledge, before the clergy can be called in. When that point has been attained the ordained missionary is eagerly sought for, and the Church is constituted, and placed in connexion with the lawful authorities. Every experienced clergyman will feel that there are times and circumstances in which the co-operation of some agency, not wearing a formal and authoritative character, is eminently desirable; and this is supplied, as it seems to us, exactly in the right way, in the Irish Church Missions. The lay agency is introductory and ancillary to that of the clergy.

The latter work to which we have referred commences its interesting narrative with the year 1846, at which time the impulse was first given—and remarkable to say—from England. This is not the first instance in which the work of missions has been attempted more successfully by comparative strangers than by the inhabitants. The missions of Augustine and of the Irish succeeded in England in the sixth and seventh centuries, while the native Britons were unable to undertake the work. The enmity and prejudices which often exist amongst neighbours interpose difficulties, while some third party may interfere with much more effect. Thus it was in this case: many of the Irish Protestants looked on the attempt to convert Romanists as perfectly hopeless, in consequence of the overwhelming power of the Irish priesthood; but the work was commenced with success by earnest-minded men from this country, and it has been successful.

The following account of the steps taken in this work will be perused with interest³:—

“It appears that, since the famine in 1846, the minds of the people have been gradually prepared for the reception of the faithful and affectionate preaching of the Gospel. Some simultaneous movement was made in England at this time, on behalf of the Romanist population in Ireland, to supply some thousands of them with tracts (it is computed not less than 20 or 30,000, at the least), through the medium of the Post-office: leading them to suspect that their priests had an object in keeping them from reading the Word of God; some important texts of which were also enclosed, together with an account of the reformation then going on in Germany under Ronge and Czerski, with copies of the Articles of Faith, which ‘The German Catholic Church’ drew up. These tracts—one in Irish and the other in English—the titles of which were, ‘A Voice from Heaven,’ and ‘A look out of Ireland into Germany,’ produced a most extraordinary effect upon the people—the tradesmen and farmers to whom they were addressed; *Romanists only*

³ Rise and Progress of Irish Church Mission Society, pp. 4—6.

received them, but no one knew whence they came, or by whom they were sent.

"This well-devised and extensive scheme was not the only one of the kind, for, in August and September following, a similar mode of imparting knowledge and diffusing light amongst the benighted Irish was adopted with still greater success. Upon the second occasion the people generally seemed to profit by the experience of the past; and great numbers of persons, who were suspected of having received a letter took every possible care to conceal the fact, lest the priest should denounce them from the altar, and demand that the tracts be burned. Most of the letters on this occasion came from Edinburgh, though some passed through the office in London. The title of the tract referred to is, '*Irishmen's Rights*.' It is written in a homely, cheerful style, in the form of a dialogue, proving that every Irishman has a *right* to read the Bible for himself.

"A third letter, enclosing a copy of the '*Food of Man*,' was also forwarded soon afterwards, followed by three important addresses to the priests, all which are published at length in a work entitled—'*The Point of Hope in Ireland's present Crisis*.'"

The way was also prepared by the rigour with which the Romish priesthood exacted their fees and dues from the people, and the failure of the miracles which they pretended to work for the cure of the potato-disease by sprinkling holy water on the potato-stalks!

At this crisis the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, an English clergyman, whose extensive and practical acquaintance with the Romish system during his residence in foreign countries, and his frequent controversies with intelligent Romanists, combined with an early familiarity with the habits of military organization and discipline, eminently fitting him for the arduous undertaking of establishing missions in Ireland, undertook an extensive tour throughout that country, and addressed, in 1846, to the editor of the "*Morning Herald*" a letter comprising the following passages:—

"The present crisis is one which, amongst other symptoms, leaves the door wide open for an extension of those efforts which have been hitherto so blessed. The progress already made has prepared the minds of the people; and I cannot but consider the machinery of the Society, already referred to, as a peculiar adaptation, by the providence of God, for the crisis that has now arisen. There is no time to form any other plan, or to organize any other machine; and none could be more suitable for the occasion, to the requirements of which, however, it must rise in power, in order to fulfil the great purpose in view.

"The present concurrence of facilities invites to a decided and prompt effort for the enlightening and spiritual emancipation of the Irish people; but the moment must not be lost. The current of feeling now agitating the Irish heart flows fast, and it must be taken at the

top of the tide. The emergency is pressing, and it calls for an immediate addition of power to the engine, by which adequate help is to be afforded. At least a hundred Irish readers should be immediately engaged and located in districts all over the west of Ireland. Thirty pounds is all that would be required to pay each of these for a year; and within that time the crisis would have been directed for good, by their instrumentality. But the effort would not be complete without a simultaneous offer of the Holy Scriptures in Irish and in English. Fifty or sixty colporteurs, carrying, amongst other things, very cheap Testaments, in both languages, and travelling in every direction, would supply this want. I would venture to suggest that some properly qualified persons should undertake to propose to the people of England the gathering of a special fund to be thus employed. . . . And why should not those among us, who know the value of religious truth, and have the means at their command, employ those means in seizing this favourable opportunity?"

The result of Mr. Dallas's exertions was the collection of a large fund in England—which was applied in aid of existing Church Societies, and especially in furtherance of Church Missions. The plans of those who were engaged in this truly blessed work gradually expanded, and it was resolved to establish regularly organized missions in various parts of Ireland. We shall only produce one instance of the course which was adopted; and it is in truth one which is enough to make "our hearts burn within us:"—

"The first place chosen for operations of a permanent nature, under the more immediate superintendence of Mr. Dallas (whilst seeking recreation and health in a ramble through the mountains of Galway), was a poor and miserable locality on the beautiful shores of Lough Corrib, called Castelkerke, where the school-house, originally built by the Rev. Edwin Moore and Captain and Mrs. Blake, was soon considerably enlarged. The nearest place of Protestant worship was fully fourteen English miles off, at Cong, which belongs to the same parochial division—the parish being eighteen miles in length, and nearly half as much in breadth.

"In the space of about five English miles, in which Castelkerke stands centrally, there is a population of full 2000 souls; of these, in consequence of early marriages, there are at least 500 children within the reach of the school-house. Upon opening the school, thirty-nine children were enrolled upon the list, thirty of whom were Roman Catholics; and, as it is placed in connexion with the Church Education Society of Ireland, two important objects have been secured—first, that the children attending shall receive a good sound secular education in connexion with the unrestricted use of the Scriptures, which alone can 'make them wise unto salvation;' and secondly, that, during the school hours at least, they shall be kept from the baneful influence of the

priests of Rome, who are not allowed to exercise any authority whatever in the schools of the Church Education Society for Ireland.

"The Ladies' Auxiliary of that most excellent institution, the Irish Society, assisted by the 'Special Fund for the Spiritual Exigencies of Ireland,' lent their assistance in procuring the means of supporting an Irish reader among the people; and soon the school-house was filled to excess on Sundays, and on other occasions, to hear the glad tidings of salvation declared to them. Mr. Dallas afterwards procured for them the blessing of an ordained resident missionary, whose labours in another sphere we shall have occasion to refer to. The kindness of several Christian friends, who interested themselves in procuring food and clothing for the famishing bodies of the poor in this locality, can never be forgotten; and the care the people of Wonston took to supply their souls with the still more necessary food, even 'the bread of life,' in undertaking to collect the salary of the Scripture-reader who was then settled there, will prove, in the great day of the Lord, that 'their labour was not in vain,' and will be remembered to them (Heb. vi. 10) throughout eternity, when time shall be no more.

"The increased number of children attending the Castelterke schools from the opposite side of the lough, now made it necessary to provide a larger and safer ferry-boat to convey them to and fro, called 'the school boat,' the materials having been liberally supplied by Captain Blake, the excellent resident landlord, whose exertions, combined with those of Mrs. Blake (which have since proved more than her slender frame and tender sympathies could bear), have greatly tended to advance the cause of the missions throughout the whole district from the first.

"An evening school was also opened, which has proved of great value; and the effect of the whole has been, that on the 12th of March, 1847, as many as fifty-four persons expressed their determination to leave the Church of Rome. On the 8th of April, the number on the day-roll was one hundred and sixteen, and on the night one, forty-three, exclusive of stragglers not entered; and on the 22nd day of the same month a letter was written to Mr. Dallas, by Captain and Mrs. Blake, from which I quote the following:—

"'The school is still increasing. I must enlarge the school-room. What was intended as accommodation for the master was built as a continuation of the school-room, and only requires to have the end wall taken away to make the necessary addition: it is now ready for roofing, and will soon be completed. One hundred and fifty-three last Sunday at morning school, upwards of forty at lecture, and thirty at afternoon class; about twelve at the Irish class.

"'April 26.—You would have been much delighted had you been with us yesterday. The school-house was quite *crammed* at Sunday school; and there were, at least, eighty at lecture; they paid great attention.

"'May 4.—Thank God the schools are not affected by any thing, but continue daily to do well.

"'May 22.—On Sunday two classes had to be taught in the open

air. It was a pleasant sight to see the poor ignorant people sitting round the teachers on the ground, listening to the Word of Life in their own tongue, and apparently with deeply-interested attention : few refuse to hear the Word now ; of course the object of many is very questionable, but who can tell where an arrow may strike.'

" These pleasing reports which Mr. Dallas received, during the summer of 1847, of the progress of the spiritual work at the little missionary station at Castelterke induced him to visit Lough Corrib again in December, and encourage the labourers in their work. ' Mass ' was to be said on the following day by the priest, in the mass-house (which was usual on every third Sunday) ; moreover, a faction-fight had been appointed to take place ' after mass,' very near the spot where mass was said, which was sure to draw a number of idlers together ; yet upwards of 160 adults, and 147 children, *all Romanists*, attended Mr. Dallas's lecture in the school-room, when he tested the feelings of his auditors by asking for a show of hands, from " as many as were willing to form themselves into a regular congregation, if he should be able to obtain for them a regular ministry in their own Irish tongue, separating themselves from the bondage of that yoke of falsehood which had so long enslaved them, and seeking to be admitted, through the knowledge of Christ, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.' He bid all who felt thus to ' hold up their hands ;' on which, when the Irish Scripture Reader had interpreted to them, *in Irish*, what was not so well understood by them in English, *every arm was raised !*

" The Rev. Edwin Moore, Rector of Cong, had not been unmindful of the state of things in this extreme end of his parish. He had frequently, although at great labour, given a large share of his attention to the people residing in and about Castelterke ; from the earliest formation of the school he superintended the teaching, and devoted one week-day in every alternate week to spiritual instruction in the school-room, which, under all the circumstances of his extensive charge, in a time of extraordinary destitution and distress, was more than could have been expected ; nor was the bishop of the diocese kept in ignorance of this great movement ; on being made acquainted with the facts, he manifested every disposition to do whatever could be done with propriety in the matter, and having made every inquiry, his lordship, on the personal representation of Mr. Dallas and the Rector of Cong, consented to ordain Mr. O'Callaghan, an intelligent Irish-speaking missionary, well suited for the work, whom Mr. Dallas had previously in training at Wonston, and engaged on the missions in Connemara from the first ; the foundation-stone of whose parsonage was laid by Mr. Dallas and Captain Blake, on the 17th day of February, 1848."

We would not give much for the principles or feelings of any Churchman who would not from his inmost heart rejoice to read of such things, and who would not cordially aid, as far as he could, in the support of a work like this. It is true that the leaders of the Society are, we believe, of the class usually called

Evangelical, but a work like this evidently requires perfect harmony of view and action amongst its managers; and, be the views of those managers what they may, they are engaged in a work second in importance to no missionary work of our times. We would gladly transfer to our pages much of what is comprised in the interesting tract which appears last on our list, "Early Fruits of Irish Missions;" but here is some little account of the state of things after only four years' exertion in this promising field of missionary labour:—

"But, turning from the entreaties for help which the Secretary has received from the clergy in various parts of the country—calls which the funds of the Society make it impossible to respond to—the question of a subscriber will naturally be, What has the Society done among the people? and to this inquiry my visit to Dublin in the first place would supply ample materials for a satisfactory answer. Mr. McCarthy, the valuable clerical agent of the Society here, bears testimony to the continually progressive work of reformation, which is evident amongst the Romanists of this city, and the blessing which is attending the various means the Society is employing for their conversion. A sermon on some point of the Romish controversy is preached at St. Michan's every Thursday. I heard one by Mr. Nangle, on the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and another on the Invocation of Saints, by Mr. Dallas; in both cases the church was crowded, and the attention riveted, and the readers assured me that there were several hundred Romanists. The effect is so felt, that Roman Catholic missionaries have come forward to endeavour to controvert the subjects of the sermons on the Thursdays, and to stem the torrent of heresy which they feel breaking in among their people; for it is a fact, that many who constantly attend both churches have their eyes thus opened to judge of truth and error by the standard of the Word of God.

"Another great means of blessing is a class of inquirers which Mr. McCarthy holds every Friday evening; and a more interesting scene it is impossible to describe than the one at which I was present. There were sixty-two sitting around him with their Bibles in their hands—all, except six, either just come out of Popery, or, if still within its pale, having taken that first great step which, as it were, unlocks the heaviest bolt of the dungeon—all brought to inquire of Scripture as the rule of faith—to bring their long-embraced errors 'to the law and to the testimony.' The fifth of Romans was the subject of one evening, and the doctrine of justification, from ver. 1—5, was powerfully urged upon them by Mr. McCarthy, who showed them the fallacy of the Romish doctrines in all its coils of error, questioning them so that by their own mouths they were condemned, and wresting from them every refuge of lies. I noticed one among them gradually remove from the class, and at last leave the room, saying, 'The Priest has satisfied my mind on this point, and I do not want to hear any more.' Others, and among them some very respectable tradesmen, appeared to feel the power of truth,

and to receive it in love—their countenances quite beamed with the light that shone on their hearts. This school of inquiry was begun and ended with prayer for the light of the Holy Spirit. I believe similar classes have been commenced by other clergymen, in other parts of the city; and their tendency is uniformly, to lead many minds, like the Bereans, to search the Scriptures daily.

“There are now readers in various parts of Dublin under this Society, whose work is to visit exclusively the Roman Catholics. These are superintended by M. McGuigan, who has been twelve years employed in missionary work, and who unites with ardent love to the souls of his fellow-creatures, singular simplicity of purpose and discrimination of judgment; and all these men are under Mr. McCarthy, who is particularly fitted for his work, adding to all the qualifications of a Christian minister much sound scholarship and critical accuracy of mind in the handling of controversial subjects. He receives the journals of the readers, and instructs them in their work once a week. Mr. Dallas met them to inquire into the conduct of each; and he rejoiced to receive such a testimony as proved that they were, as a body, self-denying, active, and obedient agents in the work.”—pp. 8—10.

From the missions in Dublin, the writer next takes us to those in the west of Ireland, and thus describes the present state of things there:—

“Mr. Dallas has been endeavouring to put the whole of this neglected country under missionary agency, and in nothing has the hand of God been more manifest than in the supply of those agents, and in their peculiar adaptation to the work. Within the last two years, five have been ordained by the Bishop of Tuam; all having been first proved as lay assistants; and two are now sent into the southern parts, men well approved and preparing for ordination. Mr. Conelly will there be missionary clergyman over the district which extends from Galway to Lettermore, and Mr. Jagoe will be the pastoral superintendent of Erris-anna. Mr. R. Ryder, a reformed priest, has the district of Ballyconree; Mr. Conerney, the wild region of Sellerna; Mr. Kilbride, that of Errismore; Mr. Kennedy has Salruck; and Mr. Moinah is stationed at Glan and Oughterard. These have all readers and schoolmasters under them, and in some cases Irish teachers. The Bishop of Tuam bears the strongest testimony to the value of these missionary clergymen. To the praise of that grace which has fitted them for their work, their simplicity of spirit, their diligent self-denial, and their faithful constancy in the midst of persecution and insult, are manifest to all. Perhaps the strongest testimonies to them are afforded by the array of opposition, and the weapons with which the enemy seeks to crush them and their work.

“The agents, working under them, are also efficient and faithful. They were all inspected upon the occasion of this journey. At Oughterard Mr. Dallas met twenty-two—heard the testimony of their superintendents—altered or changed their labours—and gave them a solemn

address, urging them in meekness to instruct those that oppose themselves; and arming them against the fiery trial they have to encounter. At Clifden Castle (where they have hitherto been sheltered and encouraged by those whose Christian love, and holy zeal, and wise judgment have been a rich blessing to all around) thirty-six of the Society's agents assembled to meet Mr. Dallas. It was a day of arduous work to listen to each separately—give to each their work afresh (having first conferred with all the clergy, and arranged every district)—and then to address them all on the spirit in which they should go forth, and the encouragements which were before them. He urged them to be faithful and courageous, taking as the groundwork of his address, Judges vii. 1—8, and Matt. x.; and closing with fervent prayer for grace, and for blessing on them and their work. It was striking in every meeting of this kind how little there was to reprove, and how much had been done by these poor men, who were evidently growing in their work—watered themselves, as they watered others, from the living spring.

“The residences of the missionaries are but a few degrees better than the cabins around them; and the simplicity of their mode of living in these barren wilds would somewhat astonish the most unassuming of the English clergy.

“But one more testimony must yet be referred to,—the fruits of the mission among the people generally. Had it been permitted to the labourers of the last two years only to sow in hope and to exercise long patience, it would have afforded no cause for wonder; but it is given them to gather already a harvest of souls—to see, as well as to hope, that their labour is not in vain in the Lord. The Society has been the means of forming thirteen congregations of converts, who unite in the school-room or cabin to join in the Irish service, or to hear the word preached in their own tongue. Their attention is very marked. To select one instance alone. We attended the service one Sunday at Sellerna, seven Irish miles from Clifden, a wild district along the bay of the Atlantic. When Mr. Dallas first visited this people two years ago, they were without school, Bible, or any means of grace. He assembled the people by the road-side to hear the word of God. He then offered to obtain for them a school, provided they would promise to attend themselves, and send their children. The question was repeated in Irish, adding, ‘let those who are thus disposed hold up their hands.’ The hands of all assembled were held up at once. The school was promptly built through individual liberality. The mission was begun—their present devoted minister, Mr. Conerney, was ordained by the Bishop of Tuam, and is now resident amongst them; and the early fruit of his missionary ministry is evident in harvest sheaves of blessing.

“The neat white school-room was crammed with people. At least between four and five hundred were waiting for the service when we arrived; and this in spite of threats from the Romanists, in the previous week, that they would pull down the house if he preached there. The service was read in Irish by Mr. Conerney; and though a mob assembled near the house, and their appearance was most disturbing, the

people showed no alarm, and were distracted in attention only for a short time. The sermon, by Mr. Dallas, was evidently felt; and the communion was afterwards administered by him and the other clergy present, to seventy-one persons; about sixty of whom were converts, whose reverent demeanour was most striking. Mr. Conerney said that there were between sixty and seventy catechumens, who had earnestly desired to join the communion that day; but he had not admitted them, that he might have more time to judge of their consistency, and right apprehension of the Sacrament. He also added that, in this district of 2000, he thought that at least half were ready to become Protestants in profession. But the barrier of most fearful opposition has as yet kept many from coming out publicly in the midst of persecution, which leaves the converts without work, starved and naked; the land around them having been lately bought by Papists, the converts are exposed to suffering beyond many of the stations. The details of the opposition which we witnessed you have read in the clergyman's letters I have referred to; and you will rejoice to hear, that in all this most persecuted district only one convert has relapsed. The inhabitants of all the district earn their scanty subsistence by fishing. The priests not only influenced the masters to exclude every convert from the fishing trade, but also, by cursing them and their boats, made the people around believe that no success could possibly attend them if they had 'jumpers,' as they call them, in their crews. Numbers of these poor people would have died of starvation, had not some Christian friends exerted themselves on their behalf. With subscriptions, chiefly from Scotland, they bought two boats for convert fishermen, and had them taught how to cure their fish in an improved way, which secured to them increased custom, beyond their old companions. When we were at Sellerna, there had been no fishing weather for some days; and on that Sunday morning Mr. Dallas had an opportunity of seeing the evidence of their consistency in the observance of the Sabbath. The sea to the far distant horizon was dotted with fishing boats, of which twenty-three were counted; two boats were, however, in the bay by the quay unmanned. On asking why those boats were not out with the others, the reply from a Romanist was, 'Those are the jumpers' boats, and they do not go out on a Sunday.'

"There was indeed, at every station, precious evidence that the Lord is working with his ministers, and 'confirming the word with signs following.' At Ballyconree, Mr. Ryder mentioned that, with the exception of two families, he might consider the whole village as being favourable to the truth. Here also Mr. Dallas administered the Lord's Supper, for the first time, to sixty-five converts, who had been under preparatory instruction from their minister since their Confirmation. He afterwards baptized two children at this station. At the same time the first stone of a new school-room was laid; the cabin where the school was kept, and in which also they met for service, being too small for one-third of the congregation who attended. I must pass over two other most interesting scenes of a similar kind, one at Derrigimla, and

another at Glan ; in each of which a new school-room, to serve also as a church, has been commenced : and the sites were densely filled with congregations of several hundreds, who with joyous hearts listened to Mr. Dallas's address, and joined in his prayer for a blessing upon the work, with the life of feeling, the expression of which is so peculiar to Ireland. In all these places, the increase of converts, and of scholars, had made the present hovel school-houses quite incapable of containing the children or the congregations.

" I cannot close without one word on the instruction supplied to the children. The Society has twenty-eight schools in this county. To each of those we visited there has been fearful opposition by the priests ; who, by bribes and by punishments of no gentle measure, endeavour to bring the children back to their schools. Can it be expected that these blind leaders of the blind should witness 2500 children rescued from their grasp without vexation and dismay ? Can we wonder that every effort should be used by the powers of Satan to regain possession of the future generation of Ireland, and to destroy that seed of Scriptural truth, which shall ultimately be their ruin ? Yet in these schools do we witness the strength of God perfected in weakness,—his praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings. Some few have been drawn away for a time ; but in no school, much as the children suffer from hunger, is there long or material diminution of numbers. Every new school that is established is quickly filled ; in many the power of the truths they learn is manifest, out of school, in their answers to the Romanists ; and the beating and ill treatment these little ones have received has only made them more firm and bold in confessing the faith of Christ, having an answer from the Bible always ready for the opposer."

After perusing these remarkable and striking accounts of the Irish missions, we may fairly appeal to our readers, whether any instances can be pointed out in the history of modern missions in which a greater measure of success has attended the exertions of Christian missionaries. There is no comparison between the effects produced here, and those produced in heathen countries. And yet the general opinion—and we own ourselves to have shared in that opinion—was, that the persecution of converts was so violent in Ireland, and the prejudices of the people so strong, that a mission to the heathen would be more likely to be successful than one to the Romanists of Ireland. Its difficulties are undoubtedly great ; and we must say that, humanly speaking, nothing else except the remarkable combination of Christian *wisdom* with charity which was shown in the commencement of the Irish missions could have rendered them successful. To the Rev. A. Dallas the cause appears to be chiefly indebted, and we must say, that his labours and his zeal appear to be truly apostolical.

And now, having endeavoured to present a brief outline of the missions of the Church in Ireland, which bid fair to be as successful as the most earnest of her well-wishers could desire, we would appeal to every one who really prefers Protestantism to Romanism, whether a Church, which is capable of carrying on such missions, is not doing its work in Ireland, and whether the imputation of apathy, or indolence, or inefficiency, can any longer be with justice applied.

We are far from meaning to deny that until recently the Church of Ireland has remained, to a great degree, stationary—that in some districts it may even have lost ground within the last century—that the Reformation was never carried out successfully in Ireland—and that the objects which the State hoped to have seen carried out through the Church Establishment have been but partially realized. But, admitting all this, we are prepared to show that the Church is not fairly chargeable with these evils; that they are attributable to the state of society in Ireland, and to the neglect of former Governments; and that, as the circumstances in which the Church now stands are different from those in which she formerly stood, it may be reasonably expected that a success will now attend her efforts which did not attend them formerly.

The Reformation was successful in England in carrying with it the great mass of the people. In Ireland the case was not so. The Reformation was planted in a soil unfitted to retain it; it was not supported by adequate power: it was violently assailed before it had time to take root; and it was made unpopular by its connexion with the English Government. The Episcopate, the clergy, and most of the laity conformed for a time; but rebellion, stirred up by foreign powers, and continued for a whole generation, detached the greater part of the population from their bishops and from the Reformed Church, and re-established the power of the Papacy. The condition of Ireland was extremely unfavourable to the Reformation. In the sixteenth century there was neither civilization, education, or settled law—Ireland was in a state of barbarism. There were no schools or universities; unlike England, which could boast of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Colleges at Eton, and Winchester, and elsewhere; and the whole population were sunk in dense ignorance. The invention of printing, which in other countries promoted inquiry, was unknown for a long time in Ireland—in fact, till *long after* the introduction of the Reformation: the Irish language, then nearly universal, opposed an impediment in the way of English preachers. The country had been in a state of barbarous anarchy for three centuries, during which

England had not thought it worth her while to do more than retain a certain territory in Ireland called the English "pale," with the nominal *suzerainty* over the remainder. The greater part of Ireland was under the dominion of petty kings, princes, and chieftains of various kinds, and presented a strange scene of never-ending tumult, outrage, murder, and pillage,—only varied by occasional rebellion against the English power.

The historical work, the title of which we have first mentioned at the commencement of this Article, is one which throws much light on the state of society generally in Ireland during the ages which preceded the Reformation. It consists of the Latin annals of Ireland, compiled by John Clyn, a friar of the Franciscan Convent at Kilkenny, in the fourteenth century, with continuations by other hands; together with a chronicle of about the same date, written at the Abbey of New Ross, in Wexford; and a later chronicle compiled by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of the Cathedral of Leighlin, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These curious chronicles, which form a part of the valuable series of publications on Irish history and antiquities undertaken by the Irish Archæological Society, have been most ably and carefully edited by the Very Rev. R. Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, whose reputation as a scholar and an antiquarian is fully sustained by the work before us. The preface which Dean Butler has prefixed to his edition of Clyn's Annals exhibits a thorough acquaintance with the state of Ireland during the period preceding the Reformation; and we feel that, in quoting the words of so careful a student of history, we are in no danger of over-stating the case.

Dean Butler observes that, during the reigns of King John and Henry III., the English authority appeared about to consolidate itself in Ireland. The country was divided into shires; the king's justices made their circuits; the bishoprics were filled with the royal licence; the Irish chieftains paid their tribute, and obeyed the royal summons, and seem to have considered themselves as English lords: the country was peaceful and prosperous, and the English treasury was enriched by money transmitted from Ireland. Feuds there were between different families, but not to the extent to which they afterwards arose. But in the reign of Edward I. the English Government appears to have withdrawn attention from Ireland to Scotland, and advantage was taken of this remissness by Edward Bruce, who, with a Scottish army, invaded and laid waste a great part of Ireland,—an event from which the decline of the English power, and the commencement of Irish anarchy, may be dated. To cite Dean Butler's words:—

"Many generations passed before the devastating effects of the

Scottish invasion, passing thus like a stream of lava through the country, were done away. The animosity between the English and the Irish was embittered, the sense of the greatness of the English power was diminished, the authority of law and order was impaired, the castle and the farm-house were alike ruined. The castle was more easily rebuilt than the more important farm-house. The noble may have had other resources; in later times we know that his castle was repaired at the expense of the district; he was bound by stronger ties to the country; and when his castle was rebuilt, it was at least comparatively secure: but when the homestead was wrecked and burned, and the haggard robbed of its stacks, and the bawn left without horse or cow, and 'all his gear were gone,' the farmer, as he looked about him in despair, might well be excused if he fled away to some safer country; or if, listening to hunger, that evil counsellor, he became an idilman or a kerne, ready to plunder as he had been plundered, and eating up the produce of other men's labours.

"If he endeavoured to remain, what was before him, but, poor and dispirited, deprived of his accustomed comforts, and of his comparative respectability, to sink hopelessly into a lower stage of society, and to yield to its customs; or rather to turn in sullen or in passionate anger from the civilization in which he no longer had a share, and to resent, as an injury, the existence of comforts which were his once, but were to be his no more, and to hate and to scorn their possessors?

"Such, doubtless, was the history of the degradation of many English freeholders consequent upon the Scottish invasion; nor could the degradation be limited to the retainer alone. In a country in which there is no foreign interference, no rank of society can stand apart from others, and in proportion to its height it needs the more numerous supporters. The castle-walls can no more keep out the influence of the social maxims and principles of the lower ranks of the people than they can keep out the contagion of their diseases, and the lord necessarily partook of the degradation of the vassal.

"To the Scottish invasion, then, may, at least partly, be ascribed the barbarism and the consequent weakness of the English in Ireland during the greater part of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century. In the thirty years that elapsed between that event and the close of Clyn's Annals, that barbarism had made great progress. The power of the central government grew weaker; the lords, whether of Irish or of English blood, became more independent and irresponsible, and, consequently, more arbitrary and tyrannical; and private feuds, resulting in open violence, became of more frequent occurrence. The control of law nearly ceased, and little remained, as a rule of conduct, except the will of the stronger. It then became a question whether this anarchy should continue, or whether it should result in the prevalence of either the English or the Irish system, or, as seemed more probable and more reasonable, whether some third system should not

be developed, formed from the amalgamation of these two, and the natural growth of the circumstances of this country."—pp. 15, 16.

Dean Butler traces, with much distinctness, the progress of degradation by which all laws, whether English or Irish, became gradually obsolete, and the country presented a scene of savage dissension and anarchy. He proceeds to some further details, which we must place before the reader :—

"During the times contained in these annals the English Government had not power to control the excesses of its subjects, or to repress the attacks of its opponents. The great Anglo-Irish families had become septed. In Clyn's Latin, the St. Aubyns, now corrupted into Tobins, and the Archdeacons, now transformed into the patronymic Mac Odos, or Codys, are '*naciones et cognomina*;' and he speaks of the Hoddinets and Cantetons, '*cum multis de sanguine eorum*.' If the Irish chiefs acknowledged no common authority, and felt no common interest, the same division prevailed amongst the lords of English descent. Englishman was now opposed to Englishman, and sought to revenge himself by the help of the Irish; nor did the English refuse their aid to the Irish when plundering their own countrymen. When Brien O'Brien ravaged Ossory, and slew the loyal English of Aghaboe and Aghamacart, he had the help of the English of Ely.

"The country was fast verging towards anarchy, and it was not easy to stay its descent. The sword of the Lord Justice, if put into the hands of any of the native Lords, of the Ormondes or of the Kildares, was used as an instrument to avenge their own wrongs, or to promote their own interests, rather than to execute impartial justice, and to promote the welfare of the whole country. Such also was the case during the lieutenancy of any of the great English lords, who had estates or claims in Ireland, such as the great Mortimers; and, perhaps, nothing brought the royal authority into greater disrepute than the use of it by these men as a cover for private revenge or for private gain. Nor were the evils fewer, if the administration of the government was intrusted to Englishmen unconnected with this country. Men of eminence, so situated, would scarcely accept the office; we know that Pembridge altogether refused it; and men of inferior rank and reputation, when invested with deputed and transient authority, were scorned by the haughty Irish lords, and were freely charged by them, and perhaps justly charged, with the grossest peculation and malversation. The castles of Athlone, Roscommon, Rinduin, and Bunratty,—say the Irish lords to Edward in 1343,—were lost, because his treasurers did not pay the constables the wages charged in their accounts; and they continued to charge for castles and constables, after the castles had been destroyed. Officials liable to such imputations could have no moral influence; and when some sturdy and honest man, like Sir Thomas Rokeby, who sold his plate to pay his soldiers, saying that he would eat off wooden platters and pay in gold and silver,—or when some bold and vigorous soldiers, like Sir Robert

Ufford, or Sir Anthony Lucy, held the King's commission,—they were hampered by the narrowness of their allowances, and were thwarted by the old peers and ancient officials. The very success of their exertions brought with it no lasting national advantage. If they put down disturbance for a time, and reduced the English dominions to order and submission, yet, at the termination of their authority, there was a renewal of lawlessness; and the only lasting effect of their vigour was the weakening of the national props and buttresses of internal government, and the consequent increase of anarchy and disturbance."—pp. 19—21.

A melancholy and dark picture indeed! And this was the state of things which continued almost to the period of the Reformation, and formed the minds and habits of the people who were to be reformed! There could not well be a more unfavourable soil for reformation of any kind to take root in. These people were, without doubt, superstitious, but religion had no hold in them; they were utterly demoralized and degraded.

"The social evils of Ireland," says Dean Butler, "in the time now under our review, seem to have been but little mitigated by the influence of religion. When the Anglo-Irish nobles were gradually falling into Irish customs, and were confederating, whenever it served their purpose, as readily with Irish against English as with English against Irish, we find national differences and dissensions, where we should least wish to find them, in the monastery and the convent. Although the authorities, as well ecclesiastical as civil, favoured the English party, the strife seems not to have been altogether unequal. 'In 1325,' writes Clyn, 'there was discord, as it were universally, amongst all the poor religious of Ireland, some of them upholding, promoting, and cherishing the part of their own nation, and blood, and tongue; others of them canvassing for the offices of prelates and superiors.' And he adds, that in the same year, at the general chapter of the Order, held at Lyons, the convents of Cork, Buttevant, Limerick, and Ardfert, were taken from the Irish friars, and assigned as a fifth custody to the English.

"In those evil days neither the persons nor the places dedicated to religion were safe from violence. We read in Clyn:

"In the year 1323, on the Friday within the octaves of Easter, Philip Talon, with his son and about twenty-six of the Codhlitanys, was slain by Edmund Butler, Rector of Tullow, who, aided by the Cantitons, dragged them out of the church, and burned the church of Thomolyn, with their women and children, and the reliques of Saint Molyng.

"In 1336, on Thursday, the 3rd Ides of April, Master Howell de Bathe, Archdeacon of Ossory, a man of literature and munificence, with Andrew Avenel and Adam de Bathe, was killed by the O'Brynys of Duffry, in defence of the goods of his church and parish.'

" But, perhaps, the most striking entry on this subject is the following :

" In 1346, on Friday, the 3rd Nones of May, Dermicius Mac Gilpatrick (surnamed Monoculus, in Irish *Caeoch*), who ever gave himself up to plots and treacheries, little regarding perjury, burned the town of Achabo, having taken and brought O'Carroll with him, and raging against the cemetery, the church, and the shrine of St. Canice, that most holy abbot, the patron of the county und the founder of the abbey, like a degenerate son against a father, he burned them and consumed them in unsparing fire."

In the pages of Dowling, the later annalist in Dean Butler's collection, the state of Ireland is described in the same tone. One fact is sufficient to show the condition of the Church at that time. In 1522, Mauritius Deoran, Bishop of Leighlin, was *murdered* by the Archdeacon of the diocese, because he had reproved him for sin, and intended to proceed by ecclesiastical censures. To this we may add the testimony of one of the records preserved in the State Paper Office, and describing the state of Ireland in 1515.

" Some sayeth, that the prelates of the church and clergie is much cause of all the mysse order of the land ; for ther is no archebyssshop, ne byssshop, abbot, ne pryor, parson, ne vycar, ne any other person of the Church, highe or lowe, greate or smalle, Englyshe or Iryshe, that useyth to preache the worde of Godde, saveing the poor fryers beggers ; and there wodde [where word] of Godde to cesse, ther canne be no grace, and wythoute the specyall (*grace*) of Godde, this lande may never be reformyd. Also the Church of thys lande use not to lerne any other scyence, but the Lawe of Canon, for covetyse of lucre transytory ; all other scyence whereof grows none suche lucre, the parsons of the Church dothe despyce."—*State Papers*, Part III. Vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.

We think that the evidence we have produced as to the utterly demoralized, lawless, and ignorant state of the Irish clergy and laity in the sixteenth century, goes far to explain the want of success in the attempt to introduce the Reformation there. It is very true that Christianity has often been introduced amongst barbarous and savage nations, and has civilized them ; but it has generally been a slow and gradual process, and has been preceded or accompanied by some instruction and training of the faculties. In England, the Reformation had not only to deal with an orderly and civilized people, but was enabled to make use of the press for the advancement of its cause. Its adherents were amongst the best scholars and divines of the day. Yet, even so, it was nearly twenty years after the abolition of the Papal supremacy in England, before any effectual reformation took place.

Again, in Scotland, the Reformation was preached for a great length of time before it was finally adopted by the nation. A strong, and even violent party, was gradually formed in its behalf. But in Ireland the case was quite different. There were no materials for constructing a religious party in Ireland at that time. The clergy were ignorant and depraved; the laity were profoundly ignorant and irreligious. There were no universities, and no scholars to prosecute inquiry. The art of printing had not been introduced. Educated Englishmen could not preach in Irish. Archbishop Brown, the chief promoter of the Reformation during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., was an Englishman; and so were the only other prelates of note, or ability, or activity, of whom we hear in these times. Thus the Irish part of the population were not, in fact, prepared in any way by instruction to receive the truths of the Reformation; and it can surely be no matter of surprise that they were but little inclined towards them. Without doubt the government acted in the only way in its power for the promotion of the Reformation in Ireland; that is to say, it enacted laws, issued proclamations, saw that they were attended to, and appointed the best men that it could find to vacant bishoprics; but the circumstances of the times were most unpropitious. Had Ireland been *really* subject to the English dominion, the authority of the State would probably have been sufficient to cause the Irish to adopt the Reformation permanently, as they did, in fact, for a time. Had education and effective preaching prepared the way, the native population would have probably accepted the Reformation. But, in the absence of such conditions of success, it is not a matter of the least surprise that the issue was the virtual triumph of Romanism, and the secession of the greater part of the population from their Bishops and clergy.

The materials for the history of the Reformation in Ireland are by no means abundant: such as they are, they will be found in Bishop Mant's *History of the Irish Church*. But an important addition has recently been made to Irish Church history by the publication of all the documents in the State Paper Office relating to the Irish Church during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. This highly valuable work, the title of which will be found at the commencement of these pages, is the result of the well-directed researches of Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley, who has added many notes and illustrations evincing much careful investigation, and very full knowledge of his subject. Mr. Shirley has very judiciously preserved all the characteristics of the original autograph documents from which he has made transcripts; and although to the more common reader the

extremely antiquated spelling, and the numerous faults of the originals will operate as a bar to the perusal of the work, these very circumstances will only enhance its value, as a faithful and accurate transcript, to the careful investigator of history.

The series of documents commences A.D. 1547, the first year of Edward VI.; and almost at the commencement we have a scheme of George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, for the erection of a University in Dublin (p. 5). This plan, which reflects the highest credit on its author, contemplated the restoration of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick (lately suppressed), and its becoming at once a College and a Chapter, like Cardinal Wolsey's foundation at Oxford, with its lecturers, fellows, students, &c. The plan did not take effect: in fact, there was no University in Ireland till 1591, upwards of forty years after the introduction of the Reformation, and apparently no schools; the monasteries having been the only places in which any knowledge of letters was preserved or imparted. We must extract a few passages from Archbishop Browne's Device, or Petition, to the English Government, which refer to other matters of interest:—

"Itm, That comission under the kings great seall here maye be directed to suche as to his hieghnis shalbe thoght good, ad audiendas et terminandas causas ecclasticas, to th'intent that thereby the people may be occasioned to leave and omitt the popishe trede, whiche many of them now imbraseth, and also to swere all bysshoppes and preistes to the obedience of the Kings maiestie and his successou" as their immediate hed and goūno^r under god and for th'executioⁿ of other his Ma^{ty} pcedings according th'order used in Inglande.

"Itm, That twoo Archedeacons of Dubliñ may be againe restored to ayde and assist th'archebysshop there for the tyme being whiche was taken awaie at the suppⁿsion of Saint Patricks, and this the rather that there is no bysshop in Christendome w^oowte an archdeacon, but onely Dubliñ, and so the saide Archebysshop the wors hable to supplie his chardg who had befor the saide suppⁿsion ij Archedeacons.
[they to finde ij lectours.]

"Itm, That now immediately may be sent thither iii to be Bysshoppes and to preche, eūy one of theym to have a sufficient lyving to th'intent that neither they through default or lyving be bordenous to any pson, and yet may withoute that care moste diligently and earnestly travaill in setting forthe to the people by an uniforme doctryne the words of god and the Chry^{stian} pceding^s of the Kinges Ma^{ty} as it is here in Inglande.

"ffyrste for th'erecton of an unyversitie to be established

whin the Realme of Irland by Dublin to be ther remanent for ever as well for th'enceace of gods divine s^rvice as the Kings Ma^{ties} immortall fame, & the unspeakeable reformacon of that realme and for educacion of students & youth, whiche may from tyme to tyme growe, aswell in the knowlege of god th'auto^r of all goodnes, wthout whom, the knowledge of the kinge, the obedience of his Lawes, shall neū be hade ther, the lacke wherof hathe been only the ruine & decaye of that realme, and so by pces of tyme the same students beyng repayred to ther natyve shyres shall by ther learnynge and goode educacion be bothe example of goode lyvinge & also a lyvely trompe to call that barbarous nacion from evill to goode, & consequently from goode to bett^r, & so to be pfight & Civill."—pp. 9—11.

These extracts touch on some of the difficulties in the way of the Reformation at that time. The first—the reluctance of some of the bishops and clergy to permit any alterations or reform—was to be expected; but although, during the reign of Edward VI., this acted as a serious impediment, that difficulty ceased in the reign of Elizabeth, when the whole hierarchy adopted the Reformation. But the petition next but one, requesting that three men should be sent over from *England* to be bishops and to "preach," indicates a more serious difficulty—a want of proper agents in Ireland. To obtain preachers of the right sort it was necessary to send to England! But then these preachers, when they came, could be of almost no use in three out of four provinces of Ireland, where the Irish language and habits almost exclusively prevailed. Here was the grand difficulty. Where were the means for reforming the native Irish? What means were there for "calling that barbarous nation from evil to good?" Archbishop Browne rightly looked to the University for this; but the University was not yet founded.

The bishops and clergy were, in many cases, miserably poor. As to the latter, we should suppose their tithes must have been about as valuable as the tithes of the American "backwoods," the products being little more than timber and peat. The tithe of Agistment indeed gave them meat to eat, but cattle could have been scarcely saleable in such a wild state of society. The bishoprics were but poorly endowed in many cases; so that, altogether, the clergy were in a very destitute state in the sixteenth century, and the churches fell to ruin in the time of war, which was almost perpetual. In the paper before us, we find Archbishop Browne requiring especially that the bishops to be sent over should have *competent maintenance*; and, further on in

the volume, we find various instances in which bishoprics are sought for particular persons, on account of their small value, or are recommended to be held, *in commendam*, with other bishoprics or benefices, for the same reason.

The next letters in this collection are valuable, as showing the succession of the Episcopate in Ireland. We have, first, a letter from Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, who had been consecrated archbishop in 1527, long before the abolition of the Papal jurisdiction. This prelate was now a willing advocate of the Reformation introduced by King Edward VI. We extract the letter itself, addressed to Seymour, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector :—

“ Pleasid yo^r noble grace to be adūtisid how hitherto accord-
ing the charge committid to me I haue done the best I coude for
the quiete of thies pties sithnes th deptu^r of the countess doager
of Oamonde, & although sundrie roberres and offences have bene
committid sithens, as I hau certefied therther, yet be reason of
yo^r graces lettres at sundrie times sent hither, & other prudent
devices addressed from them, many inconueniences haue the less
taken effect, & do stande in such case of reforma^{cō}n as god will-
ing things shalbe wthout difficultie redressid, and for asm^{ch} as I
doubt not yo^r good grace wth that moste nob^{le} counseill will pvyde
redresse in sundrie things worthi reforma^{cō}n, I putt in sus-
pence toto truble the same wth any further particulariter^s being
the hering & discussing of the circumstance (*illegible*)
tak bett^r place here then elsewhere, as for c^umstances & pol-
lecies in reforma^{cō}n of the people here, I neu^r sawe the waye for
to prosper therin as M^r Bellinghame attempt^d & achevid in so
short a time, who hath oppenid the veri gate of the right refor-
ma^{cō}n, whos nature as I judge will not triffill w^t any unfruitfull
c^ustance. There repairith thather Walt^r Cowley at this time,
whos truth & his fathers doth nowe apere in many things, & out
of doubt in myne opinion, is a great discouraging unūsally here
to the people, seinge theire destru^{cō}n, for their earnest truth in
declaracōn of abuses, and forasm^{ch} as the one deyed there, in
p^rsute thereof, & the other repairing thother, who hath aft^r longe
durans sustain^d m^{ch} domadge. I beseech yo^r grace to be his good
Lorde & to geve him wherebi occā^{sō}n may grow to encorradge
the comēn people to be earnest in awanusing thing^s tending to the
King^s Ma^{tes} hono^r & the surti^e of this his highnes’ pore realme ;
so as be meanes therof truth shalbe the less extinct, assurring yo^r
Grace that I knowe him to be of honeste disposi^{cō}n, & one that
hath great experience, who can do right good Syvioe. thus

almighti god send unto yo^r noble grace yo^r valiant hartes disure,
ffrom kilkenny the xxvth day of februaryi

“Yo^r Gracs bounden orato^r

“Edmūd of Casshell.

“To the Duck of Somsetta right noble grace Lord Gou^{no^r} of
the king^s Ma^{tie}s mooste Royall psone p^{ro}ecto^r of his highnes
Realms & Domynions & highe Thesaurer of England.”

Walter Cowley, who is so highly commended in the above letter, which was written in 1548, was, as Mr. Shirley remarks, general surveyor of the abbey lands in Ireland, and a decided partisan of the reformed faith. Archbishop Butler died about two years after in possession of his see. The case of Christopher Bodekin, Archbishop of Tuam, a letter from whom is printed, is still more remarkable. He was appointed Bishop of Kilmacduagh in 1533 or 1534, and held this see with that of Tuam, to which he was translated in 1536. This prelate retained his see, from the period of his appointment by King Henry VIII., up to the year 1572, fourteen years after Queen Elizabeth had come to the throne.

It seems that, for a considerable time, Archbishop Browne laboured in the cause of the Reformation in Ireland without aid from any of the bishops, except Staples, Bishop of Meath, who, like himself, was an Englishman. In the latter part of the reign of Edward VI., however, he was further aided by Bale and Goodacre, who were consecrated to Ossory and Armagh; the former of which sees was vacant by death, and the latter by the retirement of Dowdal to the continent, after his opposition to the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer. Just previously to the account of this, we have a letter from Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to Sir William Cecil, complaining of the ignorance and negligence of the Irish bishops, and requesting learned men to be sent over from England, in the following terms:—

“Beyng a man not learned, nether sene in any other thing worthie of the chardge comytted to me, I am besyde myne other cares, burdened with the setting forth of religion, wiche to my skylle I cause to be amended in euery place where I travall: and nevertheless through the negligence of the Bysshopes and other spyrituall mynistres, it is so barely looked unto, as the olde seremonies yet remayne in meny places / The Busshops as I find, be negligent and fewe lerned, and none of any good zeale as it semeth, wherfor yf it wolde please yo^r to move the Counsaill that for suche busshoppricks as be here voyde, some lerned men mought be sent ouer to tak chardg, and so to preche and sett forth the kings pcedinge, I wolde trust so to mayntayne them, as they mought do good to meny, and sett forth this as it ought to be /

And yf this cannot be brought to passe, I pray yo^r sende me some lerned man to remayne with me, by whose counsaill I may the better direct the blynd and obstinate busshops, and what stypend soeuer yo^r pmys I will gyve it / praying yo^r to helpe me with speede, for I have gret want of suche a one, so I betak yo^r to god, ffrom Kylmanam the xvth of Marche 1551.

“Yo^r to comaund

“James Croft.

“To the right honorable Willm Ceycill
knight one of the two pryncipall Se-
creteries to the Kings Majestie.”

One especial value of Mr. Shirley's publication will be, to furnish additional and conclusive evidence of the erroneousness of the statements often put forward in Parliament and elsewhere by the opponents of the Church. Nothing is more common than the argument, that the Roman Catholic Church, having been deprived of its property by the State, and the Established Church having been endowed therewith, the Roman Catholics have been most cruelly and unjustly treated, and the Established Church may, and ought to be deprived of property to which it has no right except what arises from a mere Act of Parliament. It is represented as a sect which arose at the Reformation, and which, in fact, plundered the rightful owners of their property, with the aid of the civil power. Now the real state of the case, as Mr. Shirley's work very plainly shows, is, that the archbishops, and bishops, and clergy of Ireland generally consented to the Reformation in the time of Elizabeth. The Roman Catholic prelacy and clergy of Queen Mary's reign became the reformed bishops and clergy of Elizabeth's; the people, to a great extent, conformed to the worship of the Reformed Church; and, the Church of Ireland being thus freed from the Papal dominion and errors, the Pope sent missionary after missionary into Ireland to regain his dominion, ordained bishops to sees that were already occupied—schismatical bishops; and stirred up the King of Spain, in conjunction with the native Irish chieftains, to make war on England. Hence a series of bloody rebellions, during which the Jesuits and other Romish emissaries were enabled to poison the minds of a large proportion of the people against their bishops and clergy as adherents of the English. The English religion became unpopular, because the English name was hated: to this day “Sassenach” implies “Protestant” as well as Englishman, and conveys the notion of an enemy. Romanism was really established by the sword in Ireland; for, had not rebellion broken out, Ireland would probably, in the course of Elizabeth's reign, have been brought into obedience to the Reformation.

The undeniable fact, that Ireland was not really subject to the British Crown till the end of the reign of Elizabeth—that the English laws were not received in the greater part of Ireland at the period of the Reformation—and that the people were wholly unprepared by education for any alteration in religion, being, in fact, ignorant of the first elements of religious truth—and the total want of fit agents for conducting a movement in favour of the Reformation—will, to any reasonable mind, sufficiently account for the comparative failure of the attempt, in the time of Elizabeth, to remove the evil of Popery. Then followed the conciliation and encouragement held out to Romanism in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. by the Government—a system of policy remarkably parallel to that recently adopted by the State, and having the same effect—the continual increase of Romish aggression, insolence, and intolerance. Then followed the massacre of 150,000 Irish Protestants by the Romanists, and a general rebellion. Cromwell extinguished this rebellion in blood, and restored the dominion of England. Scarcely had the Church time to take root again in Ireland after the Restoration, when the Popish party, under James II., rose in arms; and, when Protestant ascendancy was established by force of arms under King William, the Government henceforth seem to have looked merely to Protestantism in Ireland as a useful political faction—a convenient instrument of Government, and to have absolutely put aside all notion of rendering the Church efficient by a careful employment of patronage, or of encouraging any efforts for the conversion of the Romish population. A period of apathy on the part of the Church herself supervened: it was deemed a hopeless or an unnecessary task to attempt the conversion of Romanists; and it has only been within the last twenty years, when the dangers of the times, and the religious movements of the age, have shaken men out of many of their antiquated notions, and pointed out to them the path of duty, that the work has been begun in earnest, and with so much success as to afford the highest encouragement to those who are engaged in it, and grounds of thankfulness to all who wish for the prevalence of truth over error. The clergy of Ireland at the present day are a widely different class from those wealthy sinecurists of the last century, whose worldliness and self-indulgence are quoted by the enemies of religion, and assumed to characterize the Church in Ireland. They are now a conscientious, a zealous, and an impoverished body; and the principles which have carried them stedfastly and uncomplainingly through trials and sufferings, hold out reasonable security for their perseverance in accomplishing the arduous mission intrusted to them.

ART. III.—*Dealings with the Inquisition ; or, Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits : with Important Disclosures. By the Rev. GIACINTO ACHILLI, D.D., late Prior and Visitor of the Dominican Order, Head Professor of Theology, and Vicar of the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, &c.* London : Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1851.

"How can you trust the word of a renegade?" exclaims the Romanist, and echoes the Romanizer. If again we appeal to the well-authenticated accounts of Anglican travellers, we are immediately told that they were all narrow-minded "Protestant" bigots, who saw every thing "*Catholic*" with that tortuous intolerance of vision which characterizes the genuine Englishman, a perverse and pragmatcal species of barbarian, who will insist upon calling black black, and white white, in spite of all the overwhelming evidence which proves to demonstration the untenableness of such an old-fashioned notion. If again we allude to the disclosures made by those still living in the Roman Church, we discover immediately that the very fact of their making such statements is enough to destroy their credibility. And *lastly*, when we cite history—acknowledged history—to the witness-box, we are told that, deeply as such things are to be deplored, they are now no longer in existence, in short the reply is, "*nous avons changé tout cela !*"

Now uncandid, and illiberal, and unpious though it be, we cannot conceal it from ourselves, and we *will not* conceal it from our readers, that all these objections are, in our opinion, contemptible and dishonest subterfuges ; and that all these species of evidence are to be admitted into court when we arraign the Church of Rome of "having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations."

As to the first kind of evidence, it is certainly not inferior to that of an accomplice or accessory who turns king's evidence ; and yet our civil courts admit this. It is not less to be trusted than that of a military deserter ; and yet our great commanders listen to the tales of such men ; ay, and not unfrequently *act* upon the information thus gained. Of course caution must be used and discretion exercised in both instances : but that is all. Let us take another case. Do we disbelieve the accounts of heathen abominations which are extant in the works of early

Christians, or even *early heretics*, because those Christians or heretics had once themselves been heathens, or had perhaps officiated as priests in the temples of those idols whose rites they divulge!

We are inclined, too, to admit the testimony of Anglican travellers as to matters of fact. However insular prejudice may warp the judgment, or at times, we regret to say, and that not unfrequently, close the heart of the Englishman; it does not take from him the use of his eyes, nor prevent his being able to transcribe in his journal information derived from authentic sources. For instance, he *sees*, as *we have seen*, two images of the same saint (we do not like to mix up with the pollutions of Romish idolatry the name of her who is blessed among women) brought from distant places to meet each other; he hears greater miraculous virtue attributed to one image than to another image of the same person. Are we to disbelieve our own eyes and ears, then, because we are English Churchmen?

With regard to the third class of evidence, we shall perhaps be better understood if we cite two or three of the many facts of the kind which have come under our own observation.

A French lady expressed to an English woman, on whose veracity we can rely, the exceeding uneasiness which she felt at the thought of sending her little girl for the first time to confession; her uneasiness arising from the obscene questions which she knew would be addressed by the priest to the child.

Thus does Rome feed the lambs of Christ's flock with the apples of Sodom and the grapes of Gomorrah!

A Roman Catholic friend told us the following anecdote:—A lady went to a priest to confess; who, the same day, seeing a young friend of his, said, "Do you know, this morning there came to me to confession a lady who has an amour with her manservant."

So much for the inviolability of the seal of confession!

Now we know these and similar facts to be true, and we see no reason for disbelieving them because they were related by Romanists.

To render the last head of evidence available, we must compare facts and statements, documents and depositions; and the result of such an investigation is, that however the eagles of Pagan Rome may have belied the motto, the crimes of Papal Rome have fully realized the

"*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*"

of her ancient poets.

We have been led into a longer discussion on this preliminary subject than we had intended, and shall therefore do little more than select some of the most striking passages from the work

before us. We know nothing of the writer, except from common report, beyond what these pages convey. We regret to see that, in throwing off the errors of Rome, he has adopted others of a most pernicious nature; that he denies the office and powers of the apostolical ministry, and necessarily holds inadequate and, in some cases, erroneous views on the Sacraments of the Gospel and the ordinances of the Church. We should, however, rather pity and pray for, than harshly condemn, the victim of that fearful system from which but few escape without bearing marks of the fire. Dr. Achilli, indeed, appears to us to be a sincere believer in the Bible, and a devout worshipper of Christ; though he has a zeal for God which is not according to knowledge. We should conceive him to be a man of earnest mind and kind heart, but somewhat deficient in taste and judgment. The work, however, bears upon it, even in its egotism and verbiage, the stamp of truthfulness of heart and simplicity of purpose.

The first extract which we shall give is from Dr. Achilli's first letter to the late Pope, Gregory XVI., as giving a fair statement of facts:—

"Who are generally the most wicked persons in every locality? (I am speaking only of Italy, indeed of Southern Italy—a country emphatically Roman Catholic.) Forgive me, holy father; but it is a matter of fact,—priests and monks; whatever iniquity, wickedness, and abomination has ever existed upon the earth, you will find among them. Haughtiness, luxury, ambition, pride,—where do they most abound? In your temples. There the excessive love of money, falsehood, fraud, duplicity, cover themselves with a sacred veil, and are almost in security from profane censures. And oh! how great are the horrors of the cloisters (*sepulchra dealbata*), where ignorance and superstition, laziness, indolence, calumny, quarrels, immorality of every description, not only live, but reign! The most abominable vices, long banished from all society, have there taken refuge, and there they will continue miserably to dwell, until God, outraged by them, shall rain down upon them the curse of Sodom and Gomorrah."

—p. 62.

Let us remind our readers that *SANCTITY* is one of the characteristics of the true Church, and that the holy celibacy of the Romish clergy is one of those points which excites the reverential awe and fervent admiration of those who halt between England and Rome.

The following passage, occurring in a second letter to the same Pontiff, puts the matter of *practical* idolatry in its true light. The italics are our own.

"Who is there among you that does not adore the saints, does not

adore and kiss their relics? It is useless to urge the distinction about sorts of worship which you make in the schools. *The people know it not, because they have never been taught it. It is shut up in your books, from whence it never comes out, except to be learnt by those who have to support and defend it against attack.* IN SHORT IT IS THE DOCTRINE OF CONTROVERSY, NOT OF PRACTICE.

"If you regulated the practice by the doctrine, you would prohibit kneeling before images and relics; but you are the first to kneel. You would not permit the use of incense to relics and images, practised from antiquity in honour of God alone, but it is you who offer incense to them."—p. 70.

He afterwards adds,—

"You come upon us with the distinction of the school, between the worship and adoration of images.

"Who are you that dare to distinguish where the law precludes all distinction? It is God who says, in the second commandment, 'thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.'"

In our opinion the Catholic deserts his rightful vantage-ground, when he condescends to argue with the Romanist as to the theoretical nature of an overt act of sin. Idolatry is as clearly forbidden as adultery; and though we are well aware that the absence of the outward act does not necessarily imply the absence of inward guilt in either case, yet it is equally certain that the commission of the outward act does equally in both cases involve the transgression of the divine command.

We have heard of the name, though we have never perused the pages of a work, entitled, *The Innocent Adulteress*; surely such a title would well suit an apology for the Church of Rome:—

"But let us inquire what is the Inquisition of the present day in Rome? It is the very same that was instituted at the Council of Verona, to burn Arnold of Brescia; the same that was established at the third Council of the Lateran, to sanction the slaughter of the Albigenses, and the Waldenses, the massacre of the people, the destruction of the city; the same that was confirmed at the Council of Constance, to burn alive two holy men, John Huss and Jerome of Prague; that which at Florence subjected Savonarola to the torture; and at Rome condemned Aonio Paleario, and Pietro Carnesecchi. It is the self-same Inquisition, with that of Pope Caraffa, and of Fr. Michele Ghislieri, who built the Palace, called the *Holy Office*, where so many victims fell a sacrifice to their barbarity, and where, at the present moment, the Roman Inquisition still exists. Its laws are always the same. *The Black Book*, or *Praxis Sacræ Romanæ Inquisitionis*, is always the model for that which is to succeed it. This book is a large manuscript volume, in folio, and is carefully preserved by the head of the Inquisition. It is called *Libro Nero*, the *Black Book*,

because it has a cover of that colour ; or, as an Inquisitor explained to me, *Libro Necro*, which, in the Greek language, signifies 'the book of the dead.'

"In this book is the criminal code, with all the punishments for every supposed crime ; also the mode of conducting the trial, so as to elicit the guilt of the accused, and the manner of receiving the accusations. I had this book in my hand on one occasion, as I have related above, and read therein the proceedings relative to my own case ; and I also saw in this same volume some very astounding particulars : for example, in the list of punishments I read concerning the bit, or, as it is called by us, the *mordacchio*, which is a very simple contrivance to confine the tongue, and compress it between two cylinders, composed of iron and wood, and furnished with spikes. This horrible instrument not only wounds the tongue, and occasions excessive pain, but also, from the swelling it produces, frequently places the sufferer in danger of suffocation. This torture is generally had recourse to in cases considered as blasphemy against God, the Virgin, the Saints, or the Pope ; so that, according to the Inquisition, it is as great a crime to speak in disparagement of a Pope, who may be a very detestable character, as to blaspheme the holy name of God. Be that as it may, this torture has been in use till the present period ; and, to say nothing of the exhibitions of this nature which were displayed in Romagna, in the time of Gregory XVI., by the Inquisitor Ancarani, in Umbria, by Stefanelli, Salva, and others, we may admire the inquisitorial zeal of Cardinal Feretti, the cousin of his present Holiness, who condescended more than once to employ these means, when he was Bishop of Rieti and Fermo."—p. 110.

Such is the maternal tenderness which "the mother of Churches" evinces towards her children, if she entertains the slightest suspicion of their undutifulness, and which we can only compare to the parental fondness of those who passed their sons and their daughters through the fire to Moloch :—

"Concerning the method of conducting a process," says Dr. Achilli, "I read in the *Libro Necro* as follows :—With respect to the examination, and the duty of the examiners, either the prisoner confesses, and he is proved guilty from his own confession, or, he does not confess, and is equally guilty on the evidence of witnesses. If a prisoner confesses the whole of what he is accused, he is unquestionably guilty of the whole ; but if he confesses only a part, he ought still to be regarded as guilty of the whole, since what he has confessed, proves him to be capable of guilt as to the other points of accusation. And here the precept is to be kept in view, 'no one is obliged to condemn himself,' *nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*. Nevertheless, the judge should do all in his power to induce the culprit to confess, since confession tends to the glory of God. And as the respect due to the glory of God requires that no one particular should be omitted, not even a

mere attempt, so the judge is bound to put in force, not only the ordinary means which the Inquisition possesses, but whatever may enter into his thoughts, as fitting to lead to a confession. Bodily torture has ever been found the most salutary and efficient means of leading to spiritual repentance. Therefore, the choice of the most befitting mode of torture is left to the judge of the Inquisition, who determines according to the age, the sex, and the constitution of the party. He will be prudent in its use, always being mindful, at the same time, to procure what is required from it,—the confession of the delinquent. If, notwithstanding all the means employed, the unfortunate wretch still denies his guilt, he is to be considered as a victim of the devil, and, as such, deserves no compassion from the servants of God, nor the pity or indulgence of holy mother Church; he is a son of perdition. Let him perish, then, among the damned, and let his place be no longer found among the living!"—p. 111.

We own an obligation, which we hasten to acknowledge, to the compilers of the *Libro Nero*. We never, until reading the paragraph which we have just transcribed, fully comprehended the force of the Psalmist's words, when he says, *The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel*.

Such is the *Libro Nero*. It would seem, however, that the authors and perpetrators of these atrocities forget that there is a book of a still darker hue, of a more fearful import,—that there is a dungeon far gloomier than that of the Inquisition.

We speak strongly, for we feel strongly; neither have we the wish or the intention of doing otherwise. We desire not either that bastard charity, or that iron self-control, which can speak or write without expressing loathing and abhorrence for the Romish Inquisition.

Dr. Achilli gives us an interesting account of the mode in which this terrible tribunal proceeds to obtain a conviction:—

"Titius is accused of having eaten meat on Friday or Saturday. The Inquisition does not permit the name of the accuser to appear, neither those of the witnesses. The accusation is laid that Titius has eaten meat in the house of Caius. Sempronius is the accuser, and he summons the family of Caius to give evidence; but as these have been accomplices in the same affair, they cannot be induced to depose against Titius. Perhaps other witnesses may be brought who may be equally incompetent; in which case, the wary judge endeavours to draw from the prisoner himself sufficient to inculpate him. He will inquire respecting several other families the points which he wishes to know with regard to that of Caius. He will try to learn at what other houses Titius has been accustomed to eat, in order to know concerning the house of Caius where the meat was eaten. The accusation sets

forth, that on such a day, at such an hour, Titius went to the house of Caius, where the whole family were present; and that all sat down to table, &c. &c. If Titius admits all the circumstantial matters brought forward by the accuser, with respect to time, place, and persons, but is silent, or denies entirely the only crime imputed to him, he stands convicted; the accuser has no necessity to bring forward witnesses; judgment is pronounced.

"This practice is still employed by the Inquisition. In the year 1842 I was accused of having spoken in a certain house against the worship of saints. If the judge had made my accusation known (as is the case in all other tribunals throughout the world), saying to me, 'You are accused of having, in such a house, spoken of such and such matters, in the presence of so and so,'—I should have known my accuser by the part he would take in the question. But instead of interrogating me in a straightforward manner, I was made to give a description of the house in question, together with that of several other houses; to describe the persons belonging to it, and many other persons at the same time; to discuss the real subject of the accusation, mixed up with other irrelevant matters, in order to mislead me as much as possible, and prevent me from getting any insight whatever of the points of which I was accused, or of the persons who had accused me. Whether I confessed or not, I was to be declared guilty, or, as they term it, *reo convinto*."—p. 113.

This trickery and falsehood, so widely practised, so systematically maintained, so determinately defended by the Roman Church, is, in our opinion, one of the clearest proofs that she is not "led by THE SPIRIT"—we do not say that she is devoid of the Spirit. The Church Catholic, as a whole, and the body of each of the baptized in particular, is the temple of the Holy Ghost; but, as an individual member of Christ's body, who is systematically guilty of lying, is most undoubtedly not "*led by THE SPIRIT*," and though a child of Abraham according to the flesh, is inwardly a child of him who is a liar and the father of it: so in like manner a branch of Christ's Church which is guilty of the same sin, adopts the same parent.

There is no point which is represented in Scripture as more essentially distinguishing the Powers of Good and Evil—the Heavenly King and the Prince of Darkness,—than Truth, or the absence of it. And there is no point, we unhesitatingly assert, which more strikingly and essentially distinguishes the *principles* and the *practice* of England and Rome, than this—that the Church of England is free from falsehood, whilst the Church of Rome abounds with it.

We will not press the argument at present to its full extent; but we cannot help observing, *en passant*, that the dishonesty,

duplicity, and double dealing exhibited by nearly all those who have left our Church, both before and after their secession, and by many of those who still halt between two opinions, tells plainly enough by *what* spirit they are led.

But we must return to Dr. Achilli, and extract two painfully-interesting passages, which show how the Roman Church inflicts upon her children that most fearful of the curses which God denounced against his people—*The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward the young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children that she shall bear,—and, illustrating the manner in which they who “lord it over God’s heritage” instruct “the wife” to “reverence her husband.”*

We are indeed in this, as in other cases, strongly reminded of the judicial blindness which God inflicts as a punishment for idolatry: “God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient, . . . *whisperers, backbiters, . . . covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful.*” In truth, however, there are *other points* in which the Papal Rome of our day resembles the Pagan Rome of St. Paul’s celebrated description. But we tarry.

“During my residence,” says Achilli, “at Viterbo, my native town, where I was public professor and teacher in the Church *di Gradi*, I was one day applied to by a lady of prepossessing appearance, whom I then saw for the first time. She requested with much eagerness to see me in the sacristy; and, as I entered the apartment where she was waiting for me, she begged the sacristan to leave us alone, and, suddenly closing the door, presented a moving spectacle to my eyes. Throwing off her bonnet, and letting loose in a moment her long and beautiful hair, the lady fell upon her knees before me, and gave vent to her grief in abundance of sighs and tears. On my endeavouring to encourage her, and to persuade her to rise and unfold her mind to me, she at length, in a voice broken by sobs, thus addressed me:—

“‘No, father, I will never rise from this posture, unless you first promise to pardon me my heavy transgression.’ . . .

“‘Signora,’ replied I, ‘it belongs to God to pardon our transgressions. If you have in any way injured me, so far I can forgive you; but I confess I have no cause of complaint against you, with whom, indeed, I have not even the pleasure of being acquainted.’

“‘I have been guilty of a great sin, for which no priest will grant me absolution, unless you will beforehand remit it to me.’

“‘You must explain yourself more fully; as yet I have no idea of what you allude to.’

“‘It is now about a year since I last received absolution from my

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confessor ; and the last few days he has entirely forbid me his presence, telling me that I am damned. I have tried others, and all tell me the same thing. One, however, has lately informed me, that if I wished to be saved and pardoned, I must apply to you, who, after the Pope, are the only one that can grant me absolution.'

"Signora, there is some mistake here ; explain yourself : of what description is your sin ?"

"It is a sin against the Holy Office."

"Well, but I have nothing to do with the Holy Office."

"How ! Are not you Father Achilli, the Vicar of the Holy Office ?"

"You have been misinformed, Signora ; I am Achilli, the deputy master of the Holy Palace, not Office : you may see my name, with this title, prefixed to all works that are printed here, in lieu of that of the master himself. I assure you that neither my principal nor myself have any authority in cases that regard the Inquisition."

"The good lady hereupon rose from her knees, arranged her hair, wiped the tears from her eyes, and asked leave to relate her case to me ; and, having sat down, began as follows :—

"It is not quite a year since that I was going, about the time of Easter, according to my usual custom, to confess my sins to my parish priest. He being well acquainted with myself, and all my family, began to interrogate me respecting my son, the only one I have, a young man, twenty-four years of age, full of patriotic ardour, but with little respect for the priests. It happened that I observed to the curate, that, notwithstanding my remonstrances, my son was in the habit of saying, that the business of a priest was a complete deception, and that the head of all the impostors was the Pope himself. Would I had never told him ! The curate would hear no further. 'It is your duty,' said he, 'to denounce your son to the Inquisition.' Imagine what I felt at this intimation ! To be the accuser of my own son ! 'Such is the case,' observed he ; 'there is no help for it. I cannot absolve you, neither can any one else, until the thing is done.' And indeed from every one else I have had the same refusal. It is now twelve months since I have received absolution ; and in this present year many misfortunes have befallen me. Ten days ago I tried again, and promised, in order that I might receive absolution, that I would denounce my son ; but it was all in vain, until I had actually done so. I inquired, then, to whom I ought to go to prefer the accusation ; and I was told, to the Bishop or the Vicar of the Holy Office ; and they named yourself to me. Twice already have I been here with the intention of doing what was required of me, and as often have I recollected that I was a mother, and was overwhelmed with horror at the idea ! On Sunday last I came to your church to pray to the Virgin Mother of Christ to aid me through this difficulty ; and I remember that when I recited the rosary in her honour, I turned to pray also to the Son, saying, 'O Lord Jesus, thou wast also accused before the chief priests by a traitorous disciple : but thou didst not

permit that thy Mother should take part in that accusation. Behold, then, I also am a mother ; and though my son is a sinner, whilst thou wast most just, do not, I implore thee, require that his own mother should be his accuser !' Whilst I was making this prayer, the preaching began. I inquired the preacher's name, and they told me yours. I feigned to pay attention to the discourse, but I was wholly occupied in looking at you, and reflecting, with many sighs, that I was under the obligation to accuse to you my own child ! In the midst of my agitation, a thought suddenly relieved me,—I did not see the Inquisitor in your countenance. Young, animated, and with marks of sensibility, it seemed that you would not be too harsh with my son ; I thought I would entreat you first to correct him yourself, to reprimand, and to threaten him, without inflicting actual punishment upon him."—p. 119.

Achilli advised her to change her confessor, and be silent about her son ; a course which she gratefully adopted. We regret that space precludes us from quoting the eloquent burst of noble indignation, which "this horrible act of treason" calls forth from the writer :—

"In what is called the Holy Office," adds he, "every thing is allowable that tends to their own purposes (of the inquisitors). To gain possession of a secret no means are to be disregarded. . . . And this most infamous Inquisition, a hundred times destroyed, and as often renewed, still exists in Rome, as in the barbarous ages ; the only difference being, that the same iniquities are at present practised there with a little more secrecy and caution than formerly : and this for the sake of prudence, that the Holy See may not be subjected to the animadversions and censure of the world at large."—p. 120.

We proceed, then, to the second narrative of the same kind :—

"One day, when I was busy, a lady was announced, who, without sending in her name, earnestly desired to see me. I imagined she only came with some request concerning the delegate, and, therefore, sent word that I was too much occupied at that moment to be able to see her. The lady persisted, and I sent the same excuse. At last, seeing that I was firm, the lady handed a letter to the lay-brother, sealed with a large seal, and directed to 'The Very Reverend Father, Professor G. Achilli, Gradi, Viterbo.' The seal was that of the Roman Inquisition, signed by the Commissary-General. The letter was as follows :—

"'VERY REVEREND FATHER,—The Sacred Congregation of the most Eminent and Reverend Cardinals, in their sitting of Wednesday, the . . . have desired me to hand over to you the enclosed form of denunciation, according to which you will have the goodness to examine and interrogate the lady, who is the bearer of it, avoiding to ask

her name, the place she comes from, and her connexion with the party accused ; all which are already known to the Sacred Congregation! For this purpose I am authorized to invest you with all necessary authority on this particular occasion, and for this time only. I recommend to you all necessary prudence, and to be mindful of the inviolable secrecy due to the Holy Office, the slightest breach of which is punished with ecclesiastic censure, and is finally referred to the Pope.

" ' You will have the goodness to send back, with all diligence, after the performance of this duty, not only the formula of questions, with the answers to them, but also the present letter, of which no copy is to be taken.

" ' May the Lord prosper you !

" ' *Rome, from the Palace of the Holy Office,
March, 1832.*

" When I had finished reading this letter, I felt a curiosity to see this mysterious visitor. I therefore descended to the apartment where she was waiting for me, and I saw a lady of about thirty years of age, well dressed, and in a style that announced her to belong to the wealthier class : her accent showed that she came from another part of the country. She received me with some degree of consternation in her manner, and replied to me, half trembling, and with downcast eyes, and evident anxiety. . . .

" ' Signora,' said Achilli, ' I have received a letter through you ; the contents must be known to you. Will you inform me in what manner you obtained it ?'

" ' From my confessor : I do not know whether directly from Rome, or through the Bishop.'

" ' Can you make it convenient to prefer your accusation another time ?'

" ' I pray you, let me do so at present, since to-morrow I am obliged to return home.'

* * * * *

" ' Well, then,' said I, ' let us to business : I should imagine it would not occupy much time—what is your opinion ?'

" I then sat down before a table and unfolded the formulary of questions, which were comprised in a printed sheet. I looked over the paper to ascertain its tenor, and of what it treated. I thought no more of the lady ; my mind was entirely occupied in considering how I should proceed, when a deep sigh aroused me, and made me turn my eyes towards her. She began to weep outright.

" ' What is the matter, Signora ? why do you weep ?'

" Tears and sobs were her only reply. I endeavoured to speak comfort to her.

* * * * *

" She grew calmer by degrees, and I began my task. The formula was in Latin : I had to translate it into Italian : her own answers were to be written down exactly.

* * * * *

" 'Now, Signora, you must remember that it is your duty to declare the truth. I suppose it is no trifling affair that has induced you to denounce a person to the Inquisition; above all, I desire to know what may have been your motives.'

" 'To save me from a hell.'

" 'Sometimes it happens that in seeking to avoid one hell, we may fall into another; that in endeavouring to silence a scruple, we incur remorse; and that the means we take to save the soul of another, may endanger our own. Tell me, from what kind of hell do you seek to be delivered by this act?'

" 'The hell that I experience in entering a church. It is not every one who goes there that finds it a paradise. God is there, Jesus Christ, the most holy Madonna, saints, angels, and holy water. It is there we are baptized, confess, and receive the grace of God. I alone participate in none of these ordinances in the church; therefore it has become hateful to me, and the priests are odious in my sight.'

" 'And how does all this happen?'

" 'Father, it is as I say. You will understand it all. Relieve me from this load, and I shall hope afterwards to make peace with God and the saints, and be delivered from this hell.'

" 'Well, what is the deposition—the accusation you have to make?'

" 'Allow me, oh father, to relate my story from the beginning—I cannot tell you by halves.'

" So saying, she remained thoughtful a few moments, and then exclaimed,—

" 'I hardly know where to begin. I would inform you—but'—

" 'Courage! relate the affair simply as it is. I wish not to know either more or less than you choose to tell me. For example, I ask neither your name, your place of residence, nor what connexion you have with the party accused.'

" 'Ah! father, these are the express conditions on which I consented to disclose what I have to unfold. . . . Oh! is it possible that at this price alone I am to recover my peace!—at this, and at no other, to be admitted anew to the privilege of confession, and the benefit of the other sacraments! That to be a Christian I must consent to betray another!—to betray the person whom in all the world I best love!—enjoined to do so both by Divine and human laws!'

" As she concluded, she arose, and I observed that with the fingers of her right hand she pressed upon her left, and turned round a ring that was there on the annular finger. She then resumed,—

" 'Where, then, shall we in future hope to place confidence? how trust in the sacredness of vows pledged at the altar? . . . Oh! what would *he* say if he knew what occupies me at this moment? And can I return joyfully to him who little suspects what I am doing, to still live with him, and call him by the tenderest names, until the day comes, or perhaps the night, when the officers of justice shall secretly enter the house, apprehend, and take him away—and to what place? To the dungeons of the Holy Office! And who would have placed him

there? I myself by the very act I am going to commit. But if I do not do so, I am in a state of perdition, since there will be no longer pardon or absolution for me. Excommunication, from which no one can deliver me, will be my fate. And he also will be excommunicated. His soul will be for ever lost, unless it be purified in the Inquisition. Both of us to lose all hope of salvation and eternal life! and that because we refuse to make fitting sacrifice on earth. These, father, are the thoughts that agitate me, that divide my soul, that have led me here, and that have since sealed my lips. What ought I to do? what reveal? I am miserable, because I listen at once to the flesh and the Spirit, and which ever way I force myself to act, I am always divided against myself. Oh! why are not you who are called fathers, husbands as well; then, as other men, you would have wives to love; and you would better comprehend these matters, and would see the value of the text, 'Do not to others what ye would not that men should do unto you!'

" 'Let us come to an end, Signora. You have promised the Inquisition to make an accusation, and that as a matter of duty, or rather, from scruples of conscience. When you made this promise, you no doubt imagined you did what was right.'

" 'No, father, I do not deceive myself; I never thought I was doing right: in every point of view I considered I was doing wrong. Nevertheless, I judged it necessary, as it is necessary to have an arm or a foot cut off that is in a state of gangrene. I looked upon it as a castigation from the Almighty, as if my house had been burned, or a heavy beam had fallen on my shoulders. I thought that God was angry with me on account of my sins, and that to appease Him I must sacrifice to Him what was most dear to me. . . . Father, I am here to make a sacrifice of myself on the altar, I regret to say it, of the Inquisition.'

" 'And do you desire, Signora, that I should be the priest on the occasion? It is an office I have never performed. . . . I thought that you were come to make your deposition voluntarily, of your own free will; and even in that case I should have had some hesitation in receiving it. . . . In the present case, I will by no means lend my hand to an act of violence. . . . I find throughout the whole of the Bible a continual invitation to seek God, and to find Him there is but one way, which is Jesus Christ. . . . Moreover, He says to us, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' And this is more particularly addressed to sinners, whose duty it is to go to Christ; and it is ours to endeavour to invite, to lead, to bring them to Him. Do you understand me, Signora—to Him, and not to the Inquisition?'—pp. 123—131.

The gratitude expressed by the lady to her deliverer was most intense; and she gladly promised not to betray him. She had revealed to her confessor some intemperate language which her husband had uttered regarding the Pope, the bishop, and the priests. "I told my confessor of this," she said, "not to accuse

my husband, but to learn what course I had better pursue with him ;" adding, that at times he was so excited as scarcely to know the meaning of the words he uttered. "But, without further inquiry, my confessor enjoined me to denounce him to the Inquisition." And to prevail on her to commit this atrocious crime, the confessor assured her, that unless she perpetrated it, both her husband and herself "would be undoubtedly damned."

" 'And in confirmation of this,' she added, 'I once read in some old work a story of a certain woman who had refused before her death to make one of these disclosures ; and in consequence, not only was her soul condemned to the torments of hell, but her body also found no rest in the grave, being continually forced to leave it, until, being conjured with holy water to declare the cause of its disquiet, it replied, that it was so punished because it had not obeyed the injunction it had received to accuse certain heretics to the Inquisition ; but as all present earnestly prayed to the Madonna, it was granted to this unhappy body to return to life for the space of half an hour, that it might prefer its accusation to the Inquisition ; after which it died anew.'

" 'And do you believe this story ?'

" 'I was unwilling to do so ; but the priest showed me that the book was printed, *con licenza dè superiori*. To tell the exact truth, my intention was to obey our holy Church in this barbarous law, and then to commit suicide, leaving behind me a letter to my husband, explaining the motives that had led me to the act.'—p. 133.

After some further conversation Achilli and his visitor departed. The priest immediately destroyed the papers, and the lady sought a new confessor. "She died," adds our author, "like a good Christian, loving Jesus, her Redeemer, and believing in his good tidings, and detesting, with all her heart, the errors of the Church of Rome."

This was not a solitary case. "I have given," says Achilli, "but one instance, but could relate many more of the same character. The wife of a bricklayer, whose name I never knew, about the same time, came to me at Viterbo, to accuse her husband, by order of her confessor. She came from Vitorchiano, a fief of the Roman Senate. I sent her away, however, telling her that I had nothing to do with the Inquisition. Several came to me from other parts, no fewer than four or five ; and all these were wives, who had come to denounce their husbands to the Inquisition. I took care to give them all the same answer. And if so many cases of this sort came to my own knowledge, how many more must there not have been, who have applied to the vicars themselves, or to the inquisitors of the Holy Office ?"

There has been of late an unwise reserve, a culpable *reticence*

about the crimes of the Romish clergy. For our own part, we are of opinion that the more that the real working of the celibate system is known, the less will any persons of sound mind be inclined to look on it with favour or toleration. At all times the truth should be spoken; but at the present crisis he is guilty of treason who conceals it. Achilli mentions a report, that in Ancona two inquisitors had seduced wives and daughters, in order to induce them to accuse their respective husbands and fathers. From what we have seen and heard, we should think this more than probable. He also relates, as a *matter of fact*, that, during his stay there, in September, 1842, an inquisitor endeavoured to persuade two virtuous girls to accuse their uncle of some alleged profanation, in order to have a pretext for his impeachment. The inquisitor was angry with this honest man, because he had forbidden him his house, and thought, by throwing him into prison, to be able at all hours to visit the nieces, erroneously imagining them to be favourably disposed towards him.

We would also observe that the following particulars of the asceticism, practised by the Dominicans, do not appear altogether agreeable to the Catholic standard.

"They," said Achilli, "profess never to eat meat in the refectory, or room for their common meals; and it is true that in the refectory itself they do not eat it; but there is another room near it, which they call by another name, where they eat meat constantly. On Good Friday they are commanded by their rules to eat bread and drink water: but, having done so, for the sake of appearance, they go one after the other into another room, where a good dinner is prepared for them all."

We have kept our most astounding extract for the last; an extract which shows that even now the Holy Office is spreading the branches of its upas-tree into realms that own the enlightened sway of England:—

"‘I am a Roman Catholic priest,’ says the writer of this singular communication, ‘and as soon as I was ordained, being very anxious to preach the Gospel to the poor Hindoos, I left Rome, on the 2nd of March, 1840, being then twenty-three years of age, and was sent by *Propaganda Fide* to India; and there being able to speak the English language, I was appointed, by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay, as military chaplain, and was sent to a military camp at Belgaum.’”

These circumstances induced him to examine the evidences for the distinctive doctrines of Romanism, and he became convinced that they were “in perfect contradiction to the word of God,” &c.

"Therefore I opened my mind to the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who was the military Protestant chaplain at Belgaum, and a great friend of mine. He advised me to write to Dr. Carr, Bishop of Bombay, which I did, and his lordship was pleased to answer me in a very polite manner, begging me to write my sentiments about the real presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the sacrament, and a treatise on the spiritual power of the Pope, which I also did; and then he wrote to me to go to Bombay where I embraced the Protestant religion, that is to say, the pure religion of the Gospel." [After these occurrences,]

"A Spanish Jesuit priest, whom I never saw before, called on me in a secular dress; and speaking the Italian language well, he told me that he was an Italian layman, and having heard that I was an Italian too, he called on me: but he did not mention any thing about religion, saying he did not care about it; and he was very kind to me. He called on me four or five times; till one day, being a very agreeable evening, he begged me to take a round with him, which I did. And we went near the [Roman] Catholic Church, and to my great surprise, I was taken by four men, and forced to go to the vicar-general, where they forced me to write a letter to the Protestant minister, Mr. Valentine, in whose house I lived, stating my intention to return to the [Roman] Catholic religion; which, I am very sorry to say, I did. They then closed me in a room till Sunday, when the vicar took me by force to the pulpit, and dictated to me what I was to say to the congregation; and he obliged me to declare that I left the [Roman] Catholic religion for worldly motives; which was quite contrary to my sentiments. When night came they took me from the room where I was closed and delivered me to a captain of a French ship, as a prisoner, with the order to take care of me to Marseilles, where he delivered me to the bishop, who, with a French priest, sent me to Rome. From Rome I was sent, as a punishment, to a convent at Perugia, where I remained for five years, till I got again my liberty and returned to Rome; this was in November, 1848," &c.

"ROME, 26th of February, 1850."

And now we bid adieu to this exceedingly interesting volume, and its very agreeable, though decidedly heterodox, author. Yet, ere we conclude this essay, we must remind and urge upon our readers that it is no system of bygone ages, no narrative of long past events, which we have been considering, but the outward action and the inward life, the inherent nature, and the essential being of that tremendous Power which aims at nothing less than the closing our Bibles and enslaving our souls, the destruction of our faith, the pollution of our worship, and the annihilation of our Church.

One would have thought that no lover of either "civil or religious liberty" could have sympathized with the Church of the Inquisition; that no sincere Christian, who had not the misfor-

tune to be born within her pale, could have viewed her manifold corruptions of the primitive faith and practice without raising his voice in clear and indignant condemnation of her errors and her crimes ; that no true-hearted Englishman but would be shocked and disgusted by the treachery of her principles and the profligacy of her priests.

Yet this is the Church, which has been favoured by Conservative and flattered by Whig, endowed by Peel and patronized by Russell ; this is the Church, whose chief pastor has been thrust back upon his reluctant people by the bayonet of Republicans who have once more re-established the Holy Inquisition ; this is the Church, whose aggression upon ourselves we are called upon to bear with passiveness and silence ; this is the Church, whose system, whose doctrine, whose devotion, and whose practical working are held up to our eyes as models of all but perfect excellence by men who have been fed from the bosom and taught at the knees of our English Mother.

ART. IV.—*The Church Apostolic, Primitive, and Anglican. A Series of Sermons. By the Rev. JOHN COLLINGWOOD, M.A., Minister of Duke-street Episcopal Chapel, Westminster; one of the Masters of Christ's Hospital, &c. Published by request.* London: Rivingtons.

THE events which are passing before our eyes are applying a very severe test to the principles of Churchmen in more senses than one. Men of learning, of ability, and of piety, have been falling away from our communion, and adopting, in their extreme developments, the errors of the Church of Rome; and, however we may explain the fact, such persons have all, previously to their secession, been advocates of what they have called "Church principles," or "Catholic principles." The world, in general, connects these circumstances together in its own way, and very naturally concludes that what are called "Church principles," lead to Romanism; and, in one sense, the world is right in its inference. "Church principles" of a certain sort—or what are called "Church principles" by those who hold them—have doubtless paved the way for secession to Rome. But the expression has really become so vague, in consequence of the very different opinions included under it, that to the generality of persons it appears to convey no distinct notions at all.

For instance, it has become apparent for a considerable time, that persons of ability and of education are able to persuade themselves that they may hold almost all the tenets of the Church of Rome, while still remaining in the external communion of the English Church. Now, when such persons speak of "Church principles," as they often do, they mean nothing more or less than "Roman Catholic" principles. The supremacy of the See of Rome is one of their "Church" principles; transubstantiation is another; the adoration of the host, another; general conformity to Rome, another.

Here, then, is *one* view of Church principles. It would be difficult to suppose that persons who think thus could form a party in the Church of England for any length of time; but the evidence of fact establishes it beyond all doubt. Ten years have now elapsed since Messrs. Ward and Oakley first publicly avowed and maintained the principle, that it was possible to hold the whole cycle of Roman doctrine in the Church of England;

and, although the original propounders of the notion have long since found their position untenable, and have actually united themselves to the communion, whose tenets they had embraced, there has been, ever since, a class of men who have acted on the same principles: and these men have always been warm advocates of "Church principles." Messrs. Ward, Oakley, Maskell, Allies, Wilberforce, the clergy of St. Saviour's, and others who have followed their example, have been amongst the most eager asserters of "Church" or "Catholic" principles, previously to their secession.

But there is *another* view of Church principles, and one which is much more prevalent. We refer to the class of doctrines which distinguish those who are, in the most correct application of the term, "Tractarians." The section of the Church, here referred to, and which is also sometimes designated by the name of an individual, is virtually under the direction of the chief remaining authors of the "Tracts for the Times." The majority of the more conspicuous and learned advocates of what are called "Church principles," are either directly associated with the leaders of this section of the Church, or under their influence. If such men do not always openly co-operate with the "Tractarian" body, they are, at least, influenced by it, and take care never to oppose it. Numbers of persons, however, chiefly among the younger clergy, and those laity who have been at either University, are, to a great extent, disciples of the "Tractarian" school. With all this section of the Church, speaking in general terms, "Church principles" mean something different from that which Romanizers understand by the expression. They mean that class of principles which took their general shape and colouring from the "Tracts for the Times," and their leading authors. Now the abiding characteristic of this system is, we think, a theoretical view of the unity of the Church, which it is anxious to realize, in spite of all obstacles which present themselves in the way. It is a system which is impatient of every thing that appears to interpose a barrier to the restoration of external and visible Christian communion between Apostolically descended Churches throughout the world. It is disposed accordingly to dwell only on the points of resemblance and union between the English and the Roman communions, and to avoid every expression and argument which tends to keep up differences of tenet, and to prevent intercommunion. It seeks to soothe prejudice and irritation on either side, by taking the most favourable views of Roman doctrine; accepting the explanations which its best defenders have offered; bringing out the merits, beauties, and excellencies which it discovers in the Church of

Rome ; and in all respects treating that Church as a sister, or a mother Church, reunion with which is in the highest degree desirable, or even essential. At the same time, the Church of England is recognized as a branch of the one Catholic Church, from which it is not right to separate ; while all censure, however, of those who actually join the Church of Rome, is refrained from ; and such a step is not regarded as involving any schism, or heresy, or grievous sin.

Now, it is evident that "Church," or "Catholic" principles, amongst those who entertain this class of views, mean something different from what other Churchmen understand by the expression. They do not, indeed, involve actual submission of individuals to the See of Rome ; but they mean the suppression of the differences between the Church of Rome and the Church of England—the gradual undoing much of the work of the Reformation, which is regarded with undisguised hostility—the removal of the Protestant and negative aspect of the English Church, and the remodelling of her doctrine and discipline on what is conceived to be the Catholic ideal of a Church—a system which varies according to the notions of individuals, but which is generally compounded of primitive and mediæval doctrine and practice, with, in many cases, a large infusion of modern Romanism. Such are "Church principles" as understood by the leading minds of the Tractarian body, and more or less carried out throughout the whole connexion, and by its press.

And then, in the third place, there is no inconsiderable number of persons who have maintained "Church principles" in various ways, but in a very different sense indeed from either of the parties above referred to. We allude to such writers as Dr. Hook, Dr. Wordsworth, Messrs. Perceval and Palmer, Chancellor Harrington, Mr. Morgan, and the author of the volume of Sermons before us, who, amidst all their maintenance of the rights and spiritual characteristics of the Church of Christ, have never hesitated to denounce the errors of the Church of Rome, or shrank from defending substantially the cause of the Reformation. The difference between the principles of this class of men and the others of whom we have spoken above, appears to consist in this—that while in the one case the desire for unity is so intense that all obstacles are either overlooked or else attempted to be removed ; in the other, the desire for unity throughout Christendom is balanced by the strongest resolution to adhere to known truth at all hazards, and even if it should apparently prevent the realization of unity. "Church principles," in their view, involves no suppression of the errors of Romanism, no withholding of witness ; but, on the contrary, the boldest and fullest testimony

against them, as well as against every species of error opposed to the truth of the Gospel as set forth by the Church of England. "Church principles" may involve, in their opinion, the succession of a ministry, with its valid ordinations, and its peculiar and even exclusive right of administering the sacraments, derived ultimately from the commission of our Lord, addressed to his Apostles,—may involve the duty of submitting private judgment to the lawful spiritual authority of our own branch of the Catholic Church, and still more to the judgment and doctrine of all ages from the beginning,—may involve the continuity of the Church of England as a branch, but a reformed branch, of the Church universal, inheriting all the rights, powers, and privileges conferred by the Apostles on those Churches which they founded,—may regard the Church as more than a merely voluntary and human association,—may view its sacraments as not mere emblems, but as means of grace. All this, and more, may be conceived by such men to be included in Church principles. They may, to some extent, go along with "Tractarians" in the assertion of the truths they hold in common; but the great and essential difference between their principles is this—that the one class frames an ideal of Church unity and order, and will not recognize the practical impediments existing in the Church of Rome to the realization of unity, but seek to throw down our own barriers, and trust to the good feelings of our opponents; while the other would maintain our barriers until Rome shall relinquish her errors: their love of unity is not greater than their love of truth. The one class excludes the notion of Protestantism from its Catholicism, or Church principles; the other holds Protestantism (as included in the Formularies of the Church of England) as an essential element in its Catholicism.

Now here are *three* clearly-marked divisions amongst those who profess to hold "Church principles;" or, in other words, here are three different sets of principles included under that designation. This appears to involve the use of the term in great difficulty: it tends to confound together the most strongly-marked differences. Persons may denounce "Church principles," and they may not be blameable for so doing, because they may reject what is blameable. As long as all persons professing to hold "Church principles" were understood to be opposed to Rome and Romish doctrine, there was no great risk of material confusion in men's minds; but the case is very different now, when "Church principles" in some men's mouths mean "Roman Catholic" principles, and in others "Anti-Protestant" principles. The expression has an objectionable meaning in all such cases, and this appears to involve in considerable difficulty those sound and orthodox

members of the Church of England who may employ it as expressive of their own views, without distinctly specifying the classes of opinions which are accepted or rejected in these uses of the term. We should be disposed to say, indeed, that it would be preferable for those writers who do not wish to support the views of the two first classes above alluded to, to make use of such terms as "Church of England," or "Anglican," in preference to "Church," or "Catholic" principles, the former terms being rarely if ever used by the classes alluded to for the purpose of designating their principles. At present, we confess that we do not understand a man's meaning when he professes to advocate "Church principles." Some years ago, there was less difficulty in understanding the term; but now we do not know what is intended by it. We see men advertising books in support of "Church principles," or hear them claiming sympathy and co-operation on the ground of "Church principles;" but we know not whether they are friends or foes.

We have observed, at the commencement of this paper, that these times are peculiarly trying to men's principles. They must lead every thoughtful member of the Church of England, who is really attached to that communion in which he is placed, and who maintains "Church of England principles," to examine whether his own views necessarily conduct to Romanism. He will feel, that if indeed his principles do naturally and necessarily tend to that result, there must be some great and grievous flaw in them. He may be deceived in his Church theories; but he cannot be deceived as to the positive sinfulness of worshipping images and praying to saints, or as to the error of purgatory, of indulgences, or of the Papal Supremacy. These are points on which no adequately-informed Churchman can entertain any doubt whether the Church of Rome be in error or no; so that the discovery that his principles led to the adoption of those errors could have no other effect but that of causing him to distrust those principles, and to examine them more narrowly. And there are plenty of persons in all directions to assure him that his principles will infallibly land him at Rome. The Romanist, and the Latitudinarian, and the Dissenter, all concur in the assurance, and he might attach some weight to their statements were they less evidently dictated by the desire of promoting their respective views; for Romanism would willingly be placed in contrast with a system which did not claim to be a Church; and Dissent and Latitudinarianism would gladly remove those principles which prevent the triumph of their own.

But we think that, deeply trying as these times undoubtedly are, no true advocate of "Church of England" principles will find

reason to be distrustful of those principles, if he carefully examine them. Those principles have been held by most of our great theologians and writers since the period of the Reformation, and yet none of them fell away to Romanism. Hooker and Andrewes, Cosin, Bramhall and Laud, Taylor, Mede, Hammond, and Beveridge, Ball, Pearson, and Bingham, Daubeny, Jebb, Van Mildert, and Rose, were men who advocated, to a greater or less extent, those principles which we are assured lead to Romanism; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, Romanism found amongst these men its most powerful opponents. Pearson, and Beveridge, and Van Mildert, who revered the authority of the primitive Church, did not find themselves obliged, in consequence, to acknowledge that of the Papacy. Hall, Jeremy Taylor, Hammond, and others who maintained the Divine right of Episcopacy, or allowed the necessity of valid ordination, did not forsake the communion of the English Church, even when it was abolished by law. In short, the principles of Churchmen have been proved, by the experience of three centuries, not to lead practically to Romanism. The most learned and pious of our divines have always upheld them. They have been the principles of many of our most eminent Archbishops and Bishops; and never have they paved the way to Romanism. It is only within the last ten or twelve years that so-called "Church principles" have led to secessions from the Church of England; but the influence of the new school or party is there clearly perceptible. No two systems are more essentially different than that of the old "Anglican" theology, still upheld by a large class of men in this country, and the new "Tractarian" theology, which omits the Protestant element altogether. A sound English Churchman is protected by his position against tendencies to Rome. If he be in orders, he has subscribed Articles which involve a distinct repudiation of Romish errors, and which he cannot rightly have subscribed without having ascertained for himself the truth and reasonableness of the doctrine which they teach. Here, therefore, is a strong foundation laid, which must necessarily define, to a great degree, his future course of thought. If he engages in speculations or inquiries in reference to the Church or to Christian doctrine, he has still to bring his speculations or inferences to the test of the original principles which lie at the foundation of his doctrine. As a member of the Church of England, he has no right to permit his speculations and theories to run counter to the doctrines of his own Church, which he has deliberately subscribed. If he has *thoroughly* done his duty to God, and to the obligations of conscience, in subscribing the Articles of the Church, he will be little likely to be shaken in his faith afterwards.

In making these remarks, we have been addressing ourselves chiefly to those Churchmen who prefer the old Theology of the Church of England to the new Tractarian Theology—who have never placed much confidence in the latter, though unwilling to make common cause with any class of men whose tendencies are decidedly towards Dissent or Rationalism; and there *is* such a class amongst Evangelicals, though we shall be far from imputing such views to all who act with them. We cannot expect that our remarks will have any weight with those who are *decided* partisans of the Tractarian school; still there are others, many others, who are as yet substantially right, and to whom we would venture to offer a few words of caution. Recent secessions must, we think, have led many such persons to doubt whether the system which is productive of such results is altogether a trustworthy one. We know that it is not unusual to point out *other* causes for those secessions; and very probably there is more or less truth in the assertion, that some persons may have fallen away in consequence of the interference of the State in Church questions of importance, or because the liberties of the Church, or its discipline, or its principles, or its ritualism have not been carried out sufficiently. Doubtless individuals may have been more or less influenced by such considerations in separating from the Church of England: but we must say, that it would be most delusive to ascribe the secessions to such causes alone. Those causes would never have produced the results to which they have led, if men's minds had not been for a series of years taught to overlook the differences between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, in the effort to realize a general union between all branches of the Christian Church, reformed and unreformed. When men had been taught for years to discover every fault and short-coming in their own Church, and to overlook or explain away every error and corruption in another;—when they had been taught to admire and practise as far as possible the devotions of a corrupt Church, to peruse its theology, to imitate its ceremonial, and to look with displeasure on all attempts to point out its idolatry and its errors;—when the Reformation has been for a series of years denounced as uncatholic, and when no warning is ever heard against the errors which it resisted, and which survive to the present day in an exaggerated form;—when this system has been pertinaciously continued without change, year after year, notwithstanding the secessions to which it has given rise;—we do say, that when all this is considered, it appears to be the most absolute infatuation to omit the influence of “Tractarianism,” when the causes of the secessions are referred to. Of course the Tractarian press, and the leaders of

the party, cannot be expected to admit that their own principles and teaching have contributed to the secessions; but others may exercise a more independent judgment, and may, before it is too late, extricate themselves from a dangerous connexion. We would remind them, that experience has led many a sound and honest Churchman ere now to sever himself from further association with those whose course he perceived to be deviating from the way of truth. Tractarianism at its commencement, and for a time, retained more or less of a Church of England and Protestant character, as Archdeacon Sinclair has pointed out, in his recent Charge to the Clergy of Middlesex; and while it retained that character in a degree, and was frank and open in its opposition to Romanism, it received the aid and countenance of many men, who were reduced to silence and estrangement, or brought to open opposition, as its character gradually changed, and became more strongly developed. We have now seen under the influence of this system changes of opinion which could little have been anticipated. Who could have imagined, some years since, that such men as Mr. Manning would have altered their views so widely? We remember publications of his, and of others who have also left us, which appeared to afford reasonable pledges for the soundness of their belief; and yet we have seen the ultimate effects of their continued association with the Tractarian body. Such facts as this are replete with warning to younger men; and we trust that those amongst them, who can *now* subscribe the Articles of the Church of England with a sincere and honest adhesion, will be induced to be on their guard, and not permit themselves to be led by any evidence of piety, of learning, or of zeal, to associate themselves any further with a system which has been proved to lead to unsettlement of belief. What has already led to such lamentable results, will, beyond doubt, continue to produce them; and, on a full survey of probabilities, we must express an apprehension that, sooner or later, the leaders of the Tractarian body will, for the most part, unless they adopt a very different course from what they are now doing, become members of the Church of Rome. We believe them to have no present intention of joining that communion; they have as little intention as Messrs. Newman, Oakley, or Manning had some years since; but, nevertheless, we fear that the policy they have pursued for years, and their obstinate persistence in that policy, notwithstanding the effects it has produced, and the consequent excitement of the public mind, will, in the end, induce them, or compel them to secede. What will then be the position of their present followers? In the contemplation of such possibilities, should not every prudent and sincere member of the Church of

England hasten to withdraw from the risk of being involved in such temptation as may thence arise? And is it not his wisest and best course to rally around the Church herself as far as he may, instead of following party leaders; to endeavour to occupy in the most efficient manner the position in which Divine Providence has placed him; to give his support, as far as possible, to the episcopate of his Church, which is now assailed in every direction, and to declare himself openly and manfully in behalf of those Reformation doctrines of the Church, which are ignored or attacked at the present time?

These are not times in which Churchmen should scrutinize with an unfriendly eye the actions of their bishops. We all know that the prelates of the Church are not infallible, and that this or that individual bishop may, especially in these times of perplexity and difficulty, not exhibit the gentleness, or the leniency, or the firmness, or the courage, or the clear-sightedness, or the strict correctness of doctrine, that we might desire. But we must not let ourselves be carried away by the evil advice of partisans, to unite in any factious opposition, any disrespectful or proud-spirited independence of action, or any appeals to the public against the authority of bishops. There may be great temptations to do so, when individuals or their friends are, in their opinion, harshly treated; but it is the duty of Churchmen to consider the general interests of the whole Church in the first place, and to permit no private feelings to influence them to a questionable course of proceeding. In thus acting they would be merely playing the game of all the enemies of the Church of England, whose hopes of witnessing her destruction depend almost entirely on the dissensions amongst her members; and they would be acting under the direction of a party, which is at present in a transition state, without fixed principles, and gradually passing over to Rome.

We have been led to these reflections by the perusal of the very sound and ably-written work, the title of which we have placed at the commencement of this paper. Its object is to lay before English Churchmen a brief and popular statement of some of the chief grounds on which our attachment is claimed for the Church of England as a true branch of the Christian Church. The firm and clear statements of principle in this series of Sermons, coupled with its publication "by request," furnishes an additional proof (if it were wanting) that even notwithstanding all the prevalent jealousy in such matters, caused by the extravagancies and treacheries of so many nominal Churchmen, there is still a full and a favourable hearing for those who seek to maintain the rights of the Church of England as an Apostolical Church, against

the levelling principles of Dissent on the one hand, and the insolent aggressions of Romanism on the other.

In Mr. Collingwood we recognize, with the highest satisfaction, a writer, whose principles are thoroughly trustworthy, and who has the courage to think for himself, and to express with frankness and independence of mind those principles of fidelity to the English Church, which it has been the fashion, amongst certain classes of *soi-disant* Churchmen, to ridicule and condemn as "Anglican," "Protestant," and "Uncatholic."

The general outline of the argument in the volume before us is to point out the claims of the Church of England as a true and Apostolical Church, possessed of a legitimate ministry, and to contrast therewith the position of Dissent, as existing in a state of unauthorized separation, and destitute of a lawful ministry. On the other hand, the errors of Romanism and the unfoundedness of its claims are distinctly and ably argued, with a view to maintain the protest of the Church of England. We must here introduce the reader to Mr. Collingwood, and permit the latter to reply in his own words to the objections which may be raised to his work:—

"With regard to the principles advocated in these Sermons, it is possible that objections may be raised against them from two opposite quarters. The fear may be entertained by some, that they must necessarily have a tendency towards Romanism, because priests of the English Church, by whom principles, in a very limited degree similar, were formerly advocated, have already joined, while others are said to be about to join, the Romish communion. It might be sufficient on this point to say, that no abuse or perversion of any thing in itself lawful can thereby destroy its lawful use. But, moreover, it is not true, in fact, that any have joined the Romish Church, *because* of the principles advocated in these Sermons; but rather because, instead of taking those principles as their foundation, they have used them simply as means to an end. Men have joined the Romish Church, some from morbid enthusiasm, some from an unsound theory of Catholicism; some from disappointed ambition and wounded vanity; all from, more or less, regarding our spiritual mother *ab extra* instead of *ab intra*. They formed to themselves a false ideal of a Christian Church; and then, because the Church of England did not come up to their own unreal standard, therefore they forsook her communion, dazzled by the *apparently* greater similarity of that subtle Church which, if we may apply the passage without irreverence, is willing and anxious to be, in a very different manner to the great Apostle, *all things to all men*, if *by any means* she may lure *some* to her fold. They who have forsaken the Anglican Church were, it is notorious, accustomed to adopt an apologetic, a half-compassionate tone towards her; a tone very different indeed to that in which any true-hearted English Churchman

speaks of the Church of his baptism. They have gone out from her, because they were never, in reality, of her; because their *real* principles and the principles of the Church of England are *contrary the one to the other*."—pp. vi. vii.

There is much truth in these remarks: the unhappy persons here referred to never appear to have realized the character and position of the English Church: Catholicism was to them an "ideal" from the beginning: the English Church was never regarded as its embodiment—as a system to be contended for—even as preferable to Romanism. The tone was always as is here observed, "apologetic" and "half-compassionate." It never was a tone of cordial, earnest trust in the Church of England. On the other hand, it gradually ceased to express any repugnance to Rome: it became imbued with a false charity and liberality which would not even tolerate the exposure of Romish error. Mr. Collingwood refers to this amiable but mistaken feeling in the following passage:—

"But it may be that a different charge may be brought against some portions of this volume; a charge of 'throwing stones;' a charge of wantonly and maliciously attacking that which one, deservedly honoured by the English Church, has so well called a 'rival communion;' a charge which would, if urged from some quarters, be of a very painful nature. It so happened that when preparing the materials for the lectures on the papal supremacy, the arrogant and insolent denunciation of the English Church, which Dr. Wiseman put forth to 'the faithful,' in his Lenten Indult, fell into my hands. I confess that my indignation, as a priest of that Church, was very strongly excited, and I may have gone into the question at greater length than I should otherwise have done. But, to throw aside the plea of special provocation, surely there is very much higher ground to be taken on this subject. Is it not a fact that, from an amiable but mistaken feeling, the *suppressio veri* with regard to Rome has been too long tried? Is it not a fact that a delusive notion of *charity*, a desire of 'winning by gentle love,' have had too much weight with many, who are yet amongst the staunchest and soundest ministers of the English Church? Is it not true, not that our CATHOLICISM has been brought too prominently forward, for that can never be, but that our PROTESTANTISM has been too much kept in the back ground? And what has been the result? Let the 'Lenten Indult,' and the 'Final Appeal' of Dr. Wiseman; let the perversions to Rome which ever and anon show us too plainly that men, holding 'all Roman doctrine,' alas, that it should again be said! have long been ministering at England's altars, supply an answer to the question."—pp. vii. viii.

Undoubtedly there can be no more serious and important question than that which refers to the reasons which determine us to be or remain attached to a religious communion. To those

who are wholly irreligious, of course, this question, or any other affecting religious duty, will be wholly uninteresting. They care not whether truth or falsehood obtain the upper hand, and recognize no claims except those of "the god of this world." And others who are not without religious feelings, are unhappily led by prevalent errors and want of knowledge to views in reference to the Church which are in a high degree absurd and unreasonable. There is a prevalent want of intelligence on the subject which it is not difficult to account for; but which is most undesirable, especially in the present times. Mr. Collingwood touches on the subject thus:—

"If, for instance, we were to put the question to you individually, Why do you belong to the Church? the replies would probably be well-nigh as various as the persons by whom they would be delivered. One perhaps would say, I belong to the Church, because I was baptized into it by the early care of pious parents; another, Because the Church is *established* by the civil power of this kingdom; another, Because I admire the sublimity of its Liturgy and the beautiful order of its services; but how very few, comparatively, are there who would say,—simply because they have never had such a view of the subject put before them, and demonstrated to them,—I belong to the Church, because the Church is a *divinely constituted society*, founded by our Lord Jesus Christ, as the 'One fold under One Shepherd'—as the only *appointed* channel of his grace, the only *appointed* means of spreading his religion over the whole world: because, through the ordinances of the Church only, can I be *certain* that the merits of my Redeemer's death and passion are applied to my individual soul, in the way in which that Divine Redeemer Himself directed they should be applied. Again, with respect to our own particular branch of the Universal Church, how general is the misconception which prevails concerning it. How very many persons there are who say, and think, that the Church of England dates her existence from the sixteenth century, from the Reformation; that our venerable Reformers were her *founders*; that she stands on precisely the same level with regard to *authority*, as any other of the numerous bodies of Christians, which have existed since that time, and which still continue to exist; a necessary and natural consequence of which opinion is, that *Church Membership*, as such, is, by those persons, very little regarded. Too many think that, provided 'they name the name of Christ,' provided they believe in the Son of God, provided, in short, they are *Christians*, whether they are or are not *Churchmen* is a matter of very small importance. They distinguish between Doctrine and Discipline; they regard one as of divine, the other as of human origin, and therefore deem themselves warranted in holding to the one, and despising, or at least disregarding, the other. They consider men may be just as acceptable in God's sight, without conforming to any particular system of ecclesiastical polity as of Divine origin."—pp. 2, 3.

The course of instruction comprised in these discourses is commenced by an outline of the establishment of the Jewish Church with its priesthood, and of the substitution of the Christian Church in its place with an Apostolical ministry. In the second Sermon the Church is considered as a spiritual and a visible society: and the nature of its government is then introduced in the following manner:—

“ But it is time that, leaving the consideration of this branch of our subject, we examine the very important question, How was the Church, which we have traced from its foundation by Jesus Christ, governed? how, or rather, by whom, were its divinely constituted ordinances administered? who were they, who, as the branches of the Vine, were gradually spread round about the parent stem, were invested with authority to *minister about holy things*? That there must have been, independently of the testimony of Scripture, that there must have been, in the very nature of things, a system of government organized, and a body of men appointed and selected, by whom that government was to be carried on, is surely a self-evident proposition. Inasmuch as no well-regulated society ever did or can subsist without officers to govern it, and without some subordination among those officers, and inasmuch as it appears that the Christian Church is a regularly organized society, it must of necessity have an organized system of government, a regularly appointed body of officers. ‘For as,’ to use the words of Bishop Beveridge, ‘there is no nation in the world, but where they profess some kind of religion or another, so there is no religion professed in the world, but where they have some persons or other set apart for the celebration of the several rites and ceremonies in it—without which it is impossible that any religion should subsist. For if no places were set apart for the worship of God, men would soon worship Him no where; if no time, they would never worship Him; so if no persons were set apart for it, none would ever do it at all, at least not so as they ought.’ ‘When we think of the Church as a kingdom,’ says a modern writer, ‘we are led to consider its outward form and development. We look for a positive institution and a visible order. There must be a sovereign, the Father of his people, ruling with absolute, yet paternal authority over a given realm. There must be dutiful, affectionate, and loyal service. We anticipate a settled policy, laws, and ordinances, some of permanent, others of occasional obligation. We expect to find delegated powers; an appointed legislature and executive; we are not surprised when we hear of official distinctions, a succession of persons, temporal and local relations. In a word, we are prepared to meet the question of Church Government.’ ”—pp. 37—39.

The three theories of Church Government are then stated—viz., Independency—Presbyterianism—and Episcopacy. To these might be added another theory which Mr. Collingwood, perhaps discreetly, omitted to notice. We refer to that notion, or theory, or claim, which is now so frequently put forward—the government

of the Church by the laity. In fact, we now hear sentiments frequently expressed, which, under the pretence of jealousy of priestly domination, go to the absolute subjugation of the clergy to the will of the populace. The declarations which are heard on this subject appear to be not unfrequently dictated rather by a spirit of pride and insubordination which will not brook control, than by any desire for the religious welfare of the community ; and while we admit, with regret, that some few individual clergy have been less conciliatory and humble in their tone than they ought to have been, we must add that some of the laity have evinced an intemperance and a pride which may cause uneasiness and anxiety in the Church at large, but can neither tend to the promotion of true religion, the strengthening of the Church, the healing of her divisions, or even the attainment of the objects aimed at by the persons referred to. Every sincere member of the Church would rejoice to see the laity take a still more lively interest in all its concerns than they do ; and we believe there are but few amongst the bishops and clergy who would not be willing to see the laity aiding amongst us, as they do in America, in Church legislation, more especially in temporal matters ; but really, when we see so much jealousy exhibited towards the clergy in some directions, it is almost enough to make us pause before we actually consent to subject the Church to the strife likely to be caused by an infusion of such dangerous elements into her government. The truth however, we believe, is, that such schismatical and unreasonable doctrines as we refer to, are not generally approved by any class of men in the Church of England, except by the irreligious, or by those who would not only overthrow the Church government of the English Church, but its Creeds, Articles, and Liturgy, and remodel our ecclesiastical system on the examples supplied by Germany. The genuine members of the Church of England—the communicants of the Church—who evince their interest in that Church by partaking of the means of grace she is empowered to offer—are not amongst the brawlers against priestly power ; and to them might safely be entrusted a share in the government of the Church. In the present state of England, we conceive that nothing could be more dangerous than the indiscriminate admission of the laity to any Church legislature : there are men who in Parliament and elsewhere are for ever intermeddling in Church matters, in the most offensive way—whose violence and almost brutality, are an absolute profanation to the sacred subjects on which they touch—and whose bitter and savage personalities do not spare the most exalted station, or the purest and most admirable conduct. We should be sorry to see the Church subjected to the arbitrary dictation of men like these, or even

liable to their interference in any way. It is amongst our deepest degradations that men of this class should be able to set up as Church Reformers. But we must return to Mr. Collingwood.

His third Sermon commences with a full and satisfactory exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England, in reference to the form of Church government, gathered from the whole of the authorized formularies. He next proceeds to state the nature of the proofs for Episcopacy and the succession of the ministry, which are deducible from holy Scripture, and then enters on his argument in support of the following propositions: "First, that the government of the Church and the power of ordination were vested in the holy Apostles; secondly, that during the lifetime of the Apostles there existed in the Church a threefold order of the ministry; and, thirdly, that to the first order alone, and exclusively, was delegated by the Apostles the government of the Church, and the power of ordination." The inference to be drawn from these facts is, that in the Church "no one can have a right to minister about holy things, unless he can prove his commission to do so by direct and unbroken succession from the Apostles; unless, in other words, he has received Episcopal ordination. It will follow also that it is the bounden duty of all Christians to live under one system of Church government; to be, in fact, and not in name only, one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ the righteous."—p. 59.

We shall not follow the argument through its various branches so ably and well propounded in the succeeding discourses. We have seldom, if ever, seen a plainer and more popular exposition of the subject than in Mr. Collingwood's pages. His style is not above the comprehension of any educated congregation; his argument is clear and forcible, neither obscured by redundancy of fact and quotation, nor so condensed as to task the attention of his hearers too severely. He carries us with him entirely in his demonstrations from Scripture of the Apostolical origin, and the obligation of Episcopacy, and of an Apostolical ministry in the Christian Church, and in his subsequent proof that this form of government existed, and was held binding in the primitive Church. But we would refer the reader to the volume itself, in preference to any attempt to take him over ground, which must be more or less familiar to many who peruse these pages.

We would now refer to that portion of Mr. Collingwood's work, in which he meets the objections which are raised to all such statements of principles as he has so far made; nor can we do better than state these objections in his own words, which will at once prove how fully alive he is to the antagonism which

in every direction encounters us, and furnish an outline of the mode in which he meets the opponents of his principles:—

“ Now we are perfectly aware that different kinds of objections will be taken to much that we have said, especially in the last two Lectures, by very different classes of persons. These objections may be fitly ranged under three heads. Many who, we doubt not, feel the strongest love for the Church of their Baptism, will probably acknowledge the abstract truth of the position we have taken, and of the arguments we have brought forward to establish it, but at the same time will doubt the propriety, or the expediency, of advocating that position dogmatically. They will shrink from establishing the truth of their own principles, if such a course must necessarily convict every one who differs from those principles of unsoundness. Others, who as well belong to our communion, will probably be afraid of the source from whence many of the arguments in support of the Apostolical succession, and the exclusive right of bishops to ordain, are derived. They have been so accustomed to confound together primitive Christianity and popery; so accustomed to think every thing prior to the Reformation—not positively *scriptural*, not, that is, clearly laid down *in detail* in the pages of Scripture—as papistical, and therefore contrary to the principles of every true Protestant, that they are afraid,—and God forbid that we should venture to blame them for *entertaining* that fear, provided always it be not inaccessible to sound argument—they are afraid to attach so high a value to Church membership, and to Church discipline, lest they should unwittingly verge upon popish error; lest they should be, unawares, drawn into the snare of Romish superstition. We have to the first objection a twofold answer: we say, as we said in our first Lecture, it does seem the duty of every minister of the English Church to set before those whom God has committed to his charge, the arguments by which she can be proved to be a true and living branch of the ‘One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,’ quite independently of any controversy, either with the Romish or Protestant dissenter. We say Romish dissenter, because never forget, that if the Church of England be a true Church, the Romanist, in this country, is quite as much guilty of the sin of schism, only in a different way, as the Protestant dissenter. The one denies the authority of the Church altogether; the other, false to the principles of his own primitive purity, knowing well that there ought to be in one place neither ‘many shepherds, nor many flocks,’ still, as Novatian did against Cornelius, schismatically sets up bishop against bishop, priest against priest, and altar against altar.

“ But we say more than this. We say that schism, or separation from the visible Church of Christ, either is sinful, or it is not. If it be not, why do we pray, as we have just prayed, that God would deliver us from it? Why do the holy Scriptures every where denounce it? Why did the early Christians shrink from it with such horror as

'an unheard-of thing?' But if it be a sin causelessly to rend asunder by divisions the Church, that body of which Christ is the Head, then do we confidently say that we are bound, by every tie of duty to that Divine Master, *whose we are, and whom we serve*, by every tie of love and affection for you over whom we are placed *in the Lord*, not only to set before you the duty of conforming to the Church, but also the arguments whereby nonconformity, as a violation of Christian unity, is proved to be contrary alike to the teaching of God's word, and the practice of those who lived the nearest to the Apostolic times. We say that no imputation of want of charity can fairly be laid at the door of any minister of the Church, who endeavours firmly and faithfully, but yet, withal, calmly and temperately, in a spirit of love towards all men, but *especially towards them which are of the household of faith*, to set before his people the great duty, and the inestimable privilege of Church membership; to point out to them the great responsibility which, by virtue of their high position, attaches to them as *very members incorporate of the body of Christ*, 'in order that,' to apply the words of Cyprian,—'in order that, while the discrimination of truth may be a test to our hearts and minds, the perfect faith of them that are approved may shine forth in the manifest light.'

"And with regard to the second objection, the fear, viz., of the source from which the arguments of our two last Lectures have been derived, the fear of verging upon Romish error and Romish superstition—the fear is, in truth, altogether groundless; and for this very plain reason:—The ecclesiastical writers, from whose works we have drawn such striking testimony in support of the Apostolical succession, in support of the view we have taken with respect to the Christian Church, and the Christian ministry, all lived long before any thing whatever had been heard of the monstrous claim to an universal supremacy, which the Bishop of Rome has, since those times, set up and maintained. In the times of which we have been speaking, the Bishop of Rome—we say, the Bishop of Rome, for the term pope was then common to all bishops,—the Bishop of Rome possessed precisely the same kind of authority which the Archbishop of Canterbury possesses now: he governed his own province, and that only; and possessed no authority whatever over any other bishop. We will demonstrate this, if God will, when the course of our subject brings us to speak of our Reformation; we mention it now, simply that you may not entertain the slightest fear that we have been treading on Romish ground, or bringing forward Romish arguments."—pp. 148—152.

We pass over with reluctance the interesting Lectures in which Mr. Collingwood describes the state of the primitive Church, and details their sentiments in reference to Baptism and the holy Eucharist; including the subjects of infant baptism, confirmation, the rules for administering the Lord's Supper, and the abuses and errors of Romanism in reference to that sacrament, the primitive worship, prayers for the dead, the ancient discipline

and penances. We must also dismiss, with only a passing word of commendation, the well-written discourse in which the Apostolical origin and early independence of the British Church are detailed, and in which the alleged rights of the Roman Pontiff, as grounded on the mission of Augustine, are fairly and fully discussed, and proved to be without reasonable foundation.

We come now to the eleventh Sermon, "on the Supremacy of St. Peter," in which the scriptural argument on that important subject is detailed. The passage of Scripture chiefly under consideration is Matt. xvi. 17—19, on which Mr. Collingwood makes the following comments :—

"Let us then see, in the first place, what is meant by the term, Supremacy of the Pope; what dominion it is which he claims to exercise over the whole Christian world. Let us see the nature of 'that copestone,' we use the words of a modern Romanist, 'that copestone to the entire edifice,' that is, to the, so called, Catholic Church, 'whereby it is fastened and held together, and close united, and at the same time crowned; that which at once secures and adorns, strengthens and completes it.' The Supremacy of the Pope, then, 'signifies nothing more, than that the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, possesses authority and jurisdiction, in things spiritual, over the entire Church; so as to constitute its visible head, and the vicegerent of Christ on earth.'"—p. 229.

"The Romanist contends, that by the words of the text, 'St. Peter was invested by our Saviour with a superiority not merely of dignity, but of jurisdiction also, over the rest of the Apostles,' a superiority not merely personal, but extending to every Bishop of Rome, for the time being, as St. Peter's successor. The principal other passages of Scripture which, as they say, corroborate this theory, are one in the 21st chapter of St. John, extending from the 15th to the 17th verse, where St. Peter is three times charged to *feed the lambs and the sheep* of Christ, and another in Luke 22nd, ver. 31st, where our Lord tells Peter, *that he had prayed, that Satan might not have power over him*. It is indeed most painful to be forced to inquire into a subject of such a nature, to be compelled to institute any examination respecting the position in the Christian Church of the great Apostle of the Circumcision. On their heads must the responsibility rest, who have exalted the, so called, successor of St. Peter, to a position which that *pillar* of the Church never thought of claiming for himself.

"With regard to the words of our text, without going into any detailed etymological criticism concerning them, suffice it to say, that the closest version of the original in English would be, *Thou art a stone, and on this rock will I build my Church*. According then to the Romish theory, the moment these words were pronounced, St. Peter acquired a dignity *and a jurisdiction also*, in perpetuity, superior to the rest of the Apostles. Let us see how this theory is borne out by other passages of Scripture. You remember, on one occasion, the mother of

James and John desired a superior place in the kingdom of our Lord for her sons. We read, *And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation against the two brethren.* Now mark this, remembering always that these words were uttered *after* the declaration to St. Peter, *But Jesus called them unto him and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you : but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister : And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.* Again our Lord says to all the Apostles, *Be not ye called Rabbi : for one is your master, even Christ ; and all ye are brethren.* Again we read, *Then there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest. And Jesus, perceiving the thought of their heart, took a child, and set him by him, And said unto them, Whosoever shall receive this child in my name, receiveth me : and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me : for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great.* Clearly, therefore, neither Peter nor his brethren could have understood the promise of Christ to St. Peter, as the Romanists understand it ; if they had, they surely would not have *disputed*, which of them should be the greatest. They must have looked on that question as perfectly settled in St. Peter's favour, and would have regarded him with deference accordingly. And with regard to the commission, or power of the keys, *promised* to St. Peter in the text, we find the very same power actually conferred, after the resurrection, upon *all* the Apostles. We read, *Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you : as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost : Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Sacerdotal power was *promised* to St. Peter before, but not *conferred* till *after* the resurrection, and then on *him* in common with the other Apostles. Now, my brethren, we say confidently, that, even could we offer no feasible explanation of the words of our text, the passages of Scripture we have adduced, do completely negative the supposition, that any *jurisdiction* over the rest of the Apostles was, thereby, conferred upon St. Peter."—pp. 231—234.

We look on this argument against the Romish interpretation of the text, Matt. xvi. 17—19, as amounting to demonstration. It is clear, that if the Apostles had understood that text as Romanists do, they could not have disputed for the supremacy as they did, or Peter would have asserted his supremacy in case of any dissension. The subject is further discussed in reference to the subsequent history of the New Testament, and it is shown clearly that St. Peter never did, in fact, exercise any jurisdiction over the other Apostles. It would indeed be almost incredible, that intelligent and educated persons should persuade themselves that the Papal Supremacy is traceable in holy Scripture, had not con-

tinual experience evinced the unhappy aptitude of the human mind to believe any thing or nothing, as it pleases. Truth has no compulsory power, as they might remember who, on all occasions, would leave it unaided to gain the ascendancy. Educated men have disbelieved the Christian religion; educated men have denied the inspiration of Scripture; educated men have believed the revelations of Mormonism, or the miracles of Irvingism; and therefore it can be little matter of surprise that educated men have found the supremacy of St. Peter and of the See of Rome in the holy Scripture. It would be difficult to imagine what they *would* not see there, if the Church of Rome directed them to do so.

But there is another view of the question, the importance of which we are glad to see Mr. Collingwood fully aware of. We refer to the very different accounts which the advocates of Rome give of the origin of the Papal Supremacy. The inconsistency and contradiction which those writers have evinced, furnish sufficient evidence of the error of the system they uphold. If St. Peter was made Primate and Vicar of Christ, with powers of transmitting his authority to the bishops of Rome, we should of course expect to see, not only St. Peter himself, but his successors acting as primates and recognized as such in the Church. Accordingly, the great mass of Romish writers, from the time of the Reformation, boldly asserted that the Popes were always recognized as Primates and Vicars of the Christ. They produced their proofs in abundance from early history. They referred to the decretals of the Popes in the first and second centuries, in which those bishops exercised very satisfactorily "the plenitude of the Apostolical power." But as ill luck would have it, an age of criticism had at length come; and these decretals and all their other early evidences were proved, and at length *admitted* reluctantly, to be spurious; or else weak, insufficient, and even inconsistent with the claims of the Papacy. At length, after endeavouring for ages to prove that the Papal Supremacy had been universally acknowledged, even from the beginning, the advocates of Rome have found it necessary to give up the point. It is now admitted that the Supremacy *did not exist always*: that the Apostles probably knew nothing of it—that St. Peter himself appears not to have understood it—that it was hidden from the early fathers, and from the Churches of the first three centuries—that it began to develop itself in the fourth century, and gradually increased in after ages. Such is the "Development" theory of the Papacy, which resigns to us the Scriptures and the first three centuries, as furnishing no clear evidence of the existence of the supremacy of St. Peter or his successors. Mr.

Collingwood makes the following remarks in reference to this subject :—

“ Let us, then, see, first of all, by the testimony of another Romanist, what jurisdiction the Bishop of Rome now claims. The tenth session of the council of Florence, held in 1573, for the execution of the decrees of the council of Trent, asserted that ‘ full power was delegated to the Bishop of Rome, *in the person of Peter*, to *feed, regulate, and govern* the universal Church, as expressed in the general councils and holy canons.’ ‘ This,’ says the writer we are quoting, ‘ this is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church on the authority of the Pope.’ Clearly, therefore, if St. Peter did not possess any supremacy himself, he could delegate none to his, so called, successor. But, leaving the Scriptural evidence for a moment out of the question, if the Bishop of Rome had any just claim to universal dominion, that dominion will show itself, clearly and plainly, in the very earliest ages : if we can find no traces of it, therefore, in the times immediately succeeding the age of the Apostles, we have a fair right to say, that such a dominion, as exercised in medieval and modern times, is a manifest usurpation. We are perfectly aware that the *modern* Romanist will deny the validity of this conclusion.—He will say that the supremacy of the Pope, by divine right, *existed* from the beginning, but that it was not *developed* for three or four hundred years. An ingenious theory, only, unfortunately for those who advance it, it is suicidal—it is self-destructive, inasmuch as it cuts the ground, at once, from under the feet of those who, for many hundred years, maintained, most strenuously, that the primitive Fathers always acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope ; that the primitive bishops always obeyed it :—inasmuch as it contradicts flatly the testimony of one of the ablest of their own writers, to which we before referred :—inasmuch as one of the greatest bishops that France ever produced, writing against this very theory of development, when propounded by a French Calvinist, says distinctly, that ‘ the faith *never varies* in the Church ; that the faith which came from God had its consummation *at once* ; that it was well known from the beginning :’—inasmuch as the, so called, ‘ Vicar Apostolic of the London district,’ only a few Sundays ago, asserted, ‘ that during the first three hundred years of the Church, her form, her constitution, her canons, her whole structure, were *essentially and completely* formed :’—inasmuch as, another Romish writer says, ‘ It is most true, that the Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their Church to be unchangeable ; and that it is a tenet of their Creed, that what their faith ever has been, *such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it ever will be.*’ It is not, indeed, difficult to understand the origin of this theory ; but what can we say of the Church which adopts it ? The Church of Rome knows perfectly well that, if she appeals to primitive antiquity, the supremacy of the Pope, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, transubstantiation, purgatory, the excessive honour, to use the mildest term, paid to the Virgin Mary, cannot, for one moment, be defended as arti-

cles of faith held by the early Christians ; and therefore, throwing to the winds the testimony of the Fathers, she tells us *now*, that all these doctrines existed, in embryo, in the early Church, but were not developed till a subsequent period. Why, my brethren, talk of the 'variations of Protestantism !' talk of the *divisions* of English Churchmen, of the *inconsistency* of the Anglican Church ! Surely that Church has no right to cast a stone at any other, which, in the days when Scripture was a sealed book to all but the clergy, and to very many even of them, made Scripture her great authority ; which, in the days when the writings of antiquity were buried in the library of the monastery, confidently appealed to the records of primitive Christianity ; but which *now*, when the invention of printing has opened to all men the sacred Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, has recourse to a miserable theory of development, a theory 'subversive of all that is most valuable and sacred in morals, politics, and religion :—a theory by which the Bible, Ecclesiastical History, *the faith once for all delivered to the saints*, are made absolutely dead letters ; and Christian doctrine is made dependent upon frail and fallible men, who shall add to the creed of the holy Catholic Church, by *developing* new articles of the Christian faith. Let Rome harmonize her own 'variations' before she taunts us with inconsistency. Let her say to which system she chooses to adhere, to that of Rome primitive, Rome medieval, or Rome modern ? To Ecclesiastical History or to Development ? to Bossuet or to Newman ?"

From the discussion of the Papal Supremacy, Mr. Collingwood turns to the causes and the results of the Reformation. We need not say that the writer before us is not one of those who are ashamed of the Reformation, or who adopt in its behalf any feeble or apologetic tone. His vindication of the Reformation is placed on the right grounds—the absolute necessity of the case. He describes the state of the Church before the Reformation in the language of those who were eye-witnesses of the corruptions they deplored. He shows the contrast between medieval errors and the truth which superseded them. He rebuts the charge of schism advanced by the advocates of superstition against those of the Reformation, and shows that on all grounds and in all ways the Church of England at least is free from the imputation of having needlessly divided the communion of Christendom.

Space forbids our following Mr. Collingwood through this concluding portion of his sound and able work ; but we can say that we have risen from its perusal with renewed gratitude for the possession of a faith so capable of full and satisfactory defence, as that which the Church of England inculcates ; and with no ordinary satisfaction in the knowledge that, amidst the extreme trials which beset the faith of Churchmen in the present day—amidst the temptations to degenerate from the sound and high principles of our old divines, towards Popery, or Puritanism, or Rationalism,

—there are still to be found not a few, who like the excellent and honest author of the work before us, keep on the steady tenor of their way, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left—men who love the Church of England because they are satisfied that her constitution and succession are Apostolical, and that her faith and doctrines, in their natural sense, are in all points in accordance with God's Holy Word. Those who are thus minded, are, whatever else they may be, faithful members of the Church of England; and we confess that as we can scarcely think that faithfulness to the Church implies less than this, so we do not see that it implies more. We trust that, notwithstanding the dissensions of the present times, the number of those who are thus faithful to the Church of England, is not diminishing but increasing; nor are we without hopes, that various circumstances may tend to lessen gradually the divisions which unhappily exist. To that desirable result we conceive that the publication of works like that before us will contribute, in convincing men that fidelity to the Church and its Episcopacy, as Apostolical, involves no diminution of the protest against Romish error—no joining in fellowship with those who have ceased to make that protest and to act upon it.

ART. V. — *Lavengro: The Scholar—The Gypsy—The Priest.*
 By GEORGE BORROW, Author of "*The Bible in Spain*," and
 "*The Gypsies in Spain*." In 3 vols. London: Murray. 1851.

A STRANGE book is the book before us, and a strange mind has its concoctor George Borrow, the missionary and the boxer; but, above all, the sardonic humorist. There is something of the Mephistopheles in his composition, and something of the Don Quixote; and we must say, that a more extraordinary and incongruous conjunction of ideas could scarcely be imagined than that suggested by the vagrant tastes and the solemn profession of this most eccentric of mortals. Yes, oddity; that is the one essential characteristic of the man and of his book:—now we are pleased, now we are offended; now we are amused, now we are bored: but the one perpetual running commentary must ever be, How very odd!

Mr. Borrow's politics, religion, and philosophy are staunch and English in the main, though a little one-sided, and of a somewhat old-fashioned school; but perhaps none the worse for that. We certainly do not love "her of Rome:" no one can accuse us of a latent affection for that antiquated damsel, who has bewitched, alas! so many "red-cross knights;" yet our author's antipathy exceeds our mark by some inches at the least. But what then? We need not ask for a theologian in Mr. Borrow. His antipathies are wholesome, most of them at least, and do not seem to have seared his heart or affections.

Then, again, it is not necessary to hate foreigners, Frenchmen, for instance, now-a-days,—which, as we opine at least, our author does devoutly, and as a matter of religious principle. Nor is German literature absolutely good for nothing, though George Borrow passes such condign judgment on it; but "*Wilhelm Tell*" is a dull play (he is right there)—*not* Schiller's finest, as Augustus Schlegel said with his usual pompous pedantry, but decidedly his most laboured and least genial, despite the beauty of its lyrics. But Mr. Borrow is no critic; he says so himself; so we need not dispute concerning tastes with him. We would rather wander at his side within the bounds of his own enchanted childhood, and dwell in fancy over some of his earlier and happier adventures, which have a peculiar wild-wood freshness and fragrance of their own; for as for his London life, he must

pardon us for saying that, in our estimation, it is well-nigh "nought."

Indeed, when Mr. Borrow describes ordinary mortals of this work-a-day world, he generally seems to deal with them as strangers, as though he felt there were a gulf betwixt him and them,—that they were creatures of various spheres; he sees all such men and things through a peculiar medium of his own, much as one from a far-distant land might survey us Englishmen, having slight cognizance of our language, habits, ways of thinking. Indeed, Mr. Borrow seems almost a denizen of another world from that of the majority of his fellow-men: he is amongst us, yet not of us. We are almost tempted to conjecture, that some mistake must have been made at his birth,—that if it be not irreverent to say so, the heavenly spirit entrusted to bear his soul to its mortal tenement below went wrong in his star altogether,—that the Borrow soul was intended for either Mercury the volatile, or Mars the combative, or perhaps some planet out of our system, ten billion leagues away, scarcely a fixed star, but very possibly a comet. However this may be, here we have him on mother earth; and, so having, we must deal with him as best we may, and, "as a stranger, give him welcome."

To begin with the beginning, though we by no means promise to end with the end,—our patience may break down at any moment (and so, no doubt, may our readers', who are at perfect liberty accordingly to betake themselves at once to more solid and serious fare),—but to begin with the beginning, thus quoth George Borrow: "On an evening of July, in the year 18—, at East D—, a beautiful little town in a certain district of *East Anglia*, I first saw the light." *East Anglia*! what a characteristic localization! Would one not suppose the writer were born at least a thousand years ago? He was the son, we learn, of a Cornish "gentillâtre," or one possessing old armorial bearings, but neither rich nor mighty, and a mother of French and Huguenot descent; despite which fact, and his real affection for his mother, Mr. Borrow, as we have said, can plainly not abide the French. His father held his Majesty's commission; and, marching with the regiment from post to post, his family seem to have traversed almost the length and breadth of the British Islands. Our hero had an elder brother, whom he describes enthusiastically, and seems to have loved very dearly: indeed, some of the passages referring to him go farther to redeem his heart than any thing else in "*Lavengro*," or "*The Bible in Spain*" either.

Mr. Borrow himself was an extraordinary child of course: dark, silent, sullen, backward in the extreme, and inordinately

queer; at first very delicate, subsequently hardy and robust. He was generally disliked; but one man formed a good opinion of him, a wandering Jew. Here is the strange, though not peculiarly "eventful" history. It is abundantly characteristic:—

"There was, however, one individual who, in the days of my childhood, was disposed to form a favourable opinion of me. One day, a Jew—I have quite forgotten the circumstance, but I was long subsequently informed of it—one day a travelling Jew knocked at the door of a farm-house in which we had taken apartments; I was near at hand sitting in the bright sunshine, drawing strange lines on the dust with my fingers, an ape and dog were my companions; the Jew looked at me and asked me some questions, to which, though I was quite able to speak, I returned no answer. On the door being opened, the Jew, after a few words, probably relating to pedlery, demanded who the child was, sitting in the sun; the maid replied, that I was her mistress's youngest son, a child weak *here*, pointing to her forehead. The Jew looked at me again, and then said, 'Pon my conscience, my dear, I believe that you must be troubled there yourself to tell me any such thing. It is not my habit to speak to children, inasmuch as I hate them, because they often follow me and fling stones after me; but I no sooner looked at that child than I was forced to speak to it—his not answering me shows his sense, for it has never been the custom of the wise to fling away their words in indifferent talk and conversation; the child is a sweet child, and has all the look of one of our people's children. Fool, indeed! did I not see his eyes sparkle just now when the monkey seized the dog by the ear?—they shone like my own diamonds—does your good lady want any—real and fine? Were it not for what you tell me, I should say it was a prophet's child. Fool, indeed! he can write already, or I'll forfeit the box which I carry on my back, and for which I should be loth to take two hundred pounds!' He then leaned forward to inspect the lines which I had traced. All of a sudden he started back, and grew white as a sheet; then, taking off his hat, he made some strange gestures to me, cringing, chattering, and showing his teeth, and shortly departed, muttering something about 'holy letters,' and talking to himself in a strange tongue. The words of the Jew were in due course of time reported to my mother, who treasured them in her heart, and from that moment began to entertain brighter hopes of her youngest born than she had ever before ventured to foster."—Vol. i. pp. 14—16.

Strange this, is it not? exceedingly so; yet we apprehend, true in the main, though perhaps a story which has lost nothing of oddity in the telling. There *are* strange things in heaven and in earth. We, who are superstitious, *pleasantly so*, we, at least, make no scruple in admitting the fact. There is one thing, however, for which we rather distrust Mr. Borrow: it is his intimate acquaintance with *Snakes*: we must confess to an antipathy to that reptile, partly constitutional, and partly, *we think*, Christian; re-

remembering the awful purpose to which the creature was once abused—remembering also the curse still borne by his race; and snake-dealers and snake-worshippers have always in our eyes something peculiarly mysterious and suspicious about them and their dealings. We really entertain our doubts whether a certain amount of Black Art may not enter into the incantations of Indian jugglers, (remember the magicians of Egypt!) and we read with no little horror of those Moorish disciples in Africa, of that Saint of Snakes, Seedna Eiser, who, when under the influence of their maddening snake-worship, receive what would otherwise be mortal wounds from the most venomous of serpents without permanent injury, only falling into temporary trances as the consequence (this is a well-authenticated fact), and who actually devour the large common snake of their country, “the father of tumefaction,” as he is called, *alive*, beginning at the tail, whilst the head and body are writhing round, and inflicting wounds on their almost insane devourers. We suspect that such men are under nothing less than satanic influence, however enlightened wiseacres may sneer, and our hearts scarcely warm towards Mr. Borrow for his curious serpent-reminiscences, though we do *not* suspect him of certain evil-doings! He tells how, at the age of three, he grasped a viper in his play, which seemed gratified rather than otherwise by his tender attentions, but was infuriated by his brother, who wanted to protect little George from the bright yellow reptile. Mr. Borrow intimates here, that he possesses a power over sundry wild animals; and we learn from subsequent relations that he and the horse are remarkable good friends. This we allow to be a permissible *liaison*; but we cannot say as much for flirting with snakes—cold, slimy, mysterious, and to our feelings essentially disagreeable creatures. We have seen pet snakes, of course perfectly harmless, crawling about rooms and winding up ladies’ dresses, arms, and necks, but we were not quite comfortable, and never should be in such vicinity. However, to this pressure of the snake by his childish hands, Mr. Borrow apparently attributes his becoming hale and vigorous; so, of course, on this view of the case, he is bound to be grateful to the tribe. Later, he catches a viper and tames it, and frightens some gypsies with it, who do him the honour of taking him for a little fiend, whom the said gypsies accordingly at once proceed to worship, their religion appearing to consist in the adoration of the Prince of Darkness and his *satellites*, if we may use the term. But the king of serpent-stories is certainly that concerning the king of the serpents, and this we shall accordingly proceed to extract, though the said extract be somewhat long. This story, we must premise, is told by an old man of the same tribe with Wordsworth’s “leech-gatherer

on the lonely moor," who makes a livelihood by collecting herbs, and hunting vipers to obtain their oil. He is of course familiar with the serpentine tribe, and sometimes takes them home to play with, but owns to having become a little nervous from his having once seen the king of the vipers! Here we start:

"The king of the vipers!" said I, interrupting him; "have the vipers a king?" "As sure as we have," said the old man—"as sure as we have King George to rule over us, have these reptiles a king to rule over them." "And where did you see him?" said I. "I will tell you," said the old man, "though I don't like talking about the matter. It may be about seven years ago that I happened to be far down yonder to the west, on the other side of England, nearly two hundred miles from here, following my business. It was a very sultry day, I remember, and I had been out several hours catching creatures. It might be about three o'clock in the afternoon, when I found myself on some heathy land near the sea, on the ridge of a hill, the side of which, nearly as far down as the sea, was heath; but on the top there was arable ground, which had been planted, and from which the harvest had been gathered—oats or barley, I know not which—but I remember that the ground was covered with stubble. Well, about three o'clock, as I told you before, what with the heat of the day and from having walked about for hours in a lazy way, I felt very tired; so I determined to have a sleep, and I laid myself down, my head just on the ridge of the hill, towards the field, and my body over the side down amongst the heath; my bag, which was nearly filled with creatures, lay at a little distance from my face; the creatures were struggling in it, I remember, and I thought to myself, how much more comfortably off I was than they; I was taking my ease on the nice open hill, cooled with the breezes, whilst they were in the nasty close bag, coiling about one another, and breaking their very hearts, all to no purpose: and I felt quite comfortable and happy in the thought, and little by little closed my eyes, and fell into the sweetest snooze that ever I was in in all my life; and there I lay over the hill's side, with my head half in the field, I don't know how long, all dead asleep. At last it seemed to me that I heard a noise in my sleep, something like a thing moving, very faint, however, far away; then it died, and then it came again upon my ear as I slept, and now it appeared almost as if I heard crackle, crackle; then it died again, or I became yet more dead asleep than before, I know not which, but I certainly lay some time without hearing it. All of a sudden I became awake, and there was I, on the ridge of the hill, with my cheek on the ground towards the stubble, with a noise in my ear like that of something moving towards me, amongst the stubble of the field; well, I lay a moment or two listening to the noise, and then I became frightened, for I did not like the noise at all, it sounded so odd; so I rolled myself on my belly, and looked towards the stubble. Mercy upon us! there was a huge snake, or rather a dreadful viper, for it was all yellow and gold, moving towards me, bearing its head about

a foot and a half above the ground, the dry stubble crackling beneath its outrageous belly. It might be about five yards off when I first saw it, making straight towards me, child, as if it would devour me. I lay quite still, for I was stupified with horror, whilst the creature came still nearer; and now it was nearly upon me, when it suddenly drew back a little, and then—what do you think?—it lifted its head and chest high in the air, and high over my face as I looked up, flickering at me with its tongue as if it would fly at my face. Child, what I felt at that moment I can scarcely say, but it was a sufficient punishment for all the sins I ever committed; and there we two were, I looking up at the viper, and the viper looking down upon me, flickering at me with its tongue. It was only the kindness of God that saved me: all at once there was a loud noise, the report of a gun, for a fowler was shooting at a covey of birds, a little way off in the stubble. Whereupon the viper sunk its head, and immediately made off over the ridge of the hill, down in the direction of the sea. As it passed by me, however—and it passed close by me—it hesitated a moment, as if it was doubtful whether it should not seize me; it did not, however, but made off down the hill. It has often struck me that he was angry with me, and came upon me unawares for presuming to meddle with his people, as I have always been in the habit of doing.'

"'But,' said I, 'how do you know that it was the king of the vipers?'

"'How do I know?' said the old man; 'who else should it be? There was as much difference between it and the other reptiles as between King George and other people.'"—Vol. i. pp. 54—57.

This, we think, is a capital story in its way, told after a very characteristic fashion: it breathes, too, that mysterious horror for the serpent tribe which we ourselves have not been backward in confessing. Few things are more pleasant, we think, than a fictitious shudder, not *too* real or overpowering, but just that slight creeping sensation which seems to make you feel that mysteries on every side surround you; that you are girt with an atmosphere of wonder. Mr. Borrow, like ourselves, is superstitious; this we gather from his repeated references to fairy lore. In ghosts he seems less learned; the more the pity; for nothing do we like better than a good ghost story. We shall pass, however, to its best substitute, an Irish incident, connected with "the good people," to which Mr. Borrow professes to bear evidence, and which will afford, at the same time, a specimen of one of those many pugilistic encounters with which the pages of *Lavengro* are studded. A great lover of pugilism is Mr. Borrow, and even regrets the palmy days of "the ring," in which he is quite right in thinking that there was *something* to admire, namely, the powers of both physical and mental endurance displayed by the votaries of the art of Pollux. Certainly pugilistic encounters, barbarous

as they always must seem, when two men stand up to maul and perhaps to kill one another for *mohey*, have, in other respects, never been so humanized as amongst ourselves, owing to the frank and generous tone of feeling in which the combatants were at least supposed to test their abilities, and the many rules and regulations which rendered it very possible for courage and endurance to win the day against vastly superior powers, when unsupported by a like degree of pluck. Nevertheless, such a national diversion as "the ring," though certainly far less disgraceful than the ancient circus, is not, we think, to be encouraged; it involves too reckless a disregard for human life, and must, we suspect, always tend to brutalize, more or less, both the partakers and beholders. Wrestling, as practised in Cornwall and the lake districts, seems to us far less open to serious objections, and perhaps deserving of encouragement, when placed under proper regulations, and separated from some of its usual concomitants. It has (who can deny!) a decided tendency to harden the frame and to invigorate the spirit, and may possibly be made the occasion for the display of generous feeling. We are aware of the moral and religious objections, that it tends to foster sentiments of rivalry, and a taste for combativeness; but in the present condition of man, it must, we fear, be confessed that the roots of evil are closely interwoven with all pleasures and diversions whatever; notwithstanding which, these must, we think, be sanctioned and provided. The sport of archery is extinct; nor see we, under existing circumstances, how it can be generally or beneficially revived. Firing at a mark is dangerous, and, we suspect, only a provocative to poaching. Gymnastics, in the shape of climbing poles, &c., are fitter for boys than youths or men, and have rather a tendency, we think, to degrade an adult population which should too frequently indulge in them. What remains save our glorious national game of cricket, which supersedes in itself a host of minor diversions, we admit,—of which, as Englishmen, we can scarcely be too proud, and of which we can scarcely endeavour to spread the delight too widely,—furnishing, as it does, an occasion for the display of athletic force, artistic skill, and even active grace,—bringing men for the time back to the condition of happy children;—the most innocent, the most healthful, the most noble, perhaps, of all mere *diversions*. But still cricket can scarcely stand quite alone; it is not all times of the year in which it can be played; and so wrestling, we think, may come in, occasionally at least, as a subordinate diversion, not without its own practical uses. We have omitted from our list the one only rustic or national sport in which women can take an active part,—we mean dancing. This is, of course, attended with many grave ob-

jections, yet we do believe the advantages immensely to outweigh them; but then, strange as the assertion may appear to some of our readers, we should think dancing among the poor, where Church principles and the Church system were not brought to bear upon them, in the highest degree injurious: and this last remark applies in no small measure to wrestling also; for it is religion, and true religion, wide and deep, which finds a place, for all that is innocent and happy,—which can alone counteract man's natural tendency to abuse the powers and enjoyments God has bestowed upon him. To render dancing at all harmless, or comparatively so, preferable in the main to the dulness and barbarism which result from the confinement of the wives and daughters of the poor to their homes, and the consequent isolation of the sterner sex at all seasons of popular rejoicing (the one circumstance *this*, we need not say, to which the too common boorishness of our English poor is to be attributed); to render dancing innocuous, we say, there must be a constant intercourse betwixt the clergy and the working classes; a sympathetic and benevolent pastoral superintendence must ordinarily be exercised over all sports. The clergyman, the squire of the parish, ay, and their wives also, must resort together to the wrestling-grounds, or the village green, for the dance around the maypole; the use of bad words must be checked, nay, must, as far as possible, be rooted out; (it is one of the most crying sins of our country, and its consequences are truly *awful*!)—modesty, grace, and liveliness must be encouraged to consort together; and *if* all this be done, our readers may rest assured that the conventicle will have few charms for such a people.

We have been led far further than we intended in this our digression “*apropos*” of pugilistic encounters, and Mr. Borrow's laudations of them, but there are few subjects of more serious importance in the present day than that of popular sports and diversions, concerning which we have been led thus briefly to indicate a few of our most deeply-rooted practical convictions. The sooner this matter is taken in hand by our lords of the manor generally, the better; though no doubt a very serious obstacle is presented by the present disastrous economical experiment which the nation is trying, in the mad pursuit of cheapness, at the cost not only of national security, but eventually (if persisted in), of the very existence of the most healthful portion of the working classes; we mean the agricultural labourers. But not to rush into the wide field of political economy (merely recording our opinion that whilst the science is fully to be recognized, its main exponents amongst ourselves, from Adam Smith, downwards, have been characterized by a melancholy deficiency in the breadth

of their mental powers, and a singularly unfortunate misapprehension of first principles)—leave we these addle-pated theorists, to return to Ireland and its fairies in the company of Mr. Borrow.

He has now become a boy of fourteen or fifteen, and has already had the hap to witness and take part in pugilistic encounters apparently innumerable, in England and her northern sister, Scotia. Scotch boys he describes as peculiarly pugnacious, but less scientific than the English in their practice of the national art: by the by, we may take occasion to remark here that Mr. Borrow, though evidently a superior pugilist, does not exhibit vanity or pretension in the record of his own valorous deeds, and never seems unpleasantly anxious to *shine*: in fact, his manner of recording sundry incidents which do not reflect a splendid light on his own personal prowess,—(witness, for instance, vol. i. p. 99, and again, p. 106.)—goes farther than any thing else in these volumes, perhaps, to impress us with a general sense of his regard for truth. Otherwise, we might be tempted to suspect him of too often indulging in the marvellous and the inventive. However, he is now in Ireland, with his father and brother, and a detachment of the regiment, learning Irish, (he has a positive rage for all languages, French of course excepted,) and apparently idling to the best of his ability. He goes to see his brother, his “darling brother,” as he calls him somewhere,—for though three years younger, George Borrow seems somehow rather to patronise his elder, who, though a fine fellow, is not quite as tall and large-limbed as he, endowed with gentler and finer tastes, and a less roving and eccentric spirit; however he pays John a visit, and John tells him a story of a certain Irish peasant, called Jerry Grant, a fairy man, that is, “a person in league with fairies and spirits, and able to work much harm by supernatural means, on which account they” (the peasants) “hold him in great awe.” It seems moreover that he is a mighty strong and tall fellow. Indeed George has just met him himself out on the moor, accompanied by a certain mysterious dog, and he has carried away the impression that the dog and his master were decidedly “eerie.” Now it seems that a certain corporal in the regiment, a very Hercules of a man, called Bagg, has also come across this wonderful individual. George recounts how Bagg started for a certain old ruined castle on the moor, rather expecting to meet the redoubtable Jerry, and wishing to fathom “the mystery of his history:” being a soldier, not a sailor, he had of course a less craving appetite for the supernatural; nevertheless his curiosity had been excited by the strange rumours he had listened to, and besides he held the man for a rebel and robber, whom his military duty almost enjoined him to apprehend. And so follows this story,

which it will be understood that John is telling, and George is listening to:—

“‘It was now late in the afternoon, near sunset, when about half-way over the bog he met a man’

“‘And that man was’

“‘Jerry Grant! there’s no doubt of it. Bagg says it was the most sudden thing in the world. He was moving along, making the best of his way, thinking of nothing at all save a public-house at Swanton Morley, which he intends to take when he gets home, and the regiment is disbanded—though I hope that will not be for some time yet: he had just leaped a turf-hole, and was moving on, when, at the distance of about six yards before him, he saw a fellow coming straight towards him. Bagg says that he stopped short, as suddenly as if he had heard the word halt, when marching at double quick time. It was quite a surprise, he says, and he can’t imagine how the fellow was so close upon him before he was aware. He was an immense tall fellow—Bagg thinks at least two inches taller than himself—very well dressed in a blue coat and buff breeches, for all the world like a squire when going out hunting. Bagg, however, saw at once that he had a roguish air, and he was on his guard in a moment. ‘Good evening to ye, sodger,’ says the fellow, stepping close up to Bagg, and staring him in the face. ‘Good evening to you, sir! I hope you are well,’ says Bagg. ‘You are looking after some one?’ says the fellow. ‘Just so, sir,’ says Bagg, and forthwith seized him by the collar; the man laughed, Bagg says it was such a strange awkward laugh. ‘Do you know whom you have got hold of, sodger?’ said he. ‘I believe I do, sir,’ said Bagg, ‘and in that belief will hold you fast in the name of King George, and the quarter sessions;’ the next moment he was sprawling with his heels in the air. Bagg says there was nothing remarkable in that; he was only flung by a kind of wrestling trick, which he could easily have baffled, had he been aware of it. ‘You will not do that again, sir,’ said he, as he got up and put himself on his guard. The fellow laughed again more strangely and awkwardly than before; then, bending his body and moving his head from one side to the other as a cat does before she springs, and crying out, ‘Here’s for ye, sodger!’ he made a dart at Bagg, rushing in with his head foremost. ‘That will do, sir,’ says Bagg, and, drawing himself back, he put in a left-handed blow with all the force of his body and arm, just over the fellow’s right eye—Bagg is a left-handed hitter, you must know—and it was a blow of that kind which won him his famous battle at Edinburgh with the big Highland sergeant. Bagg says that he was quite satisfied with the blow, more especially when he saw the fellow reel, fling out his arms, and fall to the ground. ‘And now, sir,’ said he, ‘I’ll make bold to hand you over to the quarter sessions, and, if there is a hundred pounds for taking you, who has more right to it than myself?’ So he went forward, but ere he could lay hold of his man the other was again on his legs, and was prepared to renew the combat. They grappled each other—Bagg

says he had not much fear of the result, as he now felt himself the best man, the other seeming half stunned with the blow—but just then there came on a blast, a horrible roaring wind bearing night upon its wings, snow, and sleet, and hail. Bagg says he had the fellow by the throat quite fast, as he thought, but suddenly he became bewildered, and knew not where he was; and the man seemed to melt away from his grasp, and the wind howled more and more, and the night poured down darker and darker; the snow and the sleet thicker and more blinding. ‘Lord have mercy upon us!’ said Bagg.”—Vol. i. pp. 160—163.

We think this, too, a good story in its way. Singular are the powers of the “smith” recounted in the next chapter, who, by the utterance of a certain word, or words, influences the author’s steed to madness, and even gives *him* an extraordinary thrill for the moment; calming the animal again, who rears and kicks with the utmost desperation, by the utterance of another word in a voice singularly modified, but sweet and almost plaintive. We believe this story, wonderful as it may appear, for there are indisputable facts on record which prove the existence of the powers attributed to the smith. Must there not be sorcery in this matter? Could mere sound produce such an effect? But we do not wish to plunge back again into the recondite question of dealings with the wicked one, and shall not be seduced by the tempting nature of the inquiry. Of his first ride Mr. Borrow gives us a characteristic and spirited description: he loves horses, and writes well of them as follows, though we see not why the skit at the canine race was needed in such a passage: the dog is indeed more dependent than the horse, but is he not the emblem of strength, fidelity, and loyalty? unquestionably admirable qualities, though the two latter may seem a little out of fashion:—but hear our author:—

“It was thus that the passion for the equine race was first awakened within me—a passion which, up to the present time, has been rather on the increase than diminishing. It is no blind passion; the horse being a noble and generous creature, intended by the All-Wise to be the helper and friend of man, to whom he stands next in the order of creation. On many occasions of my life I have been much indebted to the horse, and have found in him a friend and coadjutor, when human help and sympathy were not to be obtained. It is therefore natural enough that I should love the horse, but the love which I entertain for him has always been blended with respect; for I soon perceived that, though disposed to be the friend and helper of man, he is by no means inclined to be his slave; in which respect he differs from the dog, who will crouch when beaten; whereas the horse spurns, for he is aware of his own worth, and that he carries death within the horn of his heel. If, therefore, I found it easy to love the horse, I found it equally natural to respect him.”—Vol. i. pp. 170, 171.

Our author now leaves Ireland, and returns for a little while to a calmer English life: there is much that is entertaining hereabouts; the portraiture of the "emigré" priest, the interview with the quaker-banker, and again the meeting with the gypsies who call God, Duvel. Then comes the first great sickness in our author's life, and his first attack from a certain nameless dread or horror, which nearly drives him to frenzy, and to which he appears to be constitutionally liable at seasons. Then we have his recovery; his employment in an attorney's office for long and weary hours; his discovery of the great Welsh bard "Ab Gwilym," one of the five or six mightiest spirits, he assures us, which have illumined by their genius this nether world of ours; then we have George's strange outlandish ways, which give his worthy father no little trouble; and his elder brother John's selection of the profession of an artist, a painter, and departure for Rome accordingly. George thinks he would have achieved great things had he not been unhappily deficient in perseverance, without which, as he most wisely remarks, nothing great is to be achieved, at least in art; (we are not sure that this holds good in poetry as emphatically as in painting or music, because the former art is so much the less technical, and all things may be said to minister to it, all study, all experience, all knowledge of men and things;) then again we have our author's lighting upon a Danish treasure, certain glorious lawless ballads, which fill his soul with joy and wonder as they did that of "Fouquè" before him. Then comes a really admirable chapter concerning an individual of the Hazlitt class, a Germaniser and philosophical unbeliever; it is no caricature, but a perfect portraiture, and yet how splendidly does it convey the vanity of the fellow. We recommend the study of this chapter xxiii. to most men, and are all but tempted to extract it "in extenso."

After this, we have a country squire of the old school, not dashed off so badly; more pugilists; itinerary methodists, for whom Mr. Borrow has a special affection; gypsies; battles royal; family discussions respecting George's future fortunes, for it seems admitted that he will never do for an attorney; his father's sickness unto death; his brother's return to receive his last blessing; and that father's closing scene. As a specimen of Mr. Borrow's more moving style, we shall extract this last, which seems to us very striking in its way, and which also ends the first volume:

"At the dead hour of night, it might be about two, I was awakened from sleep by a cry which sounded from the room immediately below that in which I slept. I knew the cry, it was the cry of my mother; and I also knew its import, yet I made no effort to rise, for I was for the moment paralyzed. Again the cry sounded, yet still I lay motion-

less—the stupidity of horror was upon me. A third time, and it was then that, by a violent effort, bursting the spell which appeared to bind me, I sprang from the bed and rushed down stairs. My mother was running wildly about the room; she had awoke, and found my father senseless in the bed by her side. I essayed to raise him, and after a few efforts supported him in the bed in a sitting posture. My brother now rushed in, and, snatching up a light that was burning, he held it to my father's face. 'The surgeon, the surgeon!' he cried; then, dropping the light, he ran out of the room followed by my mother; I remained alone, supporting the senseless form of my father; the light had been extinguished by the fall, and an almost total darkness reigned in the room. The form pressed heavily against my bosom—at last methought it moved. Yes, I was right, there was a heaving of the breast, and then a gasping. Were those words which I heard? Yes, they were words, low and indistinct at first, and then audible. The mind of the dying man was reverting to former scenes. I heard him mention names which I had often heard him mention before. It was an awful moment; I felt stupified, but I still contrived to support my dying father. There was a pause, again my father spoke: I heard him speak of Minden, and of Meredith, the old Minden sergeant, and then he uttered another name, which at one period of his life was much in his lips, the name of but this is a solemn moment! There was a deep gasp: I shook, and thought all was over; but I was mistaken—my father moved, and revived for a moment; he supported himself in bed without my assistance. I make no doubt that for a moment he was perfectly sensible, and it was then that, clasping his hands, he uttered another name clearly, distinctly—it was the name of Christ. With that name upon his lips, the brave old soldier sank back upon my bosom, and, with his hands still clasped, yielded up his soul."—Vol. i. pp. 358—360.

And here we almost think that our quotations must find their term. The youthful Borrow starts for London: he resolves to live by literature, especially by the publication of his wonderful translations from Ab Gwilym and the Danish, of which he gives us a few crackjaw and most prosaic specimens. Here we find the portraiture of a rationalistic publisher, not peculiarly engaging, and so very singular, as to be decidedly abnormal in his idiosyncrasy. Then we have London Bridge, and a certain old woman who keeps a stall on it, and possesses a book which she values as her only treasure, De Foe's *Life of Moll Flanders*, with whom Mr. Borrow strikes up a hasty friendship. Then we have the starting of a review, abuse of criticism and literary men, all sorts of out-of-the-way literary experiences; some amusing matter, but, we think, *more* trash. Then a certain tiresome Armenian bothers us a good deal; we have also a gypsy adventure at Greenwich fair,—not devoid of a certain wild originality;—we have the

account of a composition of a species of early novel or tale, which Mr. Borrow sells for twenty pounds; and various encounters with a certain Francis Ardry, "and his lady," neither of the twain remarkably respectable. We are glad when Mr. Borrow turns his back upon the great city, where he certainly seems any thing but in his element, and gets out into the woods and fields again. Then we have mystic roamings on Stonehenge, confabulations with returned convicts, a visit to a certain queer literary humorist,—also a country gentleman,—possessed with an almost insane passion for originality, and addicted to *touching* all manner of things by way of a charm against misfortune. Mr. Borrow speaks of this as an extraordinary habit: we believe nothing to be more common amongst imaginative boys: if *We* be not an Eidolon, or a myth, but actually be allowed to possess a substantive individuality, *we* will venture to say that our boyhood was very familiar with similar temptations and sensations, to which Dr. Johnson was subject all his life, and all fanciful men are likely to be who do not struggle resolutely against such tendencies.

Thus have we galloped through vol. ii., vastly inferior to its elder brother, and pass to the third and last, which is a decided improvement on the second, though it scarcely rises perhaps to the level of the first-born in freshness or interest. More especially, we have to protest against a most "lame and impotent conclusion," in the shape of a silly story told by a postilion, and would strongly recommend to our clever, spirited, harum-scarum author the omission of his last fifty pages, which are worse than useless. Had he terminated, however abruptly, with chapter xxx., leaving the postilion's tale to the imagination, we assure him that the effect would have been far more piquant, a substantial peroration having been provided in the indicated union of our hero and his lady-love,—a certain strapping amazon, as tall, or taller than our author's self, with beautiful flaxen or golden hair, blue eyes, and a form of regal majesty and grace, the very ideal (if a damsel so peculiarly substantial is not wronged by such an epithet) of the Danish warrior-maiden of the olden days. How our author falls in with her we shall not attempt to indicate: the whole history of the Tinker Slingsby driven off his ancient haunts by the gigantic brute of a Flaming Tinman, who at last meets with his deserts in a fistic encounter with our hero, (who ascribes no merit to himself, however, being only saved by a providence,) has no small amount of stirring life and energy; and so have the curious gypsy-scenes, the hideous Mother Herne, the amicable Petulengro, who will fight however to prove his friendship (we have known schoolboys do so in our own school days), all these things are animated and graphic: but

we do not mean to dwell on them, extracted as they have been in well-nigh every newspaper within these realms; nor will we dwell on the exaggerated attack on the Rev. Mr. Platitude, a full-blown specimen of the worst order of Romanizers: the Jesuit, too, introduced under the guise of "the black man," seems out of all keeping with life and nature. We cannot help fancying that very much of this third volume must be pure fiction: if not, we think we should have been provided with a distinct assurance to the contrary. What strikes us most in this volume, is the episode of Peter Williams and his wife, the wandering Welsh preacher, who fancies he has sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost: this is a graphic, earnest portraiture, worth all the rest of the volume put together; and it suggests grave questions to the mind respecting the advisability of really authorizing the going forth of peripatetic preachers to evangelize the masses; but *we believe* the time is not yet fully ripe; we must first have more internal unity among ourselves, that our home-missionaries may not contradict one another too frequently; and we are sanguine enough to believe that this period of union is not so distant as most men fancy, despite some present appearances to the contrary. We doubt whether our parochial system alone can regain the alienated affections of the masses; and true it is that certain men possess especial powers for moving the hearts of assembled multitudes. God gave those powers: should they not be employed? nay, had we not better risk a little erroneous teaching than allow people to slumber on for ever spiritually dead in life? No doubt such preachers must not be Antinomian: it is an indispensable condition that they should insist on practical obedience and the fruits of love, humility, long-suffering, industry, courage, loyalty; but, this once admitted, surely they can scarcely preach too emphatically, Redemption through the one Sacrifice! No doubt, they should tell the people that those amongst them who having been baptized are living in open sin, are under a more grievous condemnation than their brethren; but still they should proclaim that there is hope for all, mercy for all, and draw all by the Holy Spirit's help, towards the Cross of our Lord and Saviour. Then, if pastoral intercourse were only generally re-established, no danger but that the sinner, awakened to a sense of his condition, would resort to his pastor for aid, if not for guidance; manifestly the peripatetic preacher would have no time, independent of his having no mission, to supersede the ordinary duties of the parish priest. But we will not enlarge upon this theme. We could not pass it by without some indication of our hopes; but our paper reminds us that we must draw these lucubrations to a close.

Mr. Borrow's book, then, in our opinion, is on the whole very lively and animated, strange, indeed, as we started by affirming, but graphic; giving no very distinct image of the ordinary world around us, but revealing a new world of gypsies, tramps, boxers, Flaming Tinmen, and oddities of every shape and kind, with which readers are far less likely to be acquainted. We have called Mr. Borrow a humorist, yet he is scarcely this; not in the same sense, at least, with that at once most ludicrously comical and most pathetic of writers, Charles Dickens; nor does he bear any affinity to the genius of Thackeray, who conceals beneath a light exterior a depth of meaning and a world of thought which Mr. Borrow would not fathom; nor has he even the playfulness of that really charming novelist Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton (whatever be thought of his plays and his poetry):—something of the same boldness and directness which are characteristic of Mr. Kingsley (witness these two powerful works "*Yeast*" and "*Alton Locke*") may perhaps be discovered here. But, after all, Mr. Borrow has a world of his own and a genius of his own, and can no more be classed with Cervantes (with whom a French reviewer ranked him the other day), than with Shakspeare, or Douglas Jerrold, or Tom Paine, or Bishop Butler! He is "*sui generis*," emphatically, and stands apart and aloof from all his literary compeers, whom he seems to pummel with a most peculiar zest in the performance of that duty. We suppose we shall meet him and the American lady again, and hear more gypsy wonders, and wonders of all kinds. He must confess in the meanwhile that he has met with genial—we will not affront him by saying lenient—auditors in us.

ART. VI.—*Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest.* By MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN, *Editor of the "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies."* London: Colburn 3 vols. 1850, 1851.

OF the many childish illusions that fade away before the scorching light of maturer years, there is none perhaps at once more fair and more fallacious than the ideal princess of our young imagination. The princess of our fairy tales is a being in whom centres every charm, every power, and every bliss; her beauty is unrivalled, her heart the home of every glad emotion, the shrine of every noble aspiration; a child of nature in all that make nature attractive with only so much of art as to set off to their full advantage the glittering gifts of the mighty mother; and bright in herself, her path is one career of life, and light, and hope, and love, and glory. Woes she may encounter, but they dim not her eye; trials she may endure, but they pale not the rose upon her cheek; dangers fright her not, foes harm her not, and, however dark clouds may hover over her cradle, or haunt her earlier years, they are sure to give place to a noon of dazzling rapture, and an eve of delicious repose.

Alas! how different is the real princess from her ideal counterpart! How seldom is her lot one of happiness! How frequently is it, on the contrary, one of deep affliction! Like the North American negro, she is born and bred a slave with a little chance of release or relief as that miserable victim of republican rapacity! Yes; she is doomed from her very birth. For her friendship is a nullity, and love a forbidden thing. In the splendour of her brilliant thralldom she moves in irons, which pierce not the less into her soul, because they are brightly gilded and richly jewelled. Her feelings, her thoughts, her wishes, her words, her actions, must all be ruled by the remorseless law of an unrelenting conventionalism; her heart must be tutored like that of the recluse immured in the prison-house of Romish conventionalism: yet must she be as prompt and passive as an Eastern slave, when family interest or state policy would consign her to the arms of a stranger, or even an enemy.

"The destinies of the royal daughters of England, associated as they inevitably are with, and dependent upon, those of their relatives of the other sex, will frequently be found to take their tone and colouring,

from the character of their sires or brothers. While the respect commanded by an energetic and able English monarch rendered an alliance with him an object of anxious emulation among the continental princes, the female relatives of a feeble sovereign were almost invariably sacrificed to the timid policy which endeavoured either to bribe its enemies, or reward its adherents by such boons. Very sad has often been the history of these royal marriages; yet when we consider the utter neglect of attention either to age, suitability of character, or, in fact, to any thing but state policy, with which they were contracted, the marvel is, not that they should have been frequently unhappy, but that they have occasionally proved so fortunate."—Vol. i. p. 378.

The volumes under review contain the biographies of the royal daughters of England, from the days of William the Conqueror, to those of Edward IV. They are compiled with great care, great judgment, and, what is even more rare, and at least equally important, with great impartiality. The design has been well conceived, and well executed; and, as we read on, we are often reminded of the faults of other historians, biographers, and archaeologists, by the absence of those blemishes which disfigure the greater number of works that treat of the earlier, or even the later, periods of modern history. We earnestly hope that the authoress may be permitted to conclude the very valuable collection which she has begun, and that the remaining volumes may be fully worthy to stand by the side of their predecessors.

Faults of course there are; but they are rather those of inadvertence, than intention—of manner, than of matter. The Saxons, for example, are twice called "the Ancient Britons;" and there are blemishes of style and conventionalisms of expression, which might be altered with advantage in a second edition. These imperfections, however, do not detract from the interest, or the instruction with which these pages abound. The work possesses a peculiar charm of variety from the fact that its successive heroines figured in widely different characters on widely distant stages; so that our attention is, in turn, arrested by the cloister, the court, and the camp; and we wander now amid the rugged fastnesses of Wales or Scotland, now through the gloomy forests of Germany, now over the sunny meads of Languedoc, Sicily, or Palestine.

It will be impossible for us to give any full account, or accurate description of the present work; because each life being perfect and separate in itself, would in such case require to be treated in succession. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with briefly adverting to some of the most striking incidents or passages which occur in the course of these volumes, and select for a closer

survey one or two out of the many deeply interesting biographies before us.

The series commences, as we have already indicated, with the daughters of William the Conqueror, that mighty plunderer, that magnificent marauder, that heroic oppressor, the fate of whose family forms one of the many illustrations of the prophet's words : " Woe unto him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, to set his nest on high, that he may be delivered from the power of evil ! Thou hast consulted shame to thy house by cutting off many people, and hast sinned against thy soul. For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity."

It is a curious illustration both of the character of William and Matilda, and of the spirit of the age in which they lived, that " in order to reconcile the See of Rome to their union, which was forbidden on the pretext of their being within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity," they " vowed each to erect and endow a stately monastery."

" St. Stephen's Abbey, and that of the Holy Trinity at Caen, the one for monks and the other for nuns, both the most splendid monastic establishments of their time in Normandy, proved how well they performed their promise ; and as a consummation of their offering, the zealous pair determined to devote their eldest daughter to the service of God within the cloistered walls of the latter edifice."—Vol. i. p. 4.

In order, then, to be themselves permitted to enjoy the sweets of domestic life, the maid and her lover take the surest means of excluding others from them, and selfishly devote the fruit of their own passion to the loveless seclusion of the cloister. This *vicarious self-denial* is still practised to a large extent in those countries, which acknowledge the supremacy and receive the faith of Rome. It was no uncommon circumstance a few years since for an unmarried woman to devote her unborn offspring to the convent as an atonement for her own breach of chastity.

Trained, then, from her early youth for that life to which she had been devoted before her conception, CECILIA, the eldest daughter of William of Normandy, by his wife Matilda of Flanders, entered the Convent of the Holy Trinity—of which in due course of time she became the Abbess. Her life appears to have been one of tranquillity and devotion—her mind of a high order—her rule (when raised to authority) mild and firm. It is interesting to know, too, that she as well as many of the other high-born ladies of this and the succeeding age, was well skilled in the Latin language, and not unacquainted with other branches of knowledge.

The fate of her sister MATILDA was far more troublous.

"After the conquest of England, King William, in order to secure the fidelity of Edwin Earl of Chester, one of the most powerful of the Saxon nobles, promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and the Lady Matilda, who, after the profession of Cecilia and the death of Adelaide, was the eldest princess at court, was to become the bride of the handsome young Saxon."—Vol. i. p. 16.

A deep and fervent attachment seems to have sprung up between the young people. It was, however, destined to that cruel disappointment which so often attends the hopes and wishes of youth, and which dogs like an avenging spirit the footsteps of the daughters of kings. The fate of Edwin is too well known to be more than alluded to in this place. And her father, after his death, accepted for her the proposals of marriage made by Alphonso, the sovereign of Leon and Castille.

"Haunted as she was with the memory of the past, she manifested the strongest reluctance to the connexion thus marked out for her. But the embassy sent to demand her was numerous and splendid, the alliance was highly honourable, and the Conqueror was not of a temper to be lightly moved by the tears of a reluctant girl."—Vol. i. p. 22.

The preparations, therefore, went on upon a most magnificent scale: for the Conqueror spared nothing to shed all the glory of this world over the sacrifice which he demanded, the victim whom he devoted. His will, however, was at length bowed before that mightier, sterner Will which the most imperious potentates must succumb to.

"For several long years Matilda had endeavoured by prayer and other acts of devotion to gain repose to her wounded spirit, and so assiduous was she in these exercises, that after her death a hard substance was found to have been formed upon her knees, the result of her long and frequent prayers. Her dread of her unknown Spanish spouse was so excessive, 'that she supplicated the Omnipotent with floods of tears,' that He would rather take her to Himself than permit her to fulfil the detested union. Her earnest desires paved the way for their own accomplishment. She set out on her journey towards Spain with a brilliant *cortège*, but had scarcely reached the frontiers, when she sickened and died. Sorrow had done its work, and the cords of the young and gentle spirit, too tightly strained, had snapped—her death is universally attributed to a broken heart."—Vol. i. p. 22.

Yet sad as her fate appears, it was in reality, a blessed one. For better was it to die in the unsullied purity of her virgin grief, than to live for the pollution of a compulsory and unholy marriage—better, far better, was it to weep over the grave and follow

the steps of the unfortunate Saxon, than to share in the prosperity, the pride, the cruelty of her father's evil house.

Far different were the fortunes of ADELA, the fifth and youngest of the undoubted daughters of William and Matilda, from those of any of her sisters.

"There was a certain youth, of one of the noblest families of France, though he possessed no higher sounding name than that of Simon Crispin, Earl of Amiens, the son and heir of Ralph, Earl of Valois and Mantz, who, in order that he might become an accomplished chevalier, was sent by his father to be educated in the court of William of Normandy. Here the gallant boy became such a favourite with both William and Matilda, that they determined in due time to bestow upon him the hand of his young playmate the Princess Adela—and the thing was looked upon as settled. Whether the young lady herself regarded him with an equally partial eye we cannot ascertain; but the presumptions are, that he entertained for her a sincere and strong affection."—Vol. i. p. 35.

The circumstance by which this engagement was broken off, is so strikingly characteristic of the times in which it occurred, that we shall transcribe it *in extenso* :—

"Bred in the court of the pious Matilda of Flanders, Simon had imbibed an early reverence for justice and humanity; and was greatly shocked to find, that the father of whom he had seen so little had been guilty of many cruel acts of oppression, and that even his burial-place, the castle of Montdidier, had been wrongfully and fraudulently obtained.

"Full of pious concern for the soul of his parent, he consulted Pope Gregory on the subject; and the pontiff commanded that his body should be removed from such unhallowed ground, and masses daily said for his soul. The son hastened to comply; a tomb was prepared in consecrated ground, and the remains disinterred from their resting-place in the castle of Montdidier. When the coffin was brought above ground a strong desire possessed the mind of Simon to gaze once more upon the face of his buried sire; but the earl had now occupied the house appointed for all living upwards of three years, and decay had made rapid progress. The ghastly spectacle presented before the eyes of the terrified youth, when the lid of the coffin was raised, produced such an effect upon his mind, that from that moment it took a completely new bias.

"His splendid dominions, his noble exploits, his young betrothed, were all forgotten in the horrid spectacle of the final destiny of frail mortality, and he resolved from that hour to devote himself exclusively to preparation for a world where death and decay are no more. Just in the crisis when his mind was struggling beneath the weight of these emotions, he was summoned to the court of King William, to consummate his marriage with the Lady Adela, who had reached the mature age of fifteen. Thither accordingly he repaired, not to fulfil his engage-

ment, but to request that on account of the plea of consanguinity which he urged, he might be permitted first to take a journey to Rome and sue for a dispensation. This was willingly granted; but no sooner had he passed the limits to which the power of his intended father-in-law might be supposed to extend, than he turned aside to a German monastery, and there took the decisive vows. Here he gave himself up to the most rigorous fasting and penance; but still not satisfied, he shortly afterwards resolved to lead the life of a hermit; and during the remainder of his existence, a single meal a day, composed of bread and water with wild apples or a few vegetables, formed his sole sustenance. His conduct, however, excited no displeasure in the minds of William and Matilda; for in the year 1081, when the object of his once passionate attachment had left her father's court as the bride of another, the lonely hermit now celebrated over half Europe for his sanctity and austerity, paid a visit to these his early friends, and endeavoured to reconcile the dissensions which had sprung up between King William and his eldest son Robert. The following year terminated the life of this singular character: he died at Rome, whither he had gone on an important mission. In honour of his sanctity he was honoured with a burial in the vault of the popes; and Queen Matilda showed her respect for his memory by making a munificent present of gold and silver for the erection of his tomb, which to the present day is an object of curiosity to travellers."—Vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

We observe, indeed, throughout these volumes many traces of that spurious devotion, and misdirected self-sacrifice which blemish the character and conduct of most, but not all the good and holy men of those ages—and of that fanaticism of hypocrisy, that self-delusion of wickedness, which gave a quasi religious colouring to the lives and even the crimes of the monsters of cruelty, avarice, lawlessness, and lust, which then abounded. Still there is a striking difference, a broad distinction to be drawn between the religion of Mediæval Europe, in the centuries emphatically called the dark ages, and that of Modern Rome. Corruptions there were indeed many and gross—errors wide spread and dangerous—and each generation gave fresh strength, and form, and authority, to the leaven of evil that had been working from the days of the Apostles downwards. But in the eleventh century many of the evils now established were only tolerated, others were unknown; and as a whole, we may safely say, that the superstition of that era had obscured, but not superseded the religion of the Bible. Nor ought we to lose sight of this very important principle, that there is a great difference both in theory and in practice, between holding superstitions in addition to, or together with the truth, and holding them either to the exclusion of, or as integral and co-ordinate portions of it. The cataract had alas already proceeded far in the course of its formation, but it had not

yet shut out the light from the eye of faith. The Churches of mediæval Europe, though their sight became dimmer and dimmer, were still capable of seeing their way, were still capable of being restored to full vision by skilful and stern remedies such as those of the English Reformation. Modern Rome has passed that limit—she must be *couched* ere she can see.

One point which strikes us particularly in reading the lives of these Norman Princesses, is the absence of any indication of that blasphemous worship which the Romish Church pays *nominally* to the blessed Virgin—nominally, we say, for the “*cultus*,” as it is gently termed by Romanists and Romanizers, and others, who whilst not sharing the error or the sin, hesitate to denounce it in adequate terms, the “*cultus*” in question, is merely a revival of the ancient worship of Astaroth, the queen of heaven.

But to return to the thread of our narrative. The Princess Adela was not destined to share the fate of either of her sisters. In 1080 she married Stephen, Earl of Meaux and Brie, son and heir of Theobald, Earl of Blois and Chartres. This marriage gave great satisfaction to both families, and, which is of more substantial importance, to the handsome bridegroom and his beautiful bride. In her married life, however, she had the advantage or the misfortune, which ever we deem it, of being far superior to her husband in point of mental and moral power, and this circumstance somewhat diminished her happiness, though it advanced her prosperity, as well as that of her lord.

During Stephen’s absences in the Holy Land or elsewhere, his talented partner was left to discharge the office of regent. We have great pleasure in quoting from the first of two letters still remaining, addressed to his wife by the crusader:—

“Earl Stephen to the Countess Adela, his sweetest friend and wife, sendeth whatever his mind can devise of best or most benignant. Be it known to thee, beloved, that I had a pleasant journey, in all honour and bodily safety as far as Rome. I have already written from Constantinople very accurately the particulars of my peregrination, but lest any misfortune should have happened to my messenger, I rewrite these letters to thee. I came by God’s grace to the city of Constantinople with great joy. The emperor received me worthily and most courteously, and even lovingly, as his own son, and gave me most liberal and precious gifts, so that there is not in the whole army duke, or earl, or any potentate whom he more trusts or favours than me. Indeed, my beloved, his imperial majesty has and still does often recommend to me, that we should send to him one of our sons, and he promises to bestow on him so many and great honours, that he shall have no cause to envy us. I tell you in truth that there is not such a man living under heaven; he enriches all our princes most liberally, relieves all the soldiers

with gifts, refreshes all the poor with feasts. Near the city of Nice there is a castle called Civitot, near which runs an arm of the sea, by which the emperor's ships sail day and night to Constantinople, bearing food to the camp for innumerable poor, which is daily distributed to them. Your father, my beloved, has done many and great things, but he is nothing to this man. These few things have I written to you about him, that you may have some idea what he is."—Vol. i. p. 50.

We cannot, however, afford much more space to the haughty and able countess, and her amiable though volatile husband. After his death she conducted the government of his territories and the education of his children with judgment, boldness, and discretion; and at length resigned his domains to her second son, Theobald, gradually resigning the reins of government into his hands as he became able to guide them.

"In the midst of more stirring occupations, Adela was not neglectful of the interests of learning; for it was at her request that Hugh of St. Mary, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, wrote his history of France, the latter part of which, after her death, was dedicated to her niece, the Empress Matilda.

"At length, worn out with the toils of a long and active life, and feeling the infirmities of old age gradually stealing upon her, the venerable countess resolved to retire from the world. . . . This resolution appears to have been taken partly in compliance with the wishes of Archbishop Anselm. . . . The place of retreat which she selected was the Cluniac Priory of Marcigny, a small town situated on the river Loire, in the diocese of Autun."—Vol. i. pp. 64, 65.

Had the convents confined themselves to receiving into their bosom recluses of such an age and such a character, who required after a life of active duty a season of preparation for the life to come, and the temporary shelter of the young, the defenceless, and the penitent; had they occupied themselves only in the rational and lawful practices of devotion, and the exercise of all the charities of life, our judgment of them would have been far different from that which we are now compelled to pronounce. But, alas! how often have they been the abodes of misery, folly, and even vice, the nurseries of error, superstition, bigotry, and fanaticism! How often, instead of refuges, have they become prisons; instead of retreats, sepulchres! How often, too, have they afforded an excuse, as well as a facility, for the desertion of clear and positive duties! Nor should we ever forget, whilst considering the desirableness of having collegiate asylums, and the benefits which have actually occurred to mankind from conventual institutions, that those of mediæval times and those of modern Rome were universally based on two erroneous, nay, *heretical*, foundations, namely, 1, the *intrinsic* superiority of the

celibate to the conjugal state ; and, 2, the anti-christian doctrine of Evangelical Counsels, or Counsels of Perfection,—a doctrine which assumes that we may do more than our duty, and give a free gift to the All Giver ; and that they were and are consolidated and defended by an unlawful, a pernicious, and a sacrilegious vow.

“ The death of the Countess Adela took place in 1137, when she had attained to the advanced age of seventy-four or seventy-five years. Her remains were conveyed back to her native province of Caen, and deposited with those of her mother, and her sister Cecilia, in the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, in that city, where the simple inscription of ‘ Adela filia regis,’ ‘ Adela, the daughter of the king,’ pointed out the burial-place of this last surviving child of William the Conqueror.” —Vol. i. p. 71.

She was the mother of a large family. Of these William, the eldest, did not succeed his father in the earldom. He appears to have been all but imbecile, and not only weak, but vicious. He quietly assumed the name and arms of his wife Agnes, the daughter and heiress of Giles de Sully, and thus became the founder of the celebrated house of Sully Champagne :—

“ Theobald, the great Earl of Blois, his mother’s darling son, inherited his father’s dominions, and became the progenitor of a long line of noble descendants. His only daughter, Adela, named after his mother, became the second wife of Louis VII. of France, and the mother of his heir, Philip Augustus, thus mingling the blood of the Conqueror of England with that of the Capetian dynasty in the veins of the most famous of their descendants.”—Vol. i. p. 70.

Her third son was the celebrated Stephen, who succeeded in mounting the throne of England, to the prejudice of his cousin Matilda, the empress. It will be seen, therefore, that Stephen was the third son of the daughter of William of Normandy, whilst Matilda was the only daughter of the third son of the Conqueror.

Amongst her other children we may mention her youngest son Henry, “ the talented, but unprincipled and versatile Bishop of Winchester, so famous in later years.”

Her daughter Adela was given in marriage “ to Milo de Brai, Lord of Montlheri and Viscount of Troyes : but Bishop Ivo, who really seems to have been the evil genius of all love-marriages, found or framed a plea of illegality in the union, and appealed to the Pope. In consequence of his relentless pertinacity, to the great grief of the bridegroom, the marriage was annulled.”

The life of MATILDA, only daughter, and after the unfortunate death of her brother William, sole heiress of Henry the First, is

full of stirring incident and lively interest—she was born in 1102, the second year of her father's reign. Both she and her brother were placed under the care of Anselm: but she had little time to profit by the instructions, or become subject to the influence of the Archbishop; for—

“She had only just attained her seventh year, when a stately embassy arrived from Henry V., Emperor of Germany, a monarch old enough to be her father, to demand her in marriage In the following year the little lady, glittering with innumerable jewels, and amply endowed with splendid gifts, bearing in her train a dowry of 10,000 marks of silver, was committed to the care of Roger Fitz Richard, a trusty baron, who with a noble train of knights accompanied her to Germany.

“On approaching the confines of the empire, she was every where received with due magnificence. At Utrecht she was met by her future lord; and during the approaching festival of Easter, the nuptial solemnities, or rather those of the betrothal, were performed. We do not learn how the juvenile bride, who was said to be ‘very wise and valiant and beautiful,’ was taught to play her part in these royal pageants; but on her coronation, which took place almost immediately after at Mayence, the Archbishop of Treves ‘reverently’ held the child in his arms, while the Archbishop of Cologne, surrounded by all the dignitaries of the empire, placed upon her brow the imperial diadem of the Cæsars.”—Vol. i. pp. 85, 86.

Poor little thing! it was early indeed to be initiated into the pomps and vanity of that world which she had so lately renounced in her baptism; nor need we wonder if the evil pride of her haughty family grew up into an arrogance which turned warm friends into bitter enemies, when it was thus nurtured in a hotbed of adulation. She seems, however, to have had naturally much of goodness and kindness in her disposition, if we are to judge from the interest and regard which she excited in the breasts of her husband's subjects. And the bitter lessons which she received in after years were the means of taming her fierce spirit, and bringing her rebellious will into subjection to that of her Divine Master.

“The provision made by the emperor for the household of Matilda, was on a scale corresponding to her dignity; ‘for,’ says our troubadour chronicler, ‘it was his desire that she should be nobly brought up and honourably served, and that she should learn German, and the customs and laws, and all that pertains to an empress now in the time of her youth.’”—Vol. i. p. 87.

Henry's conduct in this instance is deserving of the highest commendation; for in so doing he endeavoured to enable her to

do her duty in that state of life to which it had pleased God to call her, and to fulfil his own duty also to his subjects.

"It would appear that her progress was satisfactory to her lord, who was certainly old enough to judge; for in the year 1114, young as she was, he chose to consider her education as completed. A splendid court was held at Mayence, to which all the nobility of the empire crowded; and on the 7th of January their nuptials were again celebrated. The ceremony of coronation was also repeated, after which Matilda was removed from her tutelage, and took up her residence with her imperial spouse.

"Henry's personal appearance, as depicted in his seal, is juvenile, and somewhat pleasing. He is represented as a beardless youth, dressed in an elegant tunic reaching to his ankles, over which is thrown the imperial mantle; he bears in his right hand the sceptre crowned with lilies, and in his left the orb surmounted by a cross. The impression from which the engraving here described is taken, is from a deed bearing date 1112; but probably the seal itself may have been cast somewhat earlier."—Vol. i. p. 88.

We cannot, however, tarry longer at the German Court. Suffice it to say, that in her twenty-second year "Matilda the Empress" was left a widow, though a doubt has been raised as to whether her husband was actually dead, or had secretly retired into seclusion. We are decidedly of opinion, that he actually departed this life at the period in question. Yielding to the urgent intreaties of the king, her father, Matilda set forth from that land where she had passed the troublous days of her splendid youth.

"A *cortège* even more splendid than that which had attended her when, an almost unconscious child, she went to share the imperial throne, was sent by the king to escort the widowed Matilda. The king, anxious to show his heiress to his English subjects, and to secure for her their oaths of allegiance, set sail with her and Queen Adelicia, in 1126, for England. Here she was met by her uncle, David, King of Scotland; and, after the Christmas festival had been observed in great state at Windsor, Henry, taking advantage of the presence of his illustrious guest, assembled at London a council of all his nobles and barons, and presenting to them his darling daughter, then in the prime of womanly beauty, he lamented, in a pathetic speech, the loss he had sustained in the premature death of his son; and, pointing out the blessings likely to ensue from the undisputed succession of the descendant of their Norman and Saxon monarchs, demanded their oaths of fealty to the Lady Matilda."—Vol. i. pp. 100, 101.

The ceremony is thus described in "Wintowni Oryginale Chronykyl of Scotland:"—

"A thowsand a hundyr twenty and sevyn
Fra Mary bare the Kyng of Heavyn,

Dawy, than Kyng of Scotland
And hale the states of Ingland,
At Lundyn all assembled were.
The Kyng of Scotland, Dawy, there
Gert all the statis bundyn be
Till the Emprys in Fewte.
Hys systyr Dowchtyr, Dame Mald,
Be name that time scho wes cald,
On the Circumcysiwne day
This othe of Fealte thare swore thei."

Vol. i. p. 101, Note.

This homage was duly recorded in a signed and sealed deed, which King David took back with him to Scotland. Vol. i. p. 101.

"Early in the spring of the year, the royal party left London, and went to reside in the pleasant summer palace of Woodstock, whence they removed at Whitsuntide to Winchester; but although the Augusta had no establishment of her own in the kingdom of which she was the acknowledged heiress, yet she occupied a conspicuous station in her father's court. The contemporary author of the continuation of Florence of Worcester tells us, 'she was maintained near her father with excellent honour.' The Saxon annals expressly assert, that all affairs of state were transacted with her advice and concurrence; and her name is also found affixed along with that of the king and queen to state documents.

"Matilda did not long remain in this position. Her hand was too tempting a prize not to be eagerly courted; and Foulk, Earl of Anjou, long the most troublesome enemy of Henry's continental possessions, entered into negotiations to unite her with his young son and heir Geoffrey."—Vol. i. p. 103.

The empress was naturally and rightly averse to unite herself with a boy nine years her junior; but her father, who desired by this alliance to deprive his gallant and injured nephew, William Clito, son of Duke Robert of Normandy, and thus the grandson and lineal heir male of the mighty Conqueror, of his last and most powerful protector, accepted the Angevin proposals with delight—if, indeed, he did not himself commence the negotiation. And, despite of Matilda's unconcealed reluctance, and the unpopularity which the marriage was expected to meet with in England, the imperial widow was compelled to wed the hot-headed stripling. From such an union, thus arranged and completed, owing its origin to an act of cruel injustice, and formed in contradiction to common sense as well as delicacy, no happy result was likely to accrue. Nor did the event belie such a calculation. Into the miseries, however, of Matilda's second marriage we cannot

enter, nor trace the course of that long struggle which, after the death of her father, she waged with her cousin Stephen for the throne of England. Nor can we do more than indicate the noble constancy and sagacious policy of Robert of Gloucester, her natural brother, or the gentle heroism of her rival's wife; both of which are fully described in these interesting pages.

Amongst the many extraordinary features of that time, perhaps the strangest is the character and conduct of Stephen's younger brother, who, during the captivity of that prince, came over to Matilda's party.

"Meanwhile, her new ally, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, assembled a synod in his episcopal city, in which he uttered a long harangue in censure of Stephen's proceedings, enlarging on the obligation of the previous oaths taken to Matilda; and, notwithstanding an eloquent and touching appeal from the unfortunate consort of the imprisoned king, 'Matilda, the daughter of the incomparable King Henry,' was elected as 'Lady of England and Normandy.' Such an unprecedented step as the election of a sovereign by the clergy alone excited great surprise in those members of the council who had not previously been initiated into its object; but the legate was all-powerful, and singular as the decree was, issuing from such an assembly, it was passed without one dissenting voice."—Vol. i. p. 142.

Anxious as we are for the revival of Diocesan Synods, as subsidiary and subservient to that of Convocation, we scarcely need record our opinion, that the assembly in question dealt on the above occasion with a subject totally foreign to its jurisdiction and alien to its province. The same prelate shortly after again convoked his synod, with the view of declaring the deposition of Matilda, and of recognizing her rival as the lawful sovereign, in which he was equally successful.

Of the many striking incidents connected with this often-varying struggle, we can select but one more—that which was the turning point in Matilda's career:—

"With a train as numerous and splendid as even the Augusta herself could desire, a few days before Midsummer, she made her entry into the capital of her ancestral kingdom, and was received with enthusiasm by many of the citizens, who welcomed in her the daughter of their idolized queen, Matilda the Atheling, the lawful heiress of their late sovereign, and the descendant of their Saxon monarchs. She fixed her residence in the palace of Westminster, and held her state in the midst of a numerous and brilliant court; while her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, by the courtesy of his manners, secured the good will of the proud barons, and made great exertions to reform the abuses which had crept into the government during the troublous times of civil war."—Vol. i. p. 143.

"From the time of her landing in England, the exchequer of the empress had been at a miserably low ebb; so low, indeed, that the very equipment of her household and the provisions for her table were provided by the zeal of her faithful friend Milo Fitz-Walter. Anxious to replenish her empty coffers, she opened her first communication with the City of London, by the demand of an enormous subsidy. . . . The citizens, who had already been sadly drained by their contributions to the cause of the imprisoned Stephen, begged for pity, or, at least, for a little delay. 'The king has left us nothing,' said the deputies, in a humble tone. 'I understand you have given all to my enemy, to strengthen him against me,' was the haughty reply. 'You have conspired for my ruin; therefore I will neither spare you, nor relax the least in my demand of money.' Not being able to obtain the respite they desired, the deputies ventured to beseech that she would govern them by the gentle rule of her Saxon ancestor, Edward the Confessor, and not by the stern laws of her father and grandfather. Matilda's Norman blood boiled within her at these words; with frowning brow, and eyes flashing with passionate indignation, she fiercely reproached their insolence, and, bidding them go home and collect their subsidy, drove them from her presence. And they *did* retire; but it was not to their homes. The citizens, assembled to hear the report of their messengers, were provoked beyond measure at the relation of the harshness with which they had been treated by the empress; the secret emissaries of Stephen's queen had already been busy among them, and their resolutions were soon taken. While the Augusta was giving a splendid banquet to her court at her royal palace of Westminster, and in anticipation dreaming over the ceremonials of her approaching coronation, the mirth of the festival was broken in upon by the arrival of a secret messenger, bearing the fearful tidings, that the city was up in arms.

"'To horse! to horse!' was the instantaneous cry; and in a few minutes the empress and her nobles were mounted and ready; but not before the pealing of the alarm-bells from every church in the city, the clang of arms, and the mustering of the troops, showed that no time was to be lost; and scarcely had her train got clear of the palace, when the mob entered and took possession, and all the furniture and plate became their prey. The band of stalwart knights, who accompanied the empress in her flight, presented too formidable an appearance for the citizen soldiers to attempt a pursuit; one by one, however, Matilda's followers dropped away, and her faithful brother, the Earl of Gloucester, with Milo Fitz-Walter, were the only nobles who entered with her the city of Oxford, which she had chosen as the place of her retreat."—Vol. i. pp. 145, 146.

We cannot, however, forbear noticing a circumstance in the history of this princess, which illustrates the old adage, "that necessity is the mother of invention." It being found impossible to elude the vigilance of Stephen's partisans by any of the ordi-

nary modes of epistolary communication, a faithful and burly friar was found, within the thickets of whose bushy beard the letters were secreted, and thus passed unseen and unquestioned through the hosts of the enemy.

The history of MARY, daughter of King Stephen, is one of the most extraordinary which these volumes contain. From her earliest infancy she was destined by her parents to the cloister. Professed even in her childhood, in course of time she became first prioress of Lillechurch, and afterwards abbess of Rumsey; the first, before she had attained to womanhood; the second, ere she had completed her twentieth year. Of a gentle temper and retiring disposition, she administered her authority so as to gain the affection as well as esteem of her sisterhood; and lived happily and peacefully for some years, until an event took place which strangely altered her position and influenced her future destiny. This was the death of her only brother William, Earl of Boulogne and Mortagne, which occurred in the year 1160.

"Of all the flourishing family of Stephen and Matilda, the young abbess alone was left as the sole inheritor of the honours of her house. Her English estates King Henry II. disposed of without hesitation; and the earldom of Mortagne, given by his grandfather Henry I. to King Stephen, and confirmed by himself to that monarch and his successors, he bestowed as an appanage upon his own brother William; but that of Boulogne had descended to Mary's mother from a long line of illustrious ancestors, and the inhabitants would consent to receive none but a descendant of their former earls, and, though far away in a distant English monastery, the Lady Mary de Blois was universally acknowledged by them as their countess. Her politic and unscrupulous relative, Henry II., availed himself of this predominant feeling in the minds of the Bolonese to make her the tool of his own ambitious schemes. Engaged in constant struggles with Louis in France, it was of great importance to him to strengthen his continental alliances, and, with this view, regardless of all the vows, then considered so sacred, which bound her to a life of perpetual virginity, he, in 1160, offered the hand of the young abbess to Matthew of Alsace, younger son of Theodoric or Thierry, Earl of Flanders, hoping doubtless that by thus providing an appanage for his younger son, he might secure the interest of the father. The scheme thus hastily formed, was as hastily executed; Matthew, elated with the idea of his approaching elevation, did not even consult his father or brother on the subject, but at once fell in with the proposal of the English king. Their arrangements were of course made with the greatest caution; the helpless and frightened abbess was forcibly conveyed from the scenes of peaceful retirement, over which she had so long presided, and, before she had time to recover from her astonishment, or comprehend the meaning of a proceeding so unlooked for, she was compelled, by an authority it was hopeless

to resist, to give her hand to one she had never before seen, and to utter at the nuptial altar vows which could not be breathed by a veiled nun, without the most fearful violation of those which she had previously sworn. No resource, however, was left to the trembling and reluctant maiden; the irrevocable words were spoken; the young nun had become a bride, and awoke from her dream of terrified surprise, to find herself the innocent object of execration to the whole Catholic world. Whether she found in her spouse those qualities which compensated her for the sufferings she had to undergo on his behalf, history does not inform us. We are told that Matthew was handsome, and brave, but his late proceeding showed that he was violent and unscrupulous, and that he paid but little regard to the obligations of that religion to which his gentle consort had been devoted from her early childhood. He was certainly much older than she, for we find him occupying an important position as mediator between his brother and the Earl of Holland, in the year 1147, thirteen years previous to the date of his marriage; it was probable that he was now fast verging towards forty, whereas his bride could not be more than twenty-three or four. Mary appears to have been a resigned and submissive, though it is doubtful whether she could ever be called a happy, wife."—Vol. i. pp. 196—198.

The countess after living some years with her husband, and becoming the mother of two daughters, retired once more to the seclusion of a convent. Her children, however, were formally legitimized, and one of them became the ancestress of a long line of noble descendants. Her husband had conducted his contest with the See of Rome in a manner characterized by the utmost daring as well as policy, nor would he have allowed her to depart had he not lost all hope of her becoming the mother of an heir to the earldom of Holland, which, unlike Boulogne, was a male fief. After their separation he married again, but always treated Mary with great respect, and in one of his charters calls her still his wife.

We regret our inability to afford any space for the biography of MATILDA, eldest daughter of Henry the Second, who was given in marriage to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, and thus became the mother of the lineal male ancestor of the house of Brunswick. We must, however, find room for an anecdote regarding her son Henry, as it stands out brightly amidst the darkness of many sorrows:—

"An early attachment had sprung up between him and the beautiful Agnes, daughter of Conrad, Earl Palatine of the Rhine, who was the brother of the Emperor Frederic I., and consequently uncle to his son and successor Henry VI. An alliance had been projected between them which the long dissensions of the two houses had broken off; but still the image of her young lover clung to the memory of the Lady Agnes. Some years afterwards, her hand was demanded in marriage by

Philip of France, who had just divorced his former wife, Ingeburga of Denmark. Her mother announced the proposals to her: 'My daughter,' said she, 'have you any desire for an honourable marriage? It may be accomplished, for the King of France has sent to demand your hand.' 'Ah, madam,' said Agnes, 'I have heard from many of this king, how he has scorned and rejected his noble consort, the daughter of the King of Denmark; and after such an example I fear him.' 'And whom would you prefer to him?' asked the mother, suspecting some love affair was at the bottom of this opposition. 'If I had my own choice, I would never be disunited from young Henry of Saxony, to whom I was plighted in early infancy.' 'Trust me, my child,' rejoined her mother, 'you shall yet escape these formidable nuptials, and be united to the man of your choice.'

"The Countess Palatine now set to work to concert a scheme for the immediate union of Agnes and her lover; for, as the damsel's father was intent upon the French alliance, no time was to be lost. Agnes, at her mother's request, wrote letters to her lover, informing him of her situation, and these were accompanied by a message from the countess, requesting him to lose not a moment in hurrying to their castle, as Earl Conrad was then absent at the Imperial Court. The expedition was fraught with peril, for young Henry was in great disgrace with the emperor, and could not set foot on the imperial estates without incurring danger, in case he should be recognized. He hesitated not, however, to obey the call of love, and made such good speed, that, within a few days, he arrived at the castle, long before he was expected, just at the hour of twilight, and presented himself to the astonished Agnes and her mother. No time was lost; the priest immediately summoned, and that night, without any pomp or preparation, their vows were plighted to each other, and they received the sacerdotal benediction.

"Great was the indignation of the Emperor Henry, when he found that the young duke had thus become so nearly allied to the imperial family, and it was some time before his uncle Conrad could convince him that this bold plot was planned and executed by woman's ingenuity, and without his connivance.

"The tale, however, ends happily; Conrad was soon reconciled to the match, and at his intercession, the young couple were received into favour by the emperor, and the discords that had long existed were thus at length brought to a conclusion."—Vol. i. pp. 259—261.

The fate of *ELEANORA*, second daughter of Henry the Second, is amongst the brightest portions of these annals. Wedded in her ninth year to Alphonso the monarch of Castille, who was under fifteen, the boy and girl attachment of herself and her playfellow expanded into a deep and ardent love, which continued throughout the entire lives of this happy and estimable pair. Her husband is more like a hero of romance than a being of common life, and his beautiful and devoted wife was, to the very last, the chief object of his regard and the only mistress of

his heart. After a long reign of glory and goodness the excellent king died on the 6th of October, 1214, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the fifty-sixth of his reign. They had been married forty-three years, and so great was Leonor's grief at the heavy and unexpected loss of one whom she loved so well and so deservedly, that she only survived him twenty-five days, and expired of a broken heart on the 31st of October.

The life of her sister JOANNA was less fortunate, partly from the death of her first husband, and the calamities of her second, partly from her less amiable character. She was married when scarcely twelve years of age, to William II., King of Sicily, surnamed William the Good, who was in his twenty-fourth year. He was handsome, amiable, brave, and wise. The ceremonies of their marriage

“consisted, at this period, in the mutual exchange of the plight ring between the bride and bridegroom; after which a veil was thrown over the head of the bride: they were then both crowned with flowers, and led in state to the home prepared for them. After the celebration of her wedding, Joanna was crowned with regal solemnity the same day in the chapel royal, in presence of the Archbishop of York, and the other English ambassadors, and of the whole nobility of Sicily.

“The ceremonies attending the coronation of a queen-consort of Sicily, at this period, are minutely detailed by Inveges, as those which in all probability took place on this occasion. Two couches were prepared, on one of which sat the king, attired in his regal robes, while the other was occupied by the archbishop, surrounded with his prelates, the queen, meanwhile, taking her station apart. The service commenced by the performance of the mass, and, at the chanting of the Hallelujah, the king, wearing his crown, with the sceptre in his hand, and the sword of state carried before him, advanced to the altar, and, standing before the footstool of the archbishop, who sat mitred on his throne of state, he took off his crown, and thus addressed him:—‘We intreat, O reverend father, that you will deign to bless and adorn with the crown royal our consort united to us by God, to the praise and glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ.’ He then returned to his couch, and the queen, her hair loosely floating down her shoulders, and her head veiled, was conducted by two prelates to the archbishop, who still remained seated, and lowly kneeling before him, and kissing his hand, seemed silently to urge the petition. On this he rose, and, still wearing his mitre, knelt on his footstool, while the queen, at his left hand, prostrated herself to the ground. A short litany was then said, after which the archbishop stood up, and, uncovering himself, pronounced a prayer over the kneeling queen, and then sitting down, anointed her with the holy oil, making the sign of the cross on the wrist and elbow of her right arm, and between her shoulders, saying, ‘God the Father,’ &c. She then withdrew to a

pavilion, where she assumed the royal robes, after which she was reconducted to the archbishop, and, again kneeling before him, he placed the diadem on her head, saying, 'Receive the crown of glory, that thou mayest know thyself to be the consort of a king;' and, giving her the sceptre, said, 'Receive the rod of virtue and equity, and be merciful and condescending to the poor.' After this the bishops and her maids of honour led her back to her seat. When the offertory was finished, the king and queen came together to the altar, and presented as much gold as they thought proper, and at mass they both communicated.

"At the conclusion of these ceremonials, Joanna was proclaimed throughout Palermo as Queen of Sicily."—Vol. i. pp. 318—320.

Of the remainder of this princess's interesting biography, the death of William, the villany of Tancred, and the very laughable way in which she revenged herself on him, her voyage to the Holy Land, with Richard of the Lion Heart, her second marriage with Raymond, Count of Toulouse, and the many other particulars of her eventful life, we can say nothing.

Neither can we stop to narrate the fate and fortunes of her namesake, the eldest daughter of King John, wedded to Alexander of Scotland. In fact, we have delayed so long in the first volume, that unless we hasten our steps, we shall scarce enter the second:—Alas! we have already lost all hope of reaching the third; for these pages are so universally attractive and interesting, that the difficulty is to leave any portion which we have once touched upon.

ISABELLA, the second daughter of King John, was given in marriage by her brother, Henry III., to the emperor, Frederic II. of Germany,—a not very enviable lot, though the sweetness of her disposition, and mild virtues of her gentle and enduring nature, enabled her to bear what many of the daughters of her house would not have been able to endure:—

"The emperor," says our authoress, "sent to his brother-in-law, King Henry, many precious gifts, unknown in England: amongst them were three leopards, significant of the royal arms of England, which were then said to be three leopards passant. They were afterwards called lions, but the change was merely in name; for certainly the grim-looking brutes, with claws to the full as thick as their bodies, which are depicted on the ancient royal shield, would answer just as well for one as the other, since it would puzzle a zoologist to discover which they were most unlike."—Vol. ii. p. 24.

The commencement of Isabella's married life did not augur well for her domestic happiness, or indeed comfort or enjoyment of any kind:—

"No sooner had King Henry's ambassadors withdrawn, than the

emperor thought proper to dismiss almost all Isabella's English attendants of both sexes, and committed her to the care of Moorish eunuchs, and haggard old women, precluding her alike from the society and the mode of life to which she had been accustomed, and condemning her to an almost monastic seclusion. The reason assigned for these regulations was, that the empress was likely in time to become a mother; and that, until that period arrived, it was requisite that she should be solely in the hands of experienced persons, who would take every possible care of her."—Vol. ii. p. 25.

Much of her after life was spent in the beautiful island of Sicily, where Frederic located her, that she might be removed from the bustle and tumult of war. A curious description occurs of the dress and manners of the Sicilian peasantry:—

"The men wore a close fitting dress of plates of iron, forming over the head a hood, called *maila* their other garments were of unwrought skins. The women wore tunics of wool, combed, but unwoven. Gold or silver ornaments or embroidery were scarcely known; the married women were distinguished by the broad *vittæ*, or bands across the temples, and down both sides of the face, and fastened under the chin. This peculiarity extended also to the higher ranks. The glory of the men was in their horses, their arms, and their fortresses. At table they were not more refined; the use of separate trenchers was unknown: the food, consisting of meat cooked with olives, was served up in one or two large bowls, out of which the whole family helped themselves, using nature's own implements for the purpose; while at supper, candles being unknown, light was afforded by a blazing torch, waved in the hands of one of the party."—Vol. ii. p. 37.

In the summer of 1241, Prince Richard of England, commonly known as Richard, Earl of Cornwall, or Richard, King of the Romans, landed in Sicily, where the imperial court was then residing, on his return from the Holy Land. Frederic received him with every demonstration, both public and private, of respect and affection. Songs and music, flower-garlands and palm-branches, met him in each city through which he passed; and the emperor welcomed him with kisses and embraces, and spent many days in consultation and converse with him. One feature, however, or rather defect in the mode of his reception, must have greatly surprised the young Englishman.

"Although Isabella had been so long parted from her own family, yet it never seems to have occurred to Frederic that it would be advisable to admit her to a share of the society of her brother; and when the prince had courteously waited in vain a considerable time, in expectation of the empress' appearance, he found himself compelled to make a formal demand to her lord to be admitted to an interview. His re-

quest was granted, not by a summons to Isabella to join the social circle, but by the appointment of a day on which Richard was to visit his sister in her own apartments, where preparations were made for his reception."—Vol. ii. p. 40.

Richard must have been greatly astonished at what he beheld in the scene of his sister's strange and almost Asiatic seclusion :

" After the first salutations were over, a number of strange and fantastic games, which had been invented and frequently performed for the amusement of the empress, were gone through, greatly to the wonder and delight of the prince and his English attendants. After divers marvellous plays had been acted, four globes of glass were brought into the apartment and laid on the pavement ; and then entered two young Saracen girls, of the most exquisite beauty of feature and gracefulness of form, and, each ascending two of the globes and clapping their hands, they began a dance on their slippery pedestals ; spurning the balls with their fairy feet, yet never dismounting from them ; bending themselves into the most fantastic attitudes, and sporting with each other in a manner which called forth from the spectators the most rapturous expressions of admiration."—Vol. ii. p. 41.

A few weeks after the departure of her brother, whom she does not appear to have seen except on the specific occasion above-mentioned, the empress died, in giving birth to a daughter, at the early age of twenty-seven. Her death, however, can only be looked upon as a happy release from a vexatious though luxurious bondage, which, to most Englishwomen utterly intolerable, to her must have been only just endurable. We must not, however, close this biography without giving one more extract, having a peculiar interest for the present generation. After speaking of the wretched fate of her daughter, the authoress says,—

" But a far higher destiny awaited her remote posterity. Her descendant of the fourth generation, Frederic the Warlike, was made Elector of Saxony, and his offspring were the progenitors of the noble houses of Saxe Cobourgh and Saxe Gotha ; so that the blood of the Empress Isabella now runs in the veins of England's Queen, and, through her illustrious consort of the house of Saxe Gotha, blends in a twofold stream in those of the royal infants—the hope of the nation—the princes and princesses of England."—Vol. ii. p. 47.

The course of events now brings us to one of the most interesting narratives in the whole three volumes, that, namely, of *ELEANORA*, third daughter of King John, the wife successively of the two greatest men of the age—William, son of the great Earl of Pembroke, and Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

Various difficulties arose with reference to the princess's marriage with the first of these mighty nobles : they were all, however, at length got over ; and in the year 1225, when *Eleanor*

was about eleven years of age, and William above forty, the marriage was concluded.

"Owing to the juvenility of the Lady Eleanora, her marriage was for some time merely nominal, and she remained an inmate of her brother's house while her spouse was engaged in the bustle of active life: . . . yet the repeated mention of his name, as witness or party in almost every record roll of this period, proves that he was a frequent resident at court. His intimate association with the royal family gave him every opportunity of seeking to possess himself of the affections of his young betrothed, who was fast springing up to maidenhood. That Eleanora should have entertained a tender regard for the man whom, almost ever since her mind had been capable of admitting an idea, she was taught to look upon as her future husband, would not have been extraordinary, especially considering that his rank, his military prowess, and his personal character, all entitled him to respect; but that she should have cherished for her mature spouse a passion as deep and intense as though he had wooed her with all the fervour of impassioned youth, is somewhat singular; and yet after circumstances fully proved that this was the case.

"The period at which the Princess Eleanora fulfilled her marriage-vows was probably the latter part of the year 1229, when she was in her fifteenth year."—Vol. ii. pp. 52—54.

But her wedded happiness was of short duration, for, on the 15th of April, 1231, the Earl of Pembroke died, after an illness of only a few hours.

"Intense and passionate was the grief of the widowed Eleanora, and, in the first transports of her sorrow, she took a public and solemn vow, in presence of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, that never would she become a wife, but remain a true spouse of Christ; and she received from him the spousal ring in confirmation of her pledge."—Vol. ii. p. 57.

A vow, however, made under the pressure of powerful and sudden excitement, was not very likely to be maintained where there existed the temptation and the opportunity to break it. The impassioned nature, and the bold spirit of the young girl, which had made her appreciate, idolize, and mourn over one hero, was naturally formed to appreciate the surpassing merits of another; and the very early age at which her first bereavement occurred, and the short time that she had been united to her first husband, whilst they increased her agony for the moment, rendered her more susceptible of powerful and lasting impressions when Time, that mighty comforter, had done his work.

Amongst the many judgments of contemporary authorities, which have been reversed by the decisions of after ages, there is none more striking than that which refers to the character and

conduct, the motives and actions, the wishes and intentions of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. Admired, esteemed, and revered by the great body of the nobles, idolized by the people, who looked on him as their deliverer, and canonized, so to speak, by the universal voice of the clergy—he obtained the love and veneration of the whole English nation, with the exception only of an imbecile king, an ambitious prince, a corrupt court, and of those who either from attachment, interest, or pique, supported the royal cause: whereas after ages have emulated each other in their eagerness to bury under a mountain of contumely, the name of this able statesman and dauntless warrior.

We have spoken of the strict impartiality of the authoress of these volumes, and perhaps it is no where more apparent than in the biography under consideration—for whilst joining in the common cry against the great earl and his princely consort, she furnishes us with numberless facts which tell strongly in their favour—and has the candour to observe with reference to De Montfort that—“*It is a remarkable fact, that all the writers of the day, speak of his character in terms of enthusiastic admiration*”—very remarkable indeed! and scarcely reconcilable with his being the unprincipled adventurer he is usually represented!

“Their origin”—says Mrs. Green, *i. e.* that of the De Montforts, “has been the subject of much learned disputation; but the most probable opinion is, that they descended from William, Earl of Hainault, great-grandson of Baldwin, with the iron arm, Earl of Flanders, and of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bold, King of France. This Earl William married the heiress of the house of Montfort; and his descendant, Almaric II., became Earl of Evreux, by his marriage with Agnes, heiress of that house, and a descendant from Richard I., Duke of Normandy. Half the earldom of Leicester devolved upon this powerful family from the marriage of their descendant, Simon III. with Amicia, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Fitz Parnell, Earl of Leicester, in whose right he obtained the title of earl, with the hereditary dignity of Lord Steward of England. At that period, the Montforts were occasional residents in this country, where they enjoyed a high degree of consideration; but their French descent and associations having induced them warmly to countenance the pretensions of the dauphin Louis, at the close of King John's reign, their possessions were forfeited, they were banished the kingdom, and retired to their own domains. Not only the earldom of Montfort, but that of Evreux and Narbonne, with the viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne, formed their proud continental possessions.

“On the death of Earl Simon IV., his estates descended to his eldest son, Almaric. The earldom of Leicester, of course, was included amongst these possessions; but, though Almaric made several applications to the king to restore to him the lands and revenues which, since

their forfeiture had been in the hands of the Earls of Chester, he constantly failed in obtaining his suit, on account of the jealous feeling with which, as a French noble possessing extensive continental domains, he was regarded. Finding his efforts unsuccessful, he next renewed his applications in favour of his youngest brother Simon, against whom the same objections could not be supposed to exist; and this time King Henry lent a favourable ear to his petition. He promised to deliver the lands, consisting of the town of Leicester, and the moiety of the earldom, with the office of seneschal to Simon, as soon as he could get them out of the hands of Ralph, Earl of Chester. This was accomplished the following year, 1231; and in 1232, Simon received from his brother Almaric a formal cession of the rights which he, as the elder, possessed to the honours in question, for which he paid 1500 livres, French money."—Vol. ii. pp. 64—66.

The young earl soon became a great favourite with the king, and a frequent guest at his court. Eleanora was now twenty-three years of age—her beauty had rather increased than diminished during the time of her widowhood—and to all the charms of person and manner, she added the attractions of a highly-educated intellect, a powerful mind, and a loving heart. It is not wonderful, then, that the young hero should fall in love with the beautiful widow: nor that the princess after the lapse of six long years, since the death of her lamented but elderly lord, should have reciprocated the affection of one who possessed all those qualities of person and mind which excite either the admiration of man or the love of woman. And it is a strong testimony to the reality of De Montfort's attachment, as well as the estimableness of his character, that the high-spirited Eleanora retained to the last the same devotion to her husband, which induced her in the first instance to give him her heart and hand.

A difficulty, indeed, arose in the fact that Eleanora was already devoted to perpetual celibacy, by the inconsiderate vow which she had made in the moment of her early loss. To avoid this the lovers were in the first instance privately married in the most secret manner possible, in the king's private chapel by his own chaplain, Henry himself giving away his sister to the bridegroom, who, we are told by Matthew of Paris, "received her right joyfully, not only on account of the abundant love he bore her, but also for the loveliness of her person, the nobleness of her mind, and the honour of her station as daughter of the king and queen, and sister to a king, a queen, and an empress." The authoress clearly proves the falsehood of the calumnious accusation that De Montfort had previously seduced the princess. The bride and bridegroom, however, were in a critical position: the nobles were in the first instance extremely indignant when they discovered

that Henry had sanctioned the marriage without their concurrence, and the clergy and nation in general were loud in their denunciations of the broken vow. Under these circumstances the princess retired to the castle of Kenilworth, which had been granted to her by her brother, whilst Simon proceeded to Rome, from whence he speedily returned,

"provided with a full dispensation for his marriage, and with letters from his Holiness to Otho the Papal legate in England, commanding him to authorize and ratify it. With these precious documents, Earl Simon arrived in triumph at court on the 14th October, 1238, where he was favourably received, and even appointed to the office of counsellor to the king; but remaining there no longer than was absolutely necessary, he hastened to Kenilworth, where he arrived in time to cheer the drooping spirits of his wife, and by the good news he brought, to cast a gleam of brightness over the birth of their son, which took place very soon after, on Advent Sunday, the 28th of November."—Vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

The king officiated as sponsor at the baptism of this infant, who was named Henry; and in the course of the next year De Montfort was called upon to become godfather to the young Prince Edward, who was born on the 16th of June, 1239. This was not, however, a gratuitous honour, for each of the *sine* godfathers was expected to present the child with costly gifts. Nor were they the only persons taxed on the occasion.

"Henry dispatched messengers to all the powerful and wealthy nobles of the realm, informing them of the birth of an heir to the crown; and none of these bearers of good tidings were expected to return empty-handed. If the value of the gift presented did not come up to the expectations of the royal beggar, he indignantly rejected it, and sent back the messenger with a mandate on his peril not to return till he had secured a richer booty. The conduct of King Henry on this occasion gave rise to a cutting sarcasm from a Norman jester,—'God has *given* us this infant,' said he, 'but my lord the king *sells* him to us.'"—Vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

Shortly after this, however, the king, on the occasion of the queen's churching, thought proper to insult the Earl and Countess of Leicester in a most public and outrageous manner. Fearing lest he should proceed to personal violence, they at once embarked for France, leaving their infant son at Kenilworth. The king, however, was soon reconciled to his brother-in-law; and in the spring of the following year the earl returned to England to collect money from his English estates, for an expedition to the Holy Land. Having taken his infant over to its mother, Simon set forth towards Palestine. Here, we are told,—

"He must have succeeded, in no ordinary degree, in attracting the

regard and admiration of the inhabitants, since the nobility of Jerusalem presented a petition, dated the 7th of June, 1241, to entreat the Emperor Frederic II. to appoint him their governor until the majority of his son Conrad, who was the heir to the throne, in right of his deceased mother Yolante. They sent a formal written engagement, promising to keep and maintain the earl in his office, and to obey him as they would the emperor himself. They prayed Frederic to seal this agreement with his golden seal."—Vol. ii. p. 78.

Frederic, however, did not accede to their request, and De Montfort returned to England. In the course of the next year, the weak-minded Henry, at the instance of his mother, planned an expedition for the recovery of Poitou. The English nobles vehemently opposed the project, and even refused to grant the usual supplies. But, on finding the king, who was as obstinate as he was weak, determined to persist in his plan, many of them attended him; and amongst them his brother-in-law, accompanied by the devoted Eleanora.

"The particulars of this luckless and ill-directed expedition belong to general history. Suffice it to say, that De Montfort fully established his claim to the title of a valiant chevalier; and at the battle of Xaintes especially, so unfortunate for the English, he displayed great prowess, and even rescued the king, who was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, by the efforts of his personal bravery. On the disgraceful termination of the campaign, the whole court reassembled at Bourdeaux, where the queen, the Countess of Leicester, and the ladies of the court had resided during its progress; but so great was the dissatisfaction of many of the nobles, that, without taking leave of their royal master, they returned to England. The Earls of Leicester and Salisbury, and a few others, still remained true to their sovereign; though the cost at which they preserved their allegiance was by no means trifling; for they were left altogether to their own resources, and obliged to incur large and daily increasing debts to meet the necessary expenses of their household.

"The character of the king is presented to us, at this period, in a most despicable light; for, while he allowed his faithful followers to suffer from utter destitution of those things which it should have been his first care to provide, he squandered all the money he could obtain upon foreign parasites. Among these was the Countess of Bearne, mother of the far-famed Gaston de Bearne; 'a woman,' says Paris, 'singularly monstrous in size, and prodigious for fatness.' The Earl of Toulouse and the King of Arragon were also visitants at the court of Bourdeaux. These two princes still retained their ancient animosity to the Montfort family, embittered by so many years of conflict during the Albigensian wars; and, by their frequent insinuations, they endeavoured to prejudice the wavering mind of the king against Earl Simon. In this they were but too successful, for the coolness of

the king rendered his situation so unpleasant to him, that he and his countess took their departure for England."—Vol. ii. pp. 80, 81.

This coolness was of short duration, and on the king's return to England in the autumn of 1243, the Earl of Leicester resumed his former place at court and council; and the beautiful and devoted countess was permitted for the few ensuing years to enjoy that domestic happiness for which she was so well fitted, residing the greater part of her time at her castle of Kenilworth, which had been lately much adorned by the king, and to which great privileges were attached. Henry, her eldest son, frequently visited his uncle's court as the playmate and companion of his young cousin Prince Edward; whilst the other sons, Simon, Guy, Amalric, and Richard, as soon as they became old enough, were placed under the tutelage of the celebrated Robert Grosstête, Bishop of Lincoln. The intimate association and steady friendship which existed between this distinguished and exemplary prelate, and the Earl and Countess of Leicester, speaks highly in their favour.

"He was the confidential adviser of Simon in all cases of perplexity, and, by his moderate counsels, often succeeded in calming the irritated feelings of the earl. His office of tutor to their children, which, although himself of humble birth, he discharged admirably, particularly in fitting them to fulfil their courtly duties, rendered him a frequent and welcome guest at the house and table of Simon and Eleanora. He also introduced to their notice and favour another learned priest, to whom he was himself warmly attached, whom we shall have frequent occasion hereafter to notice. This was Adam de Marisco, nephew of Richard de Marisco, Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Durham, one of the most eminent divines of his time, who took a doctor's degree at Oxford. He seems to have occupied much the same position, in reference to the Countess Eleanora which the Bishop of Lincoln held with her lord. He was her correspondent, amanuensis, counsellor, and friend."—Vol. ii. pp. 84, 85.

The correspondence which occurred between this very excellent priest and the Countess of Leicester, is one of the most pleasing and interesting features of this biography, and proves beyond all dispute, that however proudly the heart of the Princess Eleanora may have throbbed with the blood of her Norman and Plantagenet ancestry, she was ready to listen with dutiful reverence to the commands of the Gospel and the counsels of the Church. It is indeed quite cheering to be brought into contact with the Christian life of such holy men as Grosstête and Marisco, who would have been lights of the Church in the brightest ages that she has ever seen: and it is equally delightful to witness the dignified attention, and reasonable, though deep respect with which their

advice and admonitions, on all matters, were received by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Princess Eleanor his wife.

We may here mention a somewhat singular act of generosity on the part of Henry III. He was under great pecuniary obligations to both his sister and brother-in-law, and he therefore remitted to De Montfort, a debt which the earl owed to an unfortunate Jew, David, of Oxford, not paying it himself, but cancelling it altogether! He further proceeded to sell to him the guardianship of one of his wards, which proved a profitable investment to the purchaser, as the revenues of minors were by the existing laws enjoyed by their guardians.

How much, alas! remains to be said, and how little space is left for saying it! we must extract and condense as best we may:—

“The Earl of Leicester began about this time to assume a more important position in the State than he had previously occupied. In 1244, he was one of a committee chosen to deliberate upon the grant of a subsidy to the king; and in 1246, his name occurs among other nobles in an appeal to the Pope, against the enormous exactions of the Church of Rome.”—Vol. ii. p. 89.

“In the year 1248, the grand movement for a general crusade, made by St. Louis of France, roused once more the chivalric spirit of Europe. . . . On this occasion Simon de Montfort. . . . once more mounted the cross and determined to accompany the crusading hosts. . . . When the Countess Eleanor saw the red cross once more clasped on the bosom of her lord, she determined not again to be left behind, and with eagerness she too flew to assume the sacred symbol. Fired by the example of their lord and lady, the warlike retainers of De Montfort, and even a large proportion of his domestic servants, also took the cross. . . . Her resolution was not however put to the test. Scarcely had Earl Simon taken the vows, than he was dispatched by the king to quell an insurrection in Gascony, which he succeeded in doing. . . . The State of Gascony, the last relic of the continental possessions of Henry II., now in the hands of his degenerate grandson, was most deplorable. The Gascons hated the English rule, and never lost a feasible opportunity of trying to shake it off. . . . At length the king and council determined that the bold De Montfort, whose energetic character and martial prowess well fitted him for the office, should be again sent over. Accordingly, he was duly invested with the office of Seneschal, which was granted him by letters patent for six years, with the custody of all the royal castles, and he took his departure for the continent.”—Vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.

The conduct of De Montfort in this arduous position exhibits courage and ability seldom equalled, whilst the loyalty, and patience, and singular forbearance, which he exhibited towards his despicable brother-in-law, are almost beyond praise. During

this period, however, the Nobles and Commons of England had grown more and more discontented, and as the king had declined, so his mighty brother-in-law had risen in popularity. At length he returned to England for good. It was a strange time that, which preceded the breaking out of the civil war :—

“On one occasion, Henry had taken his barge to go up the Thames, then the grand thoroughfare of London, to his palace of Westminster, when a sudden and severe storm of thunder and lightning advised him to land at the first convenient place. This chanced to be near Durham House, the palace of the Bishop of London, which, during a temporary vacancy of the See, was occupied by Earl Simon. The earl went out to meet his sovereign with every mark of external respect, and bade him not to be afraid of the storm : ‘I fear thunder and lightning beyond measure ; but by the head of God I fear you more than all the thunder and lightning in the world,’ said Henry. ‘My lord,’ answered Simon, ‘it is unjust, incredible that you should fear me, your firm friend, always true to you and yours the kings of England : fear rather your enemies, destroyers, and slanderers.’”—Vol. ii. p. 120.

“During the commotions that ensued, the Countess Eleanora principally resided in her castle of Kenilworth, where behind its strong entrenchments, she was safe from any sudden surprise. From the time that the Earl of Leicester first began to anticipate the probability of a bloody termination to the civil contest, he had taken all possible pains to fortify this stronghold. Warlike machines, some of them brought over from the continent, had been erected at great expense, the walls and towers strengthened, and protected by a strong garrison ; and Earl Simon might well believe from the dauntless spirit of the royal Eleanora, that her presence would add to rather than diminish the efficiency of resistance in case of an attack upon his castellated fortress. Here with her only daughter she passed the days, and long and anxious must they have been, while her sons and husband were engaged in active combat. Frequently, however, the return of Earl Simon and his retainers, or the visits of the nobles of his party afforded animated variety to her existence. . . . At length, in 1264, the battle of Lewes, which placed King Henry and Prince Edward, Richard King of the Romans and his son Edmund prisoners in the hands of Simon de Montfort, turned the uncertain scale of war. . . . The Earl of Leicester was now at the height of worldly prosperity, and he celebrated his Christmas with unusual splendour at Kenilworth Castle with his wife and family, surrounded by his warlike retainers, of whom he numbered one hundred and forty amongst his domestic servants only. His royal captives were probably amongst the guests, for he treated them with the courtesy due to their high rank, and Kenilworth was the place which he chose as the residence of several of them.”—Vol. ii. pp. 123—125.

The kindness, indeed, with which De Montfort treated his ungrateful brother-in-law and his hostile family, when they were

entirely in his power and utterly at his mercy, affords a striking contrast to many who went before, and to all who have followed him. Let us but cast our eyes on the barbarities practised on each other by the children of William the Conqueror, on the treachery of Stephen and the cruelty of John—and, following the downward stream of history, who will venture to compare Henry of Bolingbroke, Henry of Richmond, Oliver Cromwell, or William of Orange with Simon de Montfort and his worthy consort—worthy we mean of being the wife of such a man—Eleanora of England?

A most pleasing illustration of the personal character of the countess occurs in the generous consideration with which she strove, by many delicate marks of attention, to minister to the comfort of her imprisoned relatives.

“The provision for their necessities did not devolve upon her, and therefore her frequent presents to them may be regarded purely as tokens of good will. A few extracts from the oft quoted household roll must suffice as instances. A barrel of sturgeon and some whale’s flesh were sent to Wallingford during Lent for the use of King Henry. Notice also occurs of the carriage of 108 cod and ling, 32 congers, and 500 hakes from Bristol to Wallingford, of which half were left at Wallingford, the residence of Prince Edward, probably for his use, and the other half sent to Odiham: 200 figs were also sent to Wallingford. The king of the Romans, who was at Kenilworth, received a present of spices—20lbs. of saffron, 5lbs. of rice, which by an odd missappropriation of terms was then considered a *spice*, 2lbs. of pepper, 1lb. of ginger, 2lbs. of sugar, &c., and 20 pieces of whale. Eleanora sent him shortly afterwards a quantity of raisins and two measures of wine. His wardrobe, too, was handsomely provided for: 12 ells of scarlet cloth were purchased for the robes of King Richard against Easter, while his son Edmund had a suit consisting of robe, tunic, and cloak, of rayed cloth of Paris, at 4*s.* 8*d.* an ell, a satin hood also was bought for each.—Vol. ii. pp. 134, 135.

We can do no more than allude to the haughty conduct of the young De Montforts, which alienated many of the nobles—the jealousy and consequent breach between the Earls of Gloucester and Leicester—and the escape of Prince Edward, which gave the royalists an acknowledged, intrepid, and able leader.

At length it came—that fatal field of Evesham, the event of which has determined the judgment of historians as to the merits of Simon and his opponents. Prince Edward had succeeded in intercepting and defeating the succours which the younger Simon, Leicester’s second son, was bringing to his aid, and advanced at the head of a powerful army against his enemy.

“Expecting to join his son’s forces, Earl Simon marched from Here-

ford across the Severn towards Worcester, and, staying two days near Rumsey, arrived on the third at Evesham. Scarcely had he reached this spot than the floating of banners approaching from the north, gave token of the arrival of troops in the direction in which those of the young De Montfort were expected. Considerable excitement prevailed concerning the advancing host, which was not allayed until Nicholas the barber of the earl, who blended some knowledge of heraldry with the medley of medical and other miscellaneous learning, which then appertained to his profession, positively declared from the blazonry on the banners that they belonged to the party of young Simon. The earl, however, had still some vague suspicions floating in his mind: and he ordered his barber to mount the steeple of the Abbey of Evesham, to obtain a more commanding view of the host. On approaching nearer his enemy, Prince Edward, who had at first displayed the colours taken at Kenilworth, in order to deceive the Montforts, changed his tactics; and the royal banner of England, with those of the Earl of Gloucester, and Sir Roger Mortimer, were unfurled to the breeze, and filled the heart of the worthy Nicholas with dismay. "We are dead men!" he exclaimed to his lord as he conveyed the tidings. De Montfort himself was not sanguine as to the result of a contest with such unequal forces; but he assumed a cheerful air, and encouraged his soldiers with confident expressions, telling them it was for the laws of the land and the cause of God that they were to fight. He himself led one part of the little host, and his eldest son Henry the other; and, to give countenance to their cause, they placed King Henry among their ranks. As the royalist troops advanced, their number and martial array struck terror into the heart of the brave De Montfort. 'By the arm of St. James,' he cried, 'they approach in admirable order; they have learned this style from me, and not themselves'—adding mournfully, 'let us commend our souls to God, for our bodies are theirs.' His son Henry endeavoured to cheer him, by exhorting him not to despair so soon. 'I do not despair, my son,' replied the earl; 'but your presumption, and the pride of your brothers, have brought me to this crisis; and I firmly believe that I shall die for the cause of God and justice.'

"The fight commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of August; but the daring valour of Prince Edward's troops, and the pusillanimous conduct of the Welsh soldiers who were in the army of the earl, soon showed how the scale of conflict was likely to turn. The earl and his son performed prodigies of valour; they exerted themselves to stem the torrent of disaster, and each led their men to a renewed charge, in which young Montfort, bravely fighting, fell. The news of his death was forthwith communicated to his father. 'By the arm of St. James,' he cried, vociferating for the last time his favourite oath, 'then it is time for me to die!' and, grasping his sword with both hands, he rushed upon his assailants, striking with such rapidity and vigour, that a witness of the scene asserted that, had he had but eight followers like himself, he would have changed the fortune of the day.

Wounded, however, by a blow from behind, he was struck from his horse, and instantly dispatched; and the fate of the battle was decided. So great was the exasperation of the victors against the Earl of Leicester, that they revenged themselves by the mutilation of his dead body. His hand was cut off by Roger Mortimer, and sent to his countess, at once as a present, and a token that the great enemy was slain."—Vol. ii. pp. 139—141.

Thus fell one of the bravest warriors and ablest statesmen that England ever welcomed to her shores. Whether he were the disinterested patriot and sincere Christian which his contemporaries conceived him to be, or the selfish adventurer, and hypocritical villain which he is now generally considered, we shall not at present stop to inquire. Facts, however, are stubborn things, and we trust that the next writer who undertakes to narrate the history of those times, will carefully examine them, and not dismiss with supercilious contempt the wail of a whole people mourning over the mighty dead.

We need do no more than allude to the well-known fact that De Montfort summoned the knights and burgesses to Parliament in 1264, and thus revived the popular element in the English constitution. One point, however, is perhaps less generally recognized:—

"The strong hold he possessed upon the affections of the monkish orders, who were the sole depositories of the learning of the day, and enjoyed the exclusive monopoly of authorship, *may be mainly attributed to his energetic resistance against the oppressions of Rome.*"—Vol. ii. p. 145.

Is it possible that the change in public feeling which has occurred in the matter may have originated in the relentless animosity of that Evil Power which never pardons either the living or the dead who have opposed her tyranny, combated her errors, or denounced her crimes? The matter deserves investigation. For ourselves, we feel disposed to take up the burden of the mournful old ballad:—

"Ore est occys la fleur de pris, que taunt sauvoit de guerre,
Le quens Montfort, sa dure mort molt emplora la terre!"

We may not trace further the fortunes of the princess, thus a second time bereaved. We cannot, however, avoid mentioning a circumstance which shows the character of Edward the First in a worse point of view than we have yet seen it displayed.

After the ruin of De Montfort's party, the Welsh prince, Llewellyn, continued to urge his suit for the hand of his beautiful daughter, to whom he had become attached and engaged in hap-

pier times. The younger Eleanora was married to her lover by proxy early in the year 1275, only a few weeks before the decease of her mother in France. She did not, however, immediately set out, and when she did so, in company with her brother Amalric, her voyage was any thing but prosperous.

"The young fiancée and her guardian were captured off the Scilly Islands by four Bristol merchant vessels, and conveyed forthwith to the port of that city. Bartholomew of Norwich and other chroniclers affirm that these vessels were actually commissioned by King Edward to intercept them. At any rate, his appreciation of the service they had performed appears by a gift of 200 marks to their crews. The illustrious captives, after remaining eight days in Bristol Castle, were separated. Amalric was placed in solitary confinement, first at Corfe, and then at Sherborne Castle, while his sister was conveyed to Windsor Castle, where, if she were not subjected to rigorous captivity, she was detained in a sort of honourable restraint. . . . Great was the indignation and bitter the disappointment of the Welsh prince, at finding his plighted bride thus suddenly snatched from him. In the first transports of indignation, when the news reached him, he made hostile demonstrations against the English king; and when he was summoned to appear at Parliament he refused to obey, but at the same time sent messengers, demanding peace and the restoration of Eleanora, and offering for her immense sums of money. The king saw his advantage; he felt that he possessed a strong hold upon his antagonist, and he refused to relinquish Eleanora except on his own terms. These terms Llewellyn hesitated to accept. It needed little provocation to rouse the warlike Edward against his rash opponent. He advanced into Wales: county after county yielded to his victorious arms, and Llewellyn was compelled to sue for peace. He was permitted to come under a safe conduct to London, where the terms were finally arranged. . . . These conditions were hard, but the stern monarch was inflexible in the exaction of them: it was only by swearing an oath, which, as it rang through the Welsh mountains and valleys, thrilled the heart of every son of Cambria with patriotic sorrow, and woke up the spirit of its bards to strains of enthusiastic indignation and passionate bewailing, that the ill-omened nuptials of Llewellyn and Eleanora were concluded. They were married at Worcester on the 13th of October, 1278, in the presence of King Edward and Queen Eleanora, and the whole court. The nuptials were performed with great magnificence at the expense of Edward, who himself gave away the bride.—The young couple immediately retired to Wales."—Vol. ii. pp. 163—165.

And here we must bid adieu to these very interesting pages; assuring our readers that it is from want of space, and not of will, that we have proceeded rather less than half way in our survey of the first three volumes of "*The Lives of the Princesses of England.*"

ART. VII.—*Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, the South of Spain, and Algiers; illustrative of the State of Religion in those Countries.* By the Rev. THOMAS DEBARY, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

IN these days of migratory habits, the writer of travels has far less chance of an attentive audience than in days when steamers and railroads were unknown. The greater part of the Continent of Europe is indeed familiar to every one, either by guide-books, or books of travels, or personal visits—known, that is to say, in its outward form, its scenery, buildings, and other features which appear on the surface of things. But what a world of novelty is imperceptible to the mere traveller, who hastens along from city to city, and spends his time in seeing the “lions!” The mind, feelings, opinions of the people—and, above all, their religion—not merely in its external manifestations, which impress themselves on the senses, but in its inner operations on opinion and practice—are a closed book to the ordinary traveller; more especially if that traveller be, as he very frequently is, profoundly ignorant of the religious systems of those amongst whom he travels, and perhaps not very well informed as to his own religion. And yet, how immeasurably more important and interesting in every point of view, are the mental characteristics of a people, than the material developments which present themselves to the senses! The writer who is enabled by circumstances to acquire an insight into the prevalent views and sentiments of foreign nations, is contributing a most valuable addition to the amount of our knowledge, by stating the result of his inquiries. Mr. Debary is one of those writers who has been enabled, from various causes, to bestow on those higher subjects of inquiry, an attention and a research such as rarely lies within the power of those who visit or even reside in the countries which he has made the subject of examination in the volume now before. His general acquaintance with religious subjects, his habits of observation and inquiry, and his familiarity with foreign languages, afforded peculiar facilities for investigations, which at this period are more especially interesting, as bearing upon questions which engage much of the public attention. But, independently of the graver subjects which the author more particularly examines, there is very much to engage and to interest the general reader, in the agreeable pictures

of scenery and manners which are introduced, and the varied characters of the society into which the author takes his readers.

We propose to touch briefly, in the first instance, on those portions of Mr. Debary's work which refer to more general subjects; and subsequently to examine the evidence which he supplies of the state of religion amongst the native population of the countries which he visited.

Our author, having been recommended by his medical adviser to spend a winter abroad, embarked in one of the regular packets for Madeira, with the intention of making a stay of some months there. As may be supposed, most of his companions were invalids, like himself, in search of health. This circumstance, however, did not prevent the discomfort of disputes on subjects of controversy—the Madeira chaplaincy furnishing material for much animated debate, and ultimately ranging most of the passengers on either one side or the other. We have really no heart to dwell on these disputes, or the opinions expressed by Mr. Debary in reference to them. We confess to an unfavourable impression with regard to the conduct of almost all who have been engaged in that controversy; and, after recent occurrences, it is perhaps just as well, that there should be no further contest going on there. The Bishop of London has been most improperly treated by all parties.

At length we arrive at Madeira, where our author thus introduces us to the Bay of Funchal:—

"We entered the Bay of Funchal under what might be called a tropical moon. The fair prospect was accordingly idealized, rather than concealed, by the shades of night; innumerable white quintas sparkled in the basin of the amphitheatre; the sea looked too calm ever again to be stirred into a storm; the voices of people talking on the decks of the neighbouring ships told us how still was the atmosphere; but, as if to remind us that we were not altogether in fairy-land, from one of these issued a grievous smell; and we learnt the next day that she had been a slaver, but was now employed to carry emigrants, and had been brought back by government vessels from a voyage to Demerara, whither she was bound, with three hundred miserable emigrants on board, as they had not obtained the proper permission to leave the island. But for this smell we should have thought the prospect before us a dream; but as it was, we were happy to seek an oblivion of the senses, by retiring to rest.

"As Madeira is a place so constantly visited and written about, the few observations I have to make upon the island shall be made in as brief a way as possible. If the transporting the habits and manners of the mother country pretty perfectly into the colony or settlement be a sign of good colonization, there is no doubt Madeira was well colonized at the beginning. Funchal is a thoroughly Portuguese town; and, as

far as size and importance goes, bears about the same proportion to the other towns and villages of the island, as Lisbon does to Portugal. It seems the disposition of the Portuguese to congregate very much in one large city or capital, and that of the Spaniards to settle in several towns; so that, I imagine, if we except the Havannah, the Portuguese can show finer capitals, in proportion, than their neighbours. Funchal is a very large town for the size of the island, and a great part of it being built on the precipitous sides of the mountain, it shows off to the best advantage. Then the numerous English residents, who have brought money and taste to erect quintas with, have added somewhat to the splendour of the *coup d'œil*. The character of the Portuguese street architecture is rather of the majestic, and traces of this taste are manifested in some streets of Funchal."—pp. 4—6.

Madeira does not seem to have left a pleasing impression on the author's mind, and it may well be imagined that a society of invalids, many of whom survive but a short time their voyage thither, must have any thing but a cheerful tendency. In addition to this, the controversy then raging in the island furnished an inducement to exchange the "spell-bound" island, for the Canaries, whither, accordingly, our author proceeded in the Brazil packet. Within twenty-four hours after leaving Madeira they could discern the "loom" of Teneriffe: they had the whole south-east side of the island before them, with the Peak in full view—a range of basaltic mountains covered with what appeared to be a thin and spotty vegetation. These mountains suddenly fall before coming to the capital of the province, Santa Cruz—the Canary islands being, as Mr. Debary says, just as much a province of Spain as Andalusia. On landing the travellers were surrounded by a singular-looking rabble. The most respectable were dressed in long *cloth* cloaks, notwithstanding the burning heat of the sun; and many of the others wore common *blankets* over their shoulders. An odd-looking individual half-English half-Spanish, who saw the travellers' surprise, informed them that this strange attire was only a part of the national vanity—a "*carpa*" of some sort must be had, and those who cannot afford a cloth one, content themselves with a blanket! We should think this vanity brings an ample punishment along with it. Imagine men broiling in blankets and cloth cloaks under a tropical sun! The population of this place is about 8000 or 9000; the houses are furnished with windows of a peculiar description. They are only partially glazed.

"The greater part," says our author, "consists of a sort of panelled shutter, which on being pushed from the inside lifts up, and enables the inmate to see and not to be seen. The mystery which attaches to these shutters certainly furnishes the ladies of the town, who are re-

markably pretty, with a powerful means of flirtation. A stranger has to pass a perfect battery as he walks along. A shutter flies up, a face glances at the stranger, and when curiosity is satisfied down drops the shutter again, and the house looks as exclusive as a convent."—p. 24.

On visiting the Captain-General of the province, they were questioned by him as to the probability of Queen Adelaide (then at Madeira) visiting Teneriffe. He then began to speculate on what political effects to Europe would be the result of Louis Philippe's death; little imagining at the time that the French Revolution had then taken place. The news of that Revolution and its effects throughout Europe arrived in a few weeks, and the author remarks on the perplexity it caused even in those remote islands. Vessels touching at Santa Cruz did not know what ships to salute, and whether they were at war or peace with the different countries they arrived at. The actual arrival of the news is thus amusingly described:—

"An English merchant made interest for us; and procured us a lodging in the house of one Señor Martinez, a Spanish gentleman of rather reduced fortune, but ample habitation. He was literally living in a pulace, by himself; a terrible Progresista and a passionate admirer of Espartero; a great conner of the little scraps of paper that circulate here as newspapers, and the very centre of the political circle of the place.

"One evening we were sitting at our evening meal with Don Martinez, which consisted of milk, and rice, and fruit. Martinez had just got his letters from Spain, and was reading them with great agitation, when he suddenly got up, and run out of the room, leaving us listlessly looking out upon the evening sky, and the broad leaves of the banana, and thinking how very quiet and tranquil every thing was, but yet a little surprised at the agitation of our host. Suddenly we heard a great explosion, and immediately saw the darting light of rockets as they rose one after another; and Martinez returning to us, exclaimed, 'Cohete!' 'cohete!' a rocket! a rocket! bravo! there is a republic in France, and Louis Philippe is dead. *Viva La Republica!* May the Republic flourish!" Of course, having no respect for Spanish intelligence, we did not believe Martinez, and only concluded it must be some stir amongst the Progresistas. Martinez evidently regarded it as the dawn of brighter days for Spain, although he did not consider Spain was yet ripe for a republic; but he said Spain was terribly governed, and that every body was a thief; nor did he spare even Narvaez."—pp. 61, 62.

Señor Martinez, if he be alive, must have long since bid farewell to the enthusiasm with which he hailed the approach of political liberty. That outbreak has been succeeded by a fearful reaction, and Absolutism in conjunction with Popery, is more thoroughly in the ascendant at this moment than it has been

within the memory of man. The Church of Rome which gave the impulse to Revolution, and which every where announced itself as the advocate of popular rights, is now seen in its real character, as the aider and instigator of tyranny and persecution. What the result will be it is difficult to foresee; but we believe Lord John Russell did not overstate the truth when he spoke of a general conspiracy against religious and civil liberty. In point of fact, England at present seems to be the only free country, as two years ago it was the only unrevolutionized.

We cannot follow our author in his interesting account of the ascent of the mountains near the Peak of Teneriffe, but must pass over much amusing matter, and land at Cadiz, whither he went from the Canary Islands. On nearing the port, several boats with big eyes painted on their prows to look like dolphins, came scudding alongside, with "Sanidad" written on the sails; they were immediately surrounded by the boatmen of Cadiz, with their strong national expression of countenance—all "as much alike as a flock of sheep"—with "pointed features, dark passionate eyes, and yellow complexion." Almost any sea-port town is agreeable to the tempest-tost wanderer; but Cadiz, with its sparkling white houses, bright green shutters, and singing birds, making the streets ring with cheerful sounds, must have been charming to our author; but there were drawbacks on those advantages in the rumours of "émeutes," and "martial law," which speedily greeted him. The following sketch of a *rencontre* with part of the royal family at Osuna is amusing enough:—

"We found the somewhat humble town or village full of life and gaiety. The unglazed windows and doorways hung with coloured curtains, flags hanging from the churches and balconies, and the travelling cavalcade of the Infanta occupying the principal street. The Infanta herself was at Mass in the small church which stands within the keep of the castle. Let not the reader suppose the cavalcade was such as used to be seen before the time of railroads on the road between London and Windsor. The first carriage was a tolerable attempt at a coach; the next was a *char-à-banc*, drawn by four long-eared mules; and, as may be supposed, delightfully characteristic. We hastened through the throng of dark, sunny, handsome, half-gipsy faces, that lined the steep ascent to the castle, and reached the gateway just as a troop of little girls in white, carrying garlands, made their appearance preceding the Infanta, who followed leaning on the Duke de Montpensier's arm; behind them came the most perfect specimen of a Spanish nurse one could desire to see, carrying the precious baby in her arms, guarded by four soldiers with bayonets. The Infanta looked interesting, but withal pale, and delicate, and very young, as did her husband, a tall, thin youth with a pointed, sandy-coloured beard. The Infanta might very easily have awakened a feeling of loyal tenderness in the

breasts of the Spaniards ; there was something at once so confiding and unpretending about her whole carriage."—pp. 161, 162.

It is not our purpose to follow Mr. Debary further in his descriptions of scenery and manners, of which the reader has now had several specimens. We now turn to his accounts of the state of religion in the countries he visited, to which it is in our power to add some further information of a more recent date.

He remarks (p. 55) on the depressed state of the Romish Church at Teneriffe, where for a long time the bishop was prohibited from ordaining any more clergy, lest the responsibility of supporting the newly made priest should fall on government. The state of things appears to be similar in Spain itself, where the author tells us (p. 112) of an itinerant priest who lived by saying masses, and by begging of English travellers ; and he mentions another instance in which, having applied to a priest for some information on the history of the Spanish Church, which he could not gain, he found he was expected to give this priest a present, and the latter actually haggled as to its amount. In one town where they arrived (p. 111) the curé in company with some others had just murdered the governor, and was obliged to take refuge in Barbary. It was reported that some of the mountain curés were not men of peace, and that a few of them corresponded with smugglers. In their appearance they were as little like priests as possible (p. 111). The monasteries and convents were generally in ruins—sometimes replaced by cafés—sometimes by manufactories—sometimes converted into theatres and cockpits. The greater part of the incomes allowed to the clergy by the legislature were absorbed by government, so that the clergy were left in a state of squalid poverty ; and no one who did not possess good private fortune could venture to accept a bishopric, the expenses of which would entail ruin on any one else.

All this coincides exactly with all we have heard elsewhere of the state of the Spanish Church. The clergy have been starving for years, and it has become a matter of extreme difficulty to find candidates for orders : the nation generally appears to feel no interest in bettering the condition of the priesthood—indeed the concordat recently concluded between the Pope and the Spanish Government for the purpose of improving the condition of the Church there, is extremely unpopular. This may however in part arise from the restoration of monasteries, which forms a part of the concordat. The Spaniards appear to be unanimous in their hatred of monasteries, and have not the slightest scruple in applying the suppressed houses to any mean and degrading uses. Take the following example :—

" I determined to pay the suppressed convent of the Augustines, in

which these exhibitions were held, one visit, and see the sort of company that frequented them. I am not one of those Protestants who could rejoice to see a convent perverted to these uses, and it was not without repugnance on this score as well as others that I directed my footsteps to the place. When I entered the ancient cloisters, the silence was as profound as in those days when the building was in the occupation of men under religious vows; not that it was empty, but, on the contrary, very full. In the 'patio,' or quadrangle, tiers of seats were raised up round a sort of large cage, and these seats were crowded with attentive spectators; in the upper corridors or cloisters I noticed some of the clergy and principal civil and military officers of the place. I mounted up here just in time to see the conclusion of one of the fights; the two unfortunate birds were scarcely able to peck at each other any longer; one just contrived to drive the other a few paces on, and then both stood still, as inanimate as if they had been stuffed, excepting that pools of blood began to form under the respective birds. This was a signal for the backers to enter the cage, smooth the feathers, and try and stimulate their fighting propensities. The poor spent creatures made one or two more fluttering efforts at contention, and then fell back lifeless. When I noticed their feathers quivering, I felt disgusted, but directly a new and lively couple were thrown into the cage, and began to strut round and crow for the combat, the interest revived, so it was time to leave this demoralizing exhibition.

"The convent of the Augustines was doomed to a double profanation; for, a week after this, an awning was spread over the patio, and the American horses were exhibiting."—pp. 89, 90.

Imagine even the clergy attending a cock-fight in the cloisters of an Augustinian friary! The author remarks (p. 173) that nothing fills a Spaniard with greater surprise than to hear an Englishman regretting the suppression of the convents—"what can he be dreaming about? don't you owe all your prosperity, which is making so much noise throughout the world, to your rejection of this system of chartered indolence? and now you reproach us for having taken one of the first steps towards the abolition of sloth and bigotry." The truth is that the gross and notorious immorality of the so-called religious orders in Spain and Portugal, utterly destroyed their character and influence long before they fell; and now their very name is odious.

The clergy are evidently not respected by the people, and there is but little sense of religion. In most of the churches the confessional box stands as lumber (p. 55). A newly-appointed bishop, arriving at his see, very properly preaches against cock-fighting on Sundays in Lent (p. 87)—tries to arouse the apathetic; but, says this author, "How did my friends generally regard it?—they used to stroll into church of an evening for a few minutes, and then come out, pronounce him a Catalonian, and begin to talk of their cock-fights!" (p. 89.) At Cadiz the travellers met

a Portuguese family of rank, who said they confessed only once in the year, in Lent, before receiving the holy communion; and on the remark being made that it must be difficult to confess at one time all the sins committed in the year, the answer was, "We do not confess by word of mouth every thing we have said or done wrong in the year; but our confessor, who is a very good man, and a nobleman, tells us, the week before confession, to run over in our minds our past lives; so that when he asks us 'if we have repented,' we can say 'yes;' and then he will absolve us" (p. 117). Certainly this is a very harmless kind of auricular confession; but it is curious that such things should be in a professedly Roman Catholic country. This, we suppose, is the style of confession allowed to ladies of rank. It appears that there are, here and there, individuals who dislike the superstitions of their Church, and reject them privately. Thus a professor at Granada is mentioned (p. 198), who, in writing to an Englishman at Malaga, speaks of the appalling immorality and superstition amongst the high and lower orders, particularly of the towns in the interior, and of the attempts to arrest the wide-spreading indifference or infidelity in religious matters, by the invention of miracles and new saints; and concludes by wishing that zealous Protestants would avail themselves of the travelling propensities of the Contrabandistas and circulate the Bible through them. He added that he had found the English Prayer Book in the hands of a canon of Granada, and of a physician, both of whom commended it highly.

Instances like this must, we apprehend, be rare in the Peninsula, of persons who are conscious of the error of the popular religion, and yet have not altogether thrown off belief. At present the generality of those who live in professedly Roman Catholic countries are either sceptics or bigots; either the very name of Christianity is scoffed at, or else the most absurd and monstrous fables are placed exactly on a level with the truths of revelation. The religious Spaniard believes as devoutly in the legend of St. Christoval, or any other fable of the kind, as he does in the Gospels. Nor does this furnish any matter of surprise, when it is remembered that the sole ground of faith presented to the people by their priesthood, is the authority of the Church. The Church alone vouches for the Bible; the Church also vouches for the story of St. Christoval, or whatever other fables, or inventions, or practices are customary amongst Romanists; so that if any of the latter be rejected, the sole authority on which Christianity is supposed to depend falls along with it, and the result is absolute infidelity. All this system of teaching in the Church of Rome has arisen since the Reformation, and in opposition to it. The Jesuits prevailed on the Romish priest-

hood, generally, to take this ground, with a view to prejudice the people against the Reformation. They were taught that any exercise of judgment, or any inquiry, was certain to result in infidelity, because authority alone vouched for the truth of the Scripture, and for all Christian doctrine. The Jesuits, in fact, preferred that their disciples should incur the risk of being infidels, to that of being Protestants; calculating, probably, that there was little chance of their being prepared to throw off all faith at once. This desperate remedy succeeded for a long series of years, but it has at length borne fruit,—it has been the great cause of infidelity throughout Europe. The moment men were led to inquire, the whole fabric of belief was shaken. The same system, however, is continued without any alteration; the zeal of the remaining believers is excited by missionary preachers, new relics, miracles, canonizations, and devotions. Every superstition is pushed further and further; and all inquiry, or means of inquiry, are more and more rigorously interdicted. In Roman Catholic countries, like Spain, or Italy, or Portugal, no other religion is tolerated. No native of those countries is permitted to become a Protestant, nor is any one permitted to preach the Gospel to them.

While the Word of God is thus withheld from the deluded and most cruelly-treated people of those countries,—and withheld by that wicked priesthood which ought to have been the first to publish its blessed truths,—the word of man has acquired an undisputed dominion. And what is that word of man? It is a system which substitutes man for God,—which invests man with the attributes of Deity,—and turns aside from the true Mediator to mediators who are but of human nature. Here is a specimen of the kind of worship which is provided as most in accordance with the tastes of the people, and meet for their edification:—

“A ‘novena’ is a period of nine days preceding the saint’s day to which it relates; during which interval there is a particular service every night, concluding with a prayer to the saint, and a sermon. In the novena of St. Raphael the first night’s prayer implores ‘the patronage of the saint, and that he will present the prayers of the faithful before the divine throne, and their souls when released from the flesh.’ The prayer of the second day implores the angel or saint ‘to assist the minister of religion in the salvation of souls; that they may attain to eternity, and with them for ever love God.’ The third prays the saint or angel ‘to make them that they may hear the voice of divine grace, and overcome sin in the flesh.’ The fourth prays the archangel ‘to overcome in them the foul fiend.’ The fifth implores the archangel ‘to forgive them their debts, and to recover for them their lost grace.’ The sixth implores the archangel ‘to give them perseverance in prayer,

and constancy in good works ; and, this life ended, that their souls may be crowned in glory.' The seventh prays the archangel 'that, united, they may offer prayers to him which he may present to the Deity.' The eighth prays the archangel, as patron of those who are obedient to parents, 'to obtain from God this virtue and future glory.' The ninth desires the angel or saint 'to present all their supplications to the Deity ; and to consider their needs in this life, and to give them glory in another.'

"The novenas and octaves are quite accidental, and depend principally upon the chance liberality of individuals. The same saint who is honoured this year by a thousand lights, and nine or eight days of special prayers and sermons, may the next year be without a single light burning on his altar. This is called the *cultus* of saints. The splendour of the novena depends upon the sum given for it : when it is a large sum, of course the best musicians and preachers are obtained to grace the festival. The form of prayer, &c., used on these occasions, is drawn up by some clergyman in authority, or the bishop."—pp. 151—153.

This is the sort of system which is set up to meet the inroads of infidelity : there is no alternative between unbelief and idolatry. It is a fearful state of things, indeed, in which it is difficult to say which of the opposite systems is more injurious to the spiritual and temporal interests of the people. The Romish priesthood have gained little by exchanging the influence of the Reformation for that of infidelity.

Mr. Debary has made us in some degree acquainted with the state of religion in Spain ; but we have, in addition, the evidence supplied in an interesting publication by the Rev. Frederick Meyrick¹, fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, which comprises several letters written by two intelligent and educated persons, resident in an episcopal city in Spain. These letters fully corroborate the statements in Mr. Debary's work, with reference both to the degraded state of the Church in Spain, the excessive superstition of its adherents, and the great prevalence of infidelity.

The following extract shows that the priesthood are rapidly losing their dominion, and gives some account of the estimation in which they are held :—

"The state of the Church here (in Spain) is very low. We now live among Spaniards, and I never heard more rampant 'Protestantism' than I have heard here. People do not go to confession, and justify it openly, some by saying that the Church commands it indeed, but they will not do it, because the priests are worse than themselves : others say, that they neither kill, rob, nor cheat ; and, as for what concerns

¹ "What is the working of the Church of Spain ! What is implied in submitting to Rome ! What is it that presses hardest upon the Church of England ! A Tract by the Rev. Frederick Meyrick, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford." Oxford : J. H. Parker.

their souls, that is between themselves and God, and no man, priest or not, has any right to interfere in it. It is a real fact, that when the law admitted no man to hold any office or employment under Government, who was not able at Easter to produce a certificate from a priest that he had confessed and communicated within the year, the certificates were commonly sold for about ten-pence a piece; one person told us, that he had known one bought for five-pence. However they were obtained, whether priests sold them, or laymen confessed and communicated in order to get them to sell, a fearful amount of sacrilege and profanity is involved. We are in the constant habit of meeting a priest whom I like very much. He is not a man of much education or intelligence, and has not any appearance of what one would call sanctity; but he has a downright straightforward character, and a great love for the poor, and an excellent temper, which I have seen much tried. He was a monk in one of the richest orders. Fifteen years ago the monks were turned out, their lands and convents seized, and their pictures sold. The following year he was appointed to the chaplaincy of a hospital, which he has held ever since, saying mass every morning in the church attached. He does not dress like a priest, except that he wears the blue neckcloth. The great amusement of the laymen at dinner is to attack him about something; so that, unless we dine with him alone, it is impossible to speak to him on any subject connected with his profession, for fear of occasioning some irreverent and painful discussion. His brother, who is also a priest, and formerly a monk in the same order, was staying with him for a month. He seems to feel bitterly the plundered and degraded state of the Church, but says little unless he is called out. I think that he must be confessor to some nuns, for I used to be quite weary of the way in which the laymen would go on: 'Padre, are the nuns at — pretty?' 'Now, padre, do tell me, are they pretty?' 'Padrecito, I want to know so much if the nuns are pretty.' 'Padre, when the nuns confess, do they tell you long stories about one another?' Day after day they would question him in this way, diversifying the amusement occasionally by semi-sceptical questions on the Old Testament, as one of them chanced to be in the possession of a Bible."—pp. 3, 4.

This Spanish clergyman informed the writer that, were it not for the poor, "there would be no worship of God in the land." Fasting on Friday has gone out of use; for the bull of the Crusades, of which every one can take the benefit for about five-pence, gives full licence to eat meat on fast-days. When a fast-day comes, it is not distinguished by any remarkable self-denial.

"There has been one Spanish fast-day since we have been here; the Vigil of All Saints. We had as good a dinner of fish, vegetables, sweets, and fruit, as any one could wish, but it made some of the guests very cross. They discovered that the rule of the English Church was to fast on Friday; so they turned round upon the two priests, and

asked why *they* did not fast on Friday? Next, they went on to raise the question, whether Protestants would go to glory; and, if they did not, where they would go: one of them who had picked up some vague ideas about the English Church suggesting that people might be Catholics without being Roman Catholics. Pickpockets abound here. It is said, that the little boys who are employed in the churches to assist at the mass and to help clean the church, are the most adroit. It may be so, for constant familiarity with holy things, if it does not do good, must do harm; and the idea of reverence never seems to enter their head: they would just as soon stand on the top of the altar as any where. On All Saints' day, being the Vigil of the 'Animas,' it is the custom in Spain to go to the Campo Santo to burn lights before the niches of the dead. We went and found that it had degenerated into a crowded promenade, where people meet and gossip, and look at each other. There can be no holy and peaceful thoughts of the dead in such a scene. Little stalls were set up all round with refreshments."—pp. 6, 7.

It appears that the writers of these letters had been, when in England, associating with those to whom the defects of their own Church and the merits of the Church of Rome had been matter of continual uneasiness. One of them expresses himself in the following terms, after a residence in Spain. The letter is dated January 28, 1851:—

"I cannot but be grateful to have learnt in daily life what the Roman Church is. I have just been reading an able letter in the *Chronicle*, signed Gamaliel. 'The miseries of our own house almost drive us forth, but we are deterred by finding that no perfect home awaits us.' While 'you are fighting against evils at home, which seem intolerable and deadly, I am constantly witnessing evils here (mingled with good) which are so great that I am appalled at them. The rashness with which men rush out of our Church into that which they do not practically know is like the state of mind of a suicide, who, overwhelmed with present evils, hurls himself out of life.

"We are oppressed, enslaved, by the power of the State at home. Well, here every bishop is nominated by the Government, subject only to the approval of the Pope: the clergy are paid by the State; and as the *Esperanza*, the High-Church paper, complains, they dare not oppose Government, which would at once say, 'Be silent, or I'll starve you.' The churches are kept in repair (such as it is) by the State: the education is in the hands of the State; the schools are paid for and the masters appointed by the State; the clergy can only give a little instruction in the schools, and do not catechise in the churches. Even the seminaries where the priests are educated are supported by the State; and the books to be used and the course of instruction regulated by the Minister of Instruction.

"We complain that our people dishonour and despise the rules of their own Church. It is sadly, miserably true; but what do we see here? For more than three months we have been constantly associating

with Spaniards. Well, I find not one but all of my companions openly neglecting and refusing confession, and professing to do so. I have said to them, 'Why, the Church commands you to confess.' 'Yes,' they answer, 'but we don't do it, that is, the men; many of the women do.' The most extreme Protestant opinions are upon their lips, such as that the care of their souls is a matter between themselves and their God, and they do not see what any one else has to do with it. The legends of the Roman Saints and stories of miracles are wholly repudiated. I got the priest, with whom I am on very good terms, to tell me a legend of an image in his church, which, as the story ran, had reached out its arm, and given absolution to a penitent. As the story ended, one of the laymen came in, and began to make a mock of it. It is a most unhappy thing, that truth and falsehood have been mingled together in their miracles and legends, and many of them have been put before the minds of the people as of equal authority with Holy Scripture: *e. g.* there is not a devout person here who does not hold it quite as certain, that the thief on the cross was called Demas, and that he was forgiven at the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, as that he was crucified at all. Now the result of this is, that while among the uneducated or little educated you may meet with much devotion and faith, you find also the strangest mixture of legend and holy truth intertwined inextricably together: while among the more educated there is a dangerous tendency to disbelieve all. They find, that they have been deceived and imposed on in some things, and that throws a doubt on all. There are very many who believe nothing. Some of the merchants' sons would like to come to our service, but it is not permitted by law. One of them said to — last week, 'We could believe what your Church teaches, we cannot believe what we are taught here.' I know one sad case myself. Don F. is a thoroughly educated and refined gentleman, but he has not faith in what is taught him in his own Church; he knows the priests have taught him some falsehoods, and distrusts them wholly. I look upon him as a good, honourable, religious-minded man, but without religion. And the people have not the Bible here to fall back upon. Let the people say what they will of the abuse of that Holy Book, and the wretched way men too often deal with it, yet think what it would be to be robbed of it. Practically, people here *are* without the Bible. I shall never forget the eagerness with which Don F. borrowed my Spanish Testament, when he found that it was what he called '*puro*.' 'We only get garbled scraps given us here,' he said."—pp. 8—10.

The Church of Rome has adopted the system of revivals, on very much the same system as the American Methodists and Sectarians, and with very much the same effects. A number of preachers arrive at a town, and sermons of the most exciting nature are delivered for a week or fortnight, while every kind of ceremony and worship calculated to interest the people is brought into play. This perpetual excitement at length overcomes the

feelings of those who are subjected to it: the women get into hysterics, the men shed tears—the whole population, men, women, and children, hasten to the confessional; multitudes come to the communion; the missionaries retire, enchanted at the success of their ministry—and then—matters resume their ordinary course.

The devotions recommended at one of these Roman Catholic revivals are described as consisting of fifty Aves, five Paters, and five Gloria Patris, with prayers and hymns addressed to the Virgin under the title of the Divine Shepherdess. Of course, devotions would not engage the feelings of the people, if they were not chiefly directed to the Virgin. The following remarkable extracts from a novena to the Virgin, in use in Spain, and to which indulgences are attached by an archbishop and eight bishops, are, as well as the remarks of the writer accompanying them, well deserving of attention. They will show the tendency of the popular religion in Spain to supersede the worship and love of God by that of the Virgin:—

“ ‘ Of the Charity of Most Holy Mary.

“ ‘ As the eternal Father delivered his only begotten Son to death in order to give life to men, so this admirable Mother of love delivered her only Son Jesus to the rigours of death, that all might be saved. She did not content Herself with giving to the Divine Word flesh, wherein to suffer for men: She Herself sacrificed Him. Standing at the foot of the cross, whilst her Beloved immolated Himself for the salvation of mortals, She Herself offered the sacrifice of this unspotted Victim, beseeching of the Eternal Father that He would receive it as a payment and satisfaction for all the sins of the world. She gave to men all that She could give, and She loved them more. She gave Herself, and if She did not realize the sacrifice, it was because her offering had all the merit of which it was capable.

“ ‘ Of the Righteousness of Most Holy Mary.

“ ‘ It is well known, that Most Holy Mary, instead of being a debtor, gave so abundantly, that all remained and are her debtors: men for redemption: angels for their special joy: even the Most Holy Trinity are in a certain way a debtor to her for the accidental glory which has resulted, and does result, to them from this their Beloved.

“ ‘ Of the Patience of Most Holy Mary.

“ ‘ She suffered in Jesus, and with Jesus, as much as Jesus suffered.

“ ‘ Of the Obedience of Most Holy Mary.

“ ‘ She obeyed more than all creatures united, and by her obedience supplied the want of obedience of all the evil angels in heaven, and of all the ungrateful men on earth.

“ ‘ Of the Religion of Most Holy Mary.

“ ‘ Blind and deceived should we all have been, if Most Holy Mary, in her great mercy, had not given us in Jesus Christ the needful know-

ledge of the only, sole, and true religion. Though neither angels nor men had given, nor should give, to God, the worship and veneration which they ought; Most Holy Mary would have fulfilled all the duties laid on every creature by the necessity of the virtue of religion. . . . Instructress of the Church, by whom, and of whom, the Apostles learnt to celebrate the mysteries of our redemption, to frequent the Sacrament of the Eucharist, to venerate the holy cross, to pray, and exercise themselves in all the acts of religion, I adore thee!

“ ‘ *Of the Hope of Most Holy Mary.*

“ ‘ She Herself was the object of the hope of the righteous, and scarcely did She show Herself in this world, when even as the shadows of the night begin to flee away before the coming of the dawn, so at the birth of Most Holy Mary, the Queen and Mother of Mercy, fled from many their doubts respecting the coming of the Messias. She Herself was persuaded that He was at hand.’

“ In these extracts you will see, that the office of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is attributed to her. *She sacrificed her Son for our salvation: we are redeemed by her sufferings: she was the teacher of the Apostles.* It is universally understood here, and affirmed in sermons, that when our Lord went into heaven, He gave his Mother to be the guide and ruler of the Church, and our intercessor; and consequently, as the Archbishop said, all the gifts of God pass through her hands. The same book concludes with a hymn called ‘the Joys.’ The following verses occur in it:—‘Life, salvation, and gladness, all was lost by man; but in Thee he found all. O sweet Virgin Mary! what would be our fate without so heavenly a Mother? Mother of Mercy, deliver us from all evil. God angry would have punished with hell man, who refused to respect his dominion; but Thou, Virgin Mary, didst faithfully succour him. Mother of Mercy, deliver us from all evil. All this world, buried in its wickedness, sighed and found no remedy, save in Thy pity. Thou wert the especial remedy of such great iniquities. Mother of Mercies, deliver us from all evil. *Thy union with the immense God*, infinite in power, alone could merit the pardon of such excesses. Hereby we were freed from such criminal acts. He denies Thee nothing who created Thee so beautiful, and so favoured and privileged with graces, and made Thee a Queen: for by Thee He gave all to unfaithful man. He who is able made Thee arbiter of his immense stores, that none in the most fatal cases might fail to share the universal protection of Thy abundant wealth. Mother of Mercy, deliver us from all evil.’

“ I remember, when I used to be pained at finding English children learning Watts’ Hymns, which represent the Father as an angry Judge, appeased by the intercession of his Son, and entirely forgot that He so loved the world, that He sent Him to redeem us; but what is that to this bold assertion, that the angry Judge was appeased, not by the Son, but by the Virgin! The assertion, too, that our redemption is due to the union of God with man, not in the Person of our Lord, but of the Virgin

Mary, is startling ! And all this comes *on the authority of the Church.*"
—pp. 19—22.

It is really painful to dwell on such subjects ; but still it is of the highest importance that the real state of things should be understood, and that persons should fully understand the system which has reduced Spain to its present lamentable condition, and the effects produced by the mingled imposture and immorality which are its accompaniments. Such is the system which some persons are desirous to see extended with every possible freedom, and with all conceivable advantages, in England itself

"The attempts to forge miracles are another great occasion of infidelity. I do not know whether the late attempt in France has reached the English papers. Blood was said to flow from a picture. It proved an entire forgery. Yet certainly the evidence at first was better than any given for Sta. Rita's miracles. It is well known, that in some of the disgraceful intrigues in the royal family of Spain, a very important part was played by a nun, who pretended to have the stigmata. For a time she was venerated as a saint, and some of her visions and revelations were used to separate the king and queen. The queen is bad enough, but if any thing could excuse her conduct, it would be the heartless cruelty with which she was treated, and the way in which the sanctions of religion were used to mislead her. The fraud was discovered, the king and queen reconciled, and the king's confessor sent away. What part the confessor had in it I do not know, for the newspapers were not allowed to say any thing on the subject. He was recalled some months ago. What effect must these things have on the minds of people, who are required to believe things as improbable as those which are proved false, and have no standard whereby to judge between the fundamental truths of the Gospel and the wildest fancies !

"The bitter hatred against the friars and monks is quite astonishing. None of them were murdered here, because when they were turned out the governor gave them warning, and allowed them ten days to escape in disguise, before the people knew it. An Englishwoman saved one by dressing him in her son's clothes : but I have no doubt, that now, if one made his appearance in his monastic dress, he would be torn in pieces. Not even the courtesy of Spaniards can make them behave decently to a priest. The priesthood in general seems to be thoroughly despised."—pp. 26, 27.

The inequality of privileges afforded to the rich and poor respectively in the Church of Rome has often been the subject of remark. The poor man is excluded from the benefit of having masses said for his soul, and being thereby released from purgatory, while the rich man is able to leave sums of money for the benefit of his soul. This injustice is the subject of remark even in Spain.

"There was an attack made upon the priest the other day, in which the laymen had got hold of one of the really weak points. When any one dies in the hospital, he is buried, as they say, like a dog. The body is put into a cart, and taken off to the Campo Santo, where it is thrown into a pit, without a word of prayer. The laymen asked him, 'Where are the souls of those who die in your hospital?' 'Those who are not in hell, are all in purgatory.' One of them turned round, 'These people tell us that all are equal before God, rich and poor; but it is false. If a rich man dies, his friends will have one or two hundred masses said for him, and he goes to heaven; while these poor creatures are tormented in purgatory.' I tried to turn it off by saying, 'As you feel so much for them, of course you have masses said for them.' He laughed at the suggestion, and said, 'You do not believe all these things, though you believe a great deal more than we do.' All that the good padre was able to say was, that once a year a mass is said for all who have died in the hospital. Conceive the outcry there would be in England if the bodies of our poor were treated in such a way, though we do not believe that their souls are suffering in consequence."—pp. 29, 30.

The mode of raising funds for church building is sometimes curious enough. In one case, a committee having been formed, and a commencement made, funds began to run short, so they had a *bull-fight*, then they had a "funcion" in the *theatre*; moreover, they obtained from the civic authorities the assistance of several convicts. They then tried *another* bull-fight, and another "funcion!" but without sufficient success. At last one of the bishops on the committee was made Archbishop of Toledo, and some funds fell into his hands which he applied to the church building; and, in fine, the Government offered to give some help, and it is said that it will be finished. The whole is told in an Ecclesiastical Journal, with high commendation of the perseverance of the committee. We think that after this our charity bazaars are not worth talking of. In France there is now a *lottery* going on under the patronage of a cardinal archbishop, for the restoration of a church.

Catechising, though it is ordered on Sundays, and in Lent, by the canons, has gone out of use (p. 35). It is one of those old customs which has been superseded by new rites and ceremonies.

The picture which these publications present to us of the state of religion in Spain is altogether most deplorable. The combination of blind credulity and obstinate bigotry with moral corruption on the one hand, and the deep-seated scepticism so widely spread on the other, present as hopeless a case as well may be. And now the Spanish Government, like all the rest of the leading continental powers, has thrown itself wholly into the hands of the Pope, and by the recent concordat has declared that Romanism shall have exclusive sway and dominion; that all means

of enlightening the popular mind and removing superstitions shall be prohibited ; that the bishops and clergy shall be aided by the civil power in preventing the circulation of the Bible, and in repressing all teaching but their own. Such is the toleration in foreign countries of those who, in this country, are enraged at the idea of "toleration" being extended to themselves, and will be satisfied with nothing less than dominion. The "Irish brigade" may well scoff at "toleration;" their brethren in Spain and Italy do so equally.

It may seem an inconsistency, and perhaps it is so, to recognize in a Church like that of Rome any part of Christianity, to admit it to be a branch of the Christian Church. Undoubtedly it has departed far from the way of truth, and has been "most rebellious" against the Divine Head of the Church. And yet, after all, do not those who, in their just indignation at Romish errors, altogether exclude that Church from the Christian name, thereby diminish the responsibility and extenuate the guilt of its members? If Rome be no part of Christendom, if Divine grace is in no degree imparted to its members, they are much less guilty than they would be, if they continued to sin notwithstanding the gifts of grace, and some knowledge of the Gospel. So that the severity of those who exclude Rome wholly from the pale of Christian grace, in fact defeats its own purpose. And, however it may be authorized by strict logic, it is little in harmony with the word of God; for even the children of Judah and of Israel did not cease to be God's people when they fell into idolatry. Nay, even after the rejection of our Saviour, they still remained in some sense the people of God.

It is the assertion of many persons at the present day, that there are but two consistent theories of faith—the one of which makes faith wholly dependent on the authority of the existing Church, to the absolute exclusion of all private judgment or liberty of action on the part of individuals; while the other makes faith wholly dependent on the free choice and private judgment of each individual, to the exclusion of all notion of authority of any kind. Now, without doubt, these theories are, respectively, clear, intelligible, and, to a certain extent, logical. The Roman Catholic theory professes to put an end to all doubt, perplexity, and difficulty, by wholly extinguishing private judgment, and giving infallible authority for the mind to rest on in every question that may arise. And this looks very well at first; but when it is closely examined, the whole fabric of reasoning is discovered to be illogical and inconsistent. Private judgment is set aside as incapable of being the foundation of faith. And yet the very persons who argue that infidelity or scepticism must be the result of trust-

ing to private judgment, have not the slightest hesitation in asking us to build our faith in *their Church* itself on our private judgment. They appeal to it without scruple when it is favourable to them, but deny it when it is exercised against them. And their inconsistency goes further than this. The Romanist will tell you that faith which does not depend on the infallible teaching of the Church is not true faith, but mere private opinion. But this assertion of his is, after all, an act of private judgment; for the Church of Rome herself has never asserted her own infallibility in any decree binding on all her members; its assertion is, therefore, an act of private judgment, and arises merely from a chain of reasoning, in the same way as the denial of the Church's infallibility arises from another species of reasoning. And even, supposing the infallibility of the Church, in her decisions and teaching, to be ever so clear, still the clergy of that Church do not pretend to be individually infallible; and therefore the people are obliged to resort to private judgment, in order to ascertain what the real teaching and decisions of the Church are. How can they know that the Church is universal, that its teaching is harmonious, that it has made decisions, that certain books purporting to contain such decisions are genuine, or authentic, or rightly translated, or rightly interpreted, or that they have attained a knowledge of the true sense of their Church? In all these cases they must have recourse to private judgment, because the Church herself has not solved any one of these questions; and thus in the event the faith of the Romanist depends immediately upon the very same exercise of private judgment, which he denounces in others as leading to heresy and infidelity.

And now let us look for a moment at those "consistent" Protestants who are so strongly opposed to Rome and to "Puseyism," and so anxious to eradicate all principles which they imagine to be in any way tending towards Romanism. They imagine that they have placed themselves in an impregnable position by asserting the absolute and unqualified right of private judgment, in opposition to Church authority and the claims of every hierarchy or priesthood. And, without doubt, the principle they advocate is one which *would* wholly sweep away the authority of Romanism; but it would also put an end to the Christian ministry, to creeds and articles of faith, and to Church government in any shape; for all of them are either checks on private judgment, or tend to impede its free exercise. They tend to create impressions in favour of a certain set of views, or obligations to maintain certain tenets. So that, if there are any advocates of those principles who are satisfied to allow schools in which particular religious tenets are taught, or to permit articles, and creeds, and declara-

tions, to be subscribed by candidates for degrees, or offices in the Universities, or by the clergy ;—if they are contented to recognize the Christian ministry as a distinct order or body of men, peculiarly set apart for the service of religion, invested with any powers which are not exercised indiscriminately by every one, and tied to teach any particular form of faith ;—if such be their views, then we must say that they are grossly inconsistent with themselves. They may assert private judgment as much as they please ; but they are consenting to a limited exercise of it : they are placing authority as a check upon it. The truth is, that neither one extreme nor the other—neither the Romanist, nor the advocate of unlimited religious liberty, attempts to carry out or to act on its abstract principle. The one admits private judgment, so far as it is exercised in a right direction, and no further ; and the other admits authority, so far as it is exercised in a right direction, or what is held to be so. So that, after all, these extreme opinions are liable to exactly the same charge of inconsistency which their advocates make against men of more moderate views.

And now, to consider for a moment what these more moderate views are. In the first place, every one has so far the right of private judgment that he may, on competent evidence, embrace the truth as revealed by Jesus Christ—as taught in his Holy Word. As a minister of Christ, he may teach it ; as a layman, he may receive it. But, besides this, many individuals may agree in believing and teaching the truth ; and, when they do so, their teaching has a greater or less authority : their authority arises from the combination of many private judgments. But, then, the question comes,—Are individuals bound to submit their own opinions to authority of this kind ? We can only say, that they are bound to pay deference to it, in proportion to the amount and degree of its authority. They cannot differ from it without clear and distinct reason. But, if they differ from authority, and in so doing maintain the truth, they are free from all fault ; or, if they are misled by some unavoidable error or ignorance, they are to a certain degree excusable ; while, on the other hand, the authority from which they dissent is entitled, when it maintains the truth, to exclude from communion all who dissent from it. The Church, i. e. the congregation of many individuals, may be wrong, and the individual may be right ; yet the Church must only act on the best of her judgment. When many Churches differ from few, the truth may be on one side or the other ; but there is no absolute obligation on the minority to yield to the judgment of the majority. And thus the individual is neither relieved from the responsibility of exercising a judgment, nor is he authorized to disregard

the opinion of others possessing authority. He is not to imagine that the majority must necessarily be infallible, and thus recognize it as the rule of his faith; nor, on the other hand, is he to imagine that he is more likely to judge aright than all other, or almost all other, Christians in the world. He is bound to combine an humble sense of his own liability to error, with a sincere and prayerful endeavour to attain the truth, both by studying the Word of God and by giving their due weight to the judgments and teaching of the whole Christian world; and, where there are divisions, to the doctrines of that part of the Church of which he is a member.

It is our opinion, that principles such as these will be found, on examination, quite as consistent and as rational as those of others who, at first sight, may appear to be more strictly coherent and logical, and who are loud in their claims to the exclusive possession of the truth. The middle course of the Church of England is denounced by these extreme partisans as utterly self-contradictory and inconsistent: but we imagine that it is easier to make such accusations than to sustain them; that an authority which involves private judgment, and is based on it, cannot be inconsistent with it.

But while we thus plead for toleration for those who would not consider the Churches subject to Rome as altogether cut off from the people of God, even as the Israelites of old were not wholly cut off from the covenant though they had rebelled against God, yet we do say, that it appears to be high time for all parties to act together against their common foe. It is impossible to mistake the signs of the times. It is impossible to close our eyes to the impressive crisis in which we are placed. There is a great war of principles going on throughout the whole of Europe. Two years since, the democratical and anarchical principle gained the ascendancy throughout the greater part of Europe. Now the principle of absolutism and arbitrary power has gained the dominion, and democratic leaders and Socialists have been slaughtered, imprisoned, or exiled. And in their terror at the democratic principle, the absolute sovereigns of Europe,—nay, all sovereigns, in whose dominions Romanism holds influence, have sought the alliance of the Roman Church, in the hope of employing its influence to subdue the turbulent elements by which they are surrounded. Accordingly, a sudden change has taken place in the position of Romanism throughout Europe: it is now united in the closest bands with the ruling powers, who endeavour in all ways to promote its influence. In Portugal, the Pope gains whatever he seeks. In Spain, the Government propitiates him by a Concordat, and is preparing to restore the full

power of the Spanish Church. In France, the Jesuits are in the ascendancy, and the Government actually maintains the Pope on his throne by force of arms. In Belgium, Popery is predominant. In Naples, and throughout the greater part of Italy, the Papacy has every thing its own way, and has swept away many of the old barriers raised by Roman Catholic states against its aggressions. Austria has relinquished the greater part of its supremacy, in religious matters, to the Church, and is vehemently bent on spreading Romanism throughout Germany. From one end of Germany to the other, an inundation of Romish preachers spread themselves over the country, and are upheld and supported by the Governments, Romanist and Protestant. In Hungary alone, and Piedmont, Switzerland, and Holland, there is still some contest against Romanism. These countries, with the northern kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, are now the only parts of the Continent where the Papacy is not making rapid progress.

We live in an age of sudden and strange revolutions ; but this is certainly one of the most remarkable we remember. The change in the position of Romanism within two years is astonishing ; and, of course, the hopes and anticipations of its adherents are perfectly boundless. It is quite natural that an aggression should be made and carried out in England. The Pope, without doubt, considers himself now strong enough to do any thing.

The Papal aggression on England has been carried into effect with an insolence which marks in the strongest way the confidence of strength which animates the Court of Rome, and the contempt which it entertains for the opposition of the English Government. The Court of Rome could not have dealt with England in the way we have seen, had it not known that Austria, and France, and Prussia, and Russia, Spain, Naples, and Portugal were its allies, offensive and defensive. It was the consciousness of immense political power that encouraged Rome to create an English hierarchy, and to assume the lofty tone it has done.

We are disposed to see in this proceeding of the Papacy the working of Divine Providence for the good of England. What has been its result ? It has reunited the whole national feeling of England : never was there so perfect an unanimity of opposition to the Papacy. It has turned back the tide which had been flowing in the direction of favour to Rome for the last half century. Our statesmen, and our legislature have at length been arrested in their course, and compelled to retrograde ; they have been forced to declare themselves opposed to Rome. We believe that no other combination of circumstances than that we have witnessed could have aroused this country from its criminal apathy

—from its increasing indifference to all those principles to which it owed its greatness.

And in what point of view should Churchmen contemplate the present state of things? We think they should consider it as a call to them to change in some degree their measures and their objects. We are now in a different position, at least for the time, from what we have been placed in since 1829. The State is apparently beginning to remember its principles and its duties, from which it so grievously deviated in that fatal year. If the State is disposed to adhere to those great principles on which its alliance with the Church in the sixteenth century was formed—if the Supremacy be once more the glorious and sacred possession of sovereigns who are not merely in name but in deed, “Defenders of the faith”—then we say, let the alliance of Church and State be perpetual! May it flourish without ever decaying or diminishing! May no jealousies ever arise between powers, which are alike constituted by God, and whose objects and ends ought never to be, and can never be at variance, if they be equally guided by the sense of duty to God! True Churchmen will seek to guard their faith against violation even by temporal rulers; but they will feel it a duty and a delight to give their most earnest support and their most dutiful obedience to rulers who are not ashamed of the truth, and whose aim it is to promote those high and essential principles which constitute the sacred and cherished inheritance of English Churchmen. We would appeal to the State for the means of giving the fullest efficiency to the Church of England. Let her have every facility for developing her resources—for completing her organization—for regulating all that is imperfect and out of order. Let devoted and faithful men be sent forth as bishops. Let this be done, on avowedly religious principles; and the State itself will reap its reward in the respect of the people—in the gratitude of the Church—and above all, in the blessing of the Almighty and Supreme Disposer of all earthly things.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

ETC.

1. Warter's Plain Protestant's Manual. 2. A Letter to the Rev. J. F. Wilkinson. By the Rev. T. T. Carter. 3. The Progress of Beguilement to Romanism. By Eliza Smith. 4. Letters on some of the Errors of Romanism. By W. Palmer. 5. The Pattern showed on the Mount. By the Rev. G. T. Carter. 6. Wild Life in the Interior of Central America. By George Byam, late 43rd Light Infantry. 7. A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Cuddesden, on Sunday, March 16th, 1851. By the Rev. H. Hoskyns. 8. The Church Patient in her Mode of Dealing with Controversies. By the Rev. Arthur W. Haddon. 9. Rev. G. Stanhope's Paraphrase and Comment upon the Epistles and Gospels. 10. Dr. Cramp's Text-Book of Popery. 11. Two Sermons. By Rev. J. Rogers. 12. Roman Catholic Claims Impartially Considered. By Amicus Veritatis. 13. Speech of Henry Drummond, M.P., on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. 14. The Talbot Case. By the Rev. M. H. Seymour. 15. Repentance: its Necessity, Nature, and Aids. By the Rev. J. Jackson. 16. Dr. Scoresby's Memorials of the Sea.

- 1.—*A Plain Protestant's Manual; or Certain Plain Sermons on the Scriptures, the Church, and the Sacraments, &c.* By JOHN WOOD WARTER, B.D., Christ Church, Oxford; Vicar of West Tarring, &c. London: Rivingtons.

THE peculiar circumstances of the times have called for pulpit instructions of a controversial nature; and, while it is undoubtedly a cause for regret, on some accounts, that it should be necessary to exchange the more practical and spiritual office of the preacher for warning against error, and defence of the assailed truth, yet, there are counterbalancing benefits which are not of any light amount. It must often be a subject of regret to observe the imperfect intelligence which too many of the members of the Church exhibit in regard to religious topics, and which leaves them exposed to the arguments of the first zealous dissenter or Romanist they may happen to meet. If the excitement felt on religious circumstances in the present day should enable the clergy, with effect, to instruct their parishioners on the grounds of difference between the Churches of England and of Rome, and to guard them against the objections which dissenters are wont to raise, a great positive good will have been effected.

The author of this little volume before us has availed himself of the opportunity to develop in a very interesting manner, in a

series of popular discourses, the principal errors of Romanism. Like Mr. Warter's other publications it is quaint in style, though far from being above the intelligence of the classes to whom it is addressed ; and abounds in the ideas and arguments of our elder divines. For the benefit of the more learned, each sermon is preceded by a series of quotations from the early Fathers illustrative of the subject. The Sermons are on the following subjects :—The Scriptures—the Church—St. Peter's Confession—One Mediator—Christian Sacraments—Confession—The Faith once delivered to the Saints, &c. In the first discourse the principle of Chillingworth that "the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants," is maintained and vindicated in its right sense, as opposed to the Romish notion of a tradition supplementary to Scripture. That doctrine is then referred to, and the dealings of the Church of Rome with Scripture, on which Mr. Warter writes thus :—

"What however I would for the present direct your attention to, is the fact, that the Church of Rome permits the use only of one authorized version, whether translated or not—that is to say, the Old Vulgate ; and from this if she can establish a doctrine, as more than one she doth, no appeal is allowed ; whereas in the Church to which we are privileged to belong, though we have a translation (one of the best ever made) 'appointed to be read in churches,' yet for all that we are not debarred from the use of the inspired originals, whether in the Hebrew or the Greek. Such as can use them may, and derive comfort, as many do, whilst searching for hidden treasure. Beyond a doubt, with the originals at hand, or such a translation as we have, there is no palming, even upon the most ignorant, what are called in our Homily 'the stinking puddles of man's traditions, devised by man's imagination, for our justification and salvation.' It was, in fact, by prohibiting, or, to say the least, by so restricting the use of Holy Writ as to amount to a prohibition, that corruptions gained ground in the Church of Rome—such corruptions as almost to overwhelm her,—so that the wisest and the best of her own sons called out for redress, and called long in vain."—pp. 13, 14.

In the Sermon on the Church, the claims of the Church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all Churches is ably discussed ; and while it is held that Rome is not altogether excluded from the Church, a similar view is held of dissent—though we have not observed any admission of the lawfulness of dissenting ministrations. The view which Mr. Warter here takes is certainly deducible from the principles laid down by Hooker and many divines. We must refer to the Sermons on St. Peter's Confession, on the practice of Confession and Absolution, and on the One Mediator, as peculiarly valuable and interesting.

- II.—*A Letter to the Rev. J. F. Wilkinson, Priest of the Roman Catholic Chapel, at Clewer, in answer to Remarks addressed by him to the Parishioners. By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, Rector of Clewer.* London: J. H. Parker.

IT is not very often that local controversy presents an interest which entitles it to the public attention; but in the instance before us, there is something which really deserves notice, and will render Mr. Carter's Letter an acceptable gift to all who are interested in the Romish controversy. We never remember to have seen so complete, so popular, and so satisfactory a collection of evidence, as to the mode in which the perusal of the Scriptures is discouraged and prohibited in the Church of Rome. The facts which Mr. Carter has collected with great care and research, are perfectly overwhelming. The contrast between the Christian, and yet firm tone of the English clergyman, and the vulgar, insolent bluster and braggadocio of his Popish antagonist, is truly refreshing; and will, we doubt not, make their due impression in the inhabitants of Windsor. Mr. Carter thoroughly understands his subject, and we anticipate much benefit to the public mind from his being thus called to a discussion of the controversy.

- III.—*The Progress of Beguilement to Romanism. A Personal Narrative. By ELIZA SMITH, Authoress of "Five Years a Catholic."* London: Seeleys.

WE have seldom perused a more instructive and interesting little work than this. It details the process by which a mind of considerable cultivation and thoughtfulness was gradually won over to Romanism by theories of perfection, and anticipations of finding in Rome what could not be elsewhere found. Experience, however, gradually opened the eyes of the mistaken but conscientious inquirer. The tone of Romish society was so far remote from all her anticipations, so worldly, and so artificial; the horrors of the confessional, and the misconduct of those who availed themselves of its power for the most criminal purposes, were so fully confirmatory of all the objections which had been in vain urged to prevent secession to Rome; that at length a reaction took place, and the writer escaped from bondage, and from a system of craft and dishonesty, to the possession of those blessed privileges which she had lost. The details of her experience during her connexion with Romanism, are affecting and instructive in a high degree.

- IV.—*Letters on some of the Errors of Romanism in Controversy with the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D.* By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A., *Prebendary of Salisbury, Vicar of Whitchurch Canonorum.* Third Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1851.

IN the present distressed and distracted state of the English Church, assailed at once by foes from without and traitors from within, it is cheering to see any intimation of unswerving faith in her doctrines, and unhesitating devotion to her cause in those whose duty it is to maintain intact and unadulterated the whole counsel of GOD. Alas! that such should be the case! But so it is; and to mince the matter is adopting the device of the foolish bird, which, when hotly pursued by those who seek its capture or death, plunges its head into the nearest bush, and hopes, by avoiding the sight, to escape the grasp of its enemy. We are externally attacked at once—by the aggression of the Roman Church—and the usurpation of the Civil Power—to say nothing of less important antagonists—less important, we mean, at the present juncture; and, at the same time, we have to contend with internal unfaithfulness, more or less fully developed; the unfaithfulness of those who would make the Church of the Living GOD the bondsman of a world that lieth in wickedness; of those who would supplant her Catholic and eternal faith by the novel dogmata of heretics and schismatics, or the form of philosophy, and the reality of infidelity; and, lastly, the unfaithfulness of those, who, from whatever cause, decline to offer a bold, straightforward, honest, and uncompromising opposition to the usurpations, the errors, and the idolatries of Rome.

It is at such a juncture, then, as the present, cheering to find any of our sentinels standing firmly at their posts, any of our watchmen looking out fearlessly into the night, any of our men-of-war buckling on their armour, and boldly *advancing* against the approaching foe.

We are happy, on their own account, to see these Letters printed in a form which makes them accessible to the public at large, instead of their being confined to the libraries of the studious, or the wealthy; and we welcome, with much satisfaction, the "*Introductory Letter to the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D., in reference to the Titular Romish Episcopate*," which is, of course, entirely new; and to which, therefore, we shall confine ourselves on the present occasion:—

"I trust, sir," says Mr. Palmer, "that any little lack of courtesy, which I and others may have apparently evinced, in hesitating to concede to you a spiritual jurisdiction, which we did not believe you to possess, may be pardoned by yourself, at least, in consideration of the promotion

which you have sought and obtained, with a view to defeat our arguments, and to compel our recognition of your authority."—p. ix.

After citing various passages from the writings of Cardinal Wiseman and Mr. Bowyer, Mr. Palmer expresses a hope that he may be permitted to offer a few comments on them :—

"In the first place, then, it is clear, both from your own admissions, and those of Mr. Bowyer, that Romanists felt there was too much weight in the arguments which Churchmen directed against the Romish hierarchy under its late organization. It was felt that there was an 'advantage of ecclesiastical position' on the part of the Church of England; that many minds were 'influenced' by this to continue in the Church of England; that the assertion, that Romanists had no real Bishops, was a 'sarcasm,' which it was 'a point of no light weight and no indifferent interest' to silence if possible; that this 'standard and favourite topic' had 'some apparent colour;' and that the system of 'Vicars Apostolic,' was, no doubt, 'new' and 'anomalous.'

"Such, sir, by your own confessions, was the position of Romanism in England till the month of October, 1850! Up to *that time* our arguments against your hierarchy were felt—acutely and bitterly felt—to be such, that it was a matter of 'no light weight, and no indifferent interest,' to endeavour to elude them by a *change in your ecclesiastical organization!* Permit me, sir, to remark, that you have, according to *your own* statement of the motives which induced that alteration, borne the most satisfactory testimony to the force and validity of the arguments by which Churchmen refuted the claims of Romanists to possess a legitimate episcopate. The step you have taken indicates a feeling that your former position in this country was questionable; that it was incapable of satisfactory defence; that you could not hope to succeed in your project of overthrowing the Church of England, while you yourselves laboured under the imputation of possessing no true bishops, and, therefore, no true priests, and no lawful administration of the sacraments.

"Up to the autumn of the year of grace, 1850, then, it appears that Romanism possessed only a questionable episcopate; it did not possess what is held by Romanists themselves essential to the Church; it was without episcopal jurisdiction. Now this state of things, which had only been brought prominently into controversy of late years by our writers, was *peculiarly* embarrassing to Romanism in this country, because *EVER SINCE THE REFORMATION, THE ONE GRAND ARGUMENT BY WHICH ROMANISTS HAVE BEEN ASSAILING THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, HAS BEEN A DENIAL OF HER EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION AND JURISDICTION.*"—pp. xi.—xiii.

After enumerating the various controversial writers who have in turn assailed the validity of our orders, or the jurisdiction or mission of our threefold ministry, Mr. Palmer goes on to say :—

"Such then being the favourite system of argument adopted by Ro-

manists, I can readily conceive the embarrassment they felt, when, not content, as our predecessors Mason, Bramhall, Prideaux, Burnet, and Elrington had been, with defending our own episcopate as valid and canonical, and truly apostolical in its jurisdiction, we proceeded to *retort* your arguments, and to prove from the authorities and principles to which you had appealed against us, that *you yourselves* were without any lawful episcopate.

"It became, *then*, a matter 'of no light weight, and no indifferent interest,' to escape from our objections, and to obtain, if possible, such 'an advantage in ecclesiastical position,' as would be subservient to your purposes of proselytism; and hence you submitted, with perfect satisfaction, to the transmutation you have recently undergone."—pp. xv. xvi.

"We argued," proceeds the writer of these Letters, "that the Romanists, so far from being the Catholic Church in England, as they claimed to be, were in reality *schismatics*, besides being involved in the crime of *IDOLATRY*, which is as grievous a sin as that of infidelity or heresy. It was remarked that the separation of communion which took place in the sixteenth century was *their* work, and that *they* then cut themselves off from the true and orthodox Church of this nation."—p. xvi.

After giving a succinct sketch of the line of argument here indicated, the author concludes by saying,—"*So far*, we have nothing more to say on the subject, *except this*—that you have conceded the non-episcopal character of your hierarchy till A.D. 1850—that *till within the last six months, at least, you have had NO LEGITIMATE HIERARCHY.*"

This is a strong point, and one which ought not to be lost sight of in the controversy. Having thus disposed of the earlier emissaries of the Roman See, Mr. Palmer proceeds to deal with those of later manufacture.

"Now, sir," says he, "let us consider the position of the '*new*' hierarchy—a hierarchy which dates its origin from A.D. 1850—that is, *seventeen or eighteen centuries* later than the hierarchy of the Church of England! You have, indeed, it must be allowed, a '*new*' hierarchy. It is '*new*' in date—it is '*new*' in titles and appellations—it is without succession. You have had no predecessors. Each pseudo-bishop of your hierarchy is a '*novus homo*'—sprung from no one—possessing no spiritual ancestry—holding no connexion with the ancient and historical sees of this Christian land—separated from the succession of the Apostles. To such it may be said, in the words of Tertullian, addressed to those heretics whose worship of Æons is rivalled by your worship of angels and saints,—'Who are ye? When and whence come ye? Not being mine, what do ye in that which is mine? In brief, by what right dost thou, Marcion, cut down my wood? By what licence dost thou, Valentinus, turn the course of my water? By what

power dost thou, Apelles, remove my landmarks? This is my possession: why do ye sow and feed here at your own pleasure? It is my possession: I have held it of old: I held it first: I have a sure title down from the first owners thereof, whose the estate was: I am the heir of the Apostles. As they provided by their own testament, as they committed it in trust, as they have adjured, so I hold it. You, assuredly, they have disinherited and renounced, as aliens, as enemies! You have no succession from the Apostles: your community in England and Ireland dates from the year 1570, when it forsook the Apostolic Churches here, and erected the standard of sedition. You do not, even now, succeed to the ancient and time-honoured sees of England. . . . While England is *still* presided over by the successors of Eborius, of Restitutus, of Adelphius, of Augustine, of Aidan, of Ceadda, of David, of Dubricius, of Cedda, and of Aldhelm; while the ancient metropolitan rights sanctioned by so many ages; while the episcopal sees known to all Christendom from time immemorial, are still in existence, with all their rights, titles, jurisdictions, and canonical privileges untouched, you have attempted, without permission or consent of that lawful hierarchy, to usurp titles and jurisdictions within that portion of the fold of Christ which is intrusted to their care! *You have recognized their existence*; and have, in consequence, assumed new titles in order to avoid the appearance of interfering directly with them! You know that there are *already* metropolitans and bishops who preside over the people of this land, and yet you establish a rival and a schismatical hierarchy in opposition to them!"—pp. xix.—xxi.

After a course of argument, in which Mr. Palmer assails the Cardinal with his own weapons, and exhibits the invalidity and nullity of the Romish Schismatarchy, he adds:—

"The authority of the General Council of Chalcedon, which all Romanists recognize as **INFALLIBLE**, conclusively establishes the unlawfulness of a second Metropolitan in the same province,—that is, a *real* Metropolitan; for the Council permitted a titular or honorary Metropolitan to be appointed, provided he did not in any way interfere with the jurisdiction of the actual Metropolitan."—p. xxv.

After pressing these matters still further, the author adds:—

"But you will, of course, reply to all this that the Papal dispensation is perfectly sufficient to remove irregularities; that the Pope is infallible; that his will as the viceregent of Christ, removes all opposing jurisdictions and canons, and supplies all defects in your ordinations and appointments. Now I need only say a word or two in reply to this. In the first place, the infallibility of the Pope is a doctrine which the Church of Rome has *never yet defined as an article of faith*. It is a *disputed point* amongst yourselves, even at the present day. Since, then, the Pope is not certainly infallible, it follows that he cannot be the head of the Church by the institution of Jesus Christ; for if God had placed him at the head of the Church, and given him universal

jurisdiction, *he must necessarily have been infallible*; or else every Christian would be bound to obey an authority which might teach heresy and idolatry! This argument is confirmed by the decision of the General Council of Chalcedon, to which you, and all other Romanists, bow as infallible; for this General Council declared that 'THE FATHERS had granted privileges to the See of old Rome, *because it was the imperial city*,' i. e., on account of its temporal rank. So that in the fifth century, this synod of all Christendom subverted, by anticipation, the supremacy of Rome, considered as a *Divine* institution; they only acknowledged in it privileges granted by 'THE FATHERS!' And if, then, this jurisdiction of Rome be viewed as a *human* institution, as you have argued its cause in the articles above referred to,—if it be treated as a *Patriarchal* jurisdiction, extending, in virtue of the canons, over all the West,—we can easily demonstrate its unlawfulness and nullity in this realm; for the Bishop of Rome exercised no patriarchal jurisdiction here for the first four centuries, nor, indeed, could he; for Ruffinus, at the end of the fourth century, declared that the jurisdiction of Rome extended only to the suburbicarian provinces, i. e. —a part of Italy, Sicily, and the adjoining islands. And his jurisdiction only commenced in France in the fifth century. Britain was free and independent in the early part of the fifth century, when the General Council of Ephesus made a decree that, 'No one of the Bishops beloved of God, take another province which has not previously and from the beginning been under his rule, and that of his predecessors; but if any one should have taken it, or have caused it to be subject to him by compulsion, *he shall restore it*. Wherefore it has seemed good to this Œcumenical Council that the rights of every province, which have always belonged to it, should be preserved pure and inviolate, according to the usage which has ever obtained, each Metropolitan having full power to act according to all just precedents in security.' And, therefore, the subsequent usurpation of jurisdiction by the See of Rome in England was unlawful; and it was strictly in accordance with the decree of this synod, which you believe to be *infallible*, that the Papal usurpation was removed by the Church and State upwards of three centuries ago. The See of Rome has, in consequence, no jurisdiction whatever, either by Divine institution or by canonical right, in Great Britain or Ireland. (I might, indeed, add several other countries.) So that any faculties, dispensations, briefs, or regulations of any kind, affecting the spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns of this country, proceeding from the Bishop of Rome, are null and void, and are incapable of conferring any spiritual powers or jurisdiction on the 'new' hierarchy; and in order to obtain licence to exercise any episcopal or sacerdotal functions in England, they must first submit themselves to the 'old' hierarchy, and relinquish their present claims."—pp. 27—30.

We do not see how the utmost ingenuity of our adversaries can escape or elude this reasoning. It appears to us simply un-

answerable. And here we are reminded of an earlier work by the same author, and one which we commend to all those who require information on the subject—"British Episcopacy Vindicated," which establishes the sole and canonical authority of our old hierarchy.

v.—*The Pattern showed on the Mount ; or, Thoughts of Quietness and Hope for the Church of England in her Latter Days.* By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks. Oxford and London : J. H. Parker. 1850.

THERE is much sound sense and piety in this little tract, though we like a more simple style, and a less ambitious diction. In fact, we prefer good plain straightforward Saxon English, such as is intelligible to farmers, tradesmen, and labourers,—to all the charms of the most elaborate construction and the most ornamental language ; and whilst we object to any thing approaching to undue familiarity in the treatment of divine things, we are equally averse to obscurity or mysticism. The following passage strikes us as containing much valuable matter :—

"There has ever been, in various parts of the Church, an overweening longing to form on earth a kingdom of the saints. The effort has invariably failed, simply because it was before God's appointed time. There is to be such a kingdom, but not yet. In building the Tower of Babel, the effort was to reach to heaven. All hasty forecastings of promised glory to be revealed to sight, while yet *we walk by faith*, are ever to be viewed with no common suspicion,—sometimes even with distrust and with fear. One of the snares of Rome has been of this very nature. That Church has sought to seize by earthly force, and present to carnal sight, what can be won only by faith, be built up only on humility, and be fully realized only in another world. Thus, seeking to establish a perfect guidance for the soul, she has raised up a terrible earthly tyranny, in which the very responsibility of man is destroyed. Thus, too, she has sought to enforce an unquestioning unity of faith ; and the issue has been, either that the reason, one of God's greatest gifts to man, is crushed, or the revolting mind learns to reconcile the coldest infidelity with the mere mechanical observance of outward forms. Many of the peculiar dogmas of Rome may be explained by this one cause of error—that she has sought to realize, in a carnal manner, and before the time, the mysteries of the kingdom which can exist only beyond the veil. What we, in the true Catholic Church of England *believe*, she will touch, and handle, and, in too presumptuous a grasp, alas ! most awfully profane. Thus the real spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament becomes, in her hands, material and carnal. Thus confession, which is to the quieting of an overburdened or scrupulous conscience, becomes, in her popular creed, as the very judgment of the last day. The blessed power of absolution, Christ's own appointment

for conveying to the very soul of the penitent sinner his message of forgiveness and peace, becomes the actual sentence of the All-seeing Judge Himself. Thus the veil of reverence which God has drawn around the dead, and around the spirits who minister before his throne, is torn aside to make way for what the frail earthly fancy can invent; and purgatory, and the familiar worship of the saints, is the miserable substitute for the mysterious holiness and grandeur that pervade the Revelations of St. John. All is materialized. Nothing is left to the pure visions of holy hope and fear; nothing is permitted to remain in the dim but awful shadows, the dread uncertainties, that must hang about the confines of another world. There is throughout the Roman system a peculiar lack of the faith and patience of the prophet, who stands upon the tower to watch, whilst the Lord reveals to those who do his will, clearer views, and a growing assurance, as the morning breaks on the everlasting hills, and the day-star arises in their hearts.

"This same snare, alas! has been fatal to some among us, who once stood with us side by side, but now are parted from us by so wide a chasm. Of those who left our Church in these latter days, the greater number have done so from this cause. They saw, as they thought, in the distance, within the verge of Rome, a substantial unity, and an unearthly peace. They left their appointed path, and turned aside to taste the living waters—ah! it was but the mirage, the deceitful vision of the desert! Alas! has not to many that ensnaring beauty disappeared as they approached it nearer? To how many has it not proved only a barren waste! While they caught so hastily at these semblances of heavenly promise, to what fearful errors have they bowed down, as the price of that supposed peace for which they could barter away their former faith, their early loves, their simplicity of truth, and, greatest sacrifice of all, the sacredness of their own self-responsibility!"—pp. 11—15.

vi.—*Wild Life in the Interior of Central America.* By GEORGE BYAM, late *Forty-third Light Infantry*. London: John William Parker. 1849.

WILD Life in any part of the globe has always its charms, especially on paper; but Wild Life in Central America must be peculiarly exciting and entertaining, to judge from Mr. Byam's very animated and interesting account of it. The book is full of incident and anecdote, vivid description and valuable information; indeed, there is not a page put in to fill up—a rare merit in these days. Our first extract, a long one, describes phenomena that are frequent, and superstitions that are prevalent, in the beautiful region which was the scene of the author's adventures:—

"Early on the morning of January 20th, 1835, a few smart shocks of earthquake were felt, and the inhabitants, as they invariably do, ran out of their houses into their 'patios' (courtyards), or into the streets.

The alarm soon subsided, and the people returned to their dwellings; but the earth did not seem quiet, and continual repetitions of running out of the houses and returning, showed that the inhabitants were kept on the *qui vive*. These shocks continued at intervals all day, and the night was quieter; but early on the 21st the people were again driven out of their houses by a very violent one that lasted a few seconds, and it was some time before they would return, when, as it was still very early, most of them turned into bed again, or laid down in their hammocks. But the darkness seemed most unusually prolonged; a feeling of suffocation was universally felt: and when, at last, the people rose, they were still more alarmed by finding the air filled with a fine impalpable greyish black powder, which, entering the respiration, eyes, nose, and ears, produced a perfect gasping for breath. The first remedy was to shut up doors and windows as close as possible; but it was soon found worse than useless, as the powder was so subtile that it penetrated into every apartment, and the exclusion of air made the rooms insupportable. Possibly half a dozen persons in the country might have heard of the last days of Pompeii, and perhaps might have anticipated being discovered in some future ages in a good state of preservation; but the remainder put their trust in the Virgin Mary, and their different patron saints, especially St. Lorenzo, who is supposed to have a special interest in volcanoes, eruptions, and burnings of every sort.

"The doors and windows were thrown open, and, generally, the wiser plan was adopted of covering the head and face with a linen cloth, dipped in water: some saddled their horses and mules, thinking to escape, but they would only have been going to certain death. The poor brutes were gasping for breath; but those who had the care and humanity to throw a wet poncho, or cloth, over the animals' heads, saved their beasts, but many died. To add to the terror of the day, at intervals smart shocks of earthquake made themselves felt, and a distant roaring, like thunder afar off, was heard during most part of the day. Still the ashes fell; and so passed that day,—the very birds entering into the rooms where candles were burning, but scarcely visible; and the sun went down, and the only perceptible difference between day and night was, that total darkness succeeded to a *darkness visible*, like that which we may fancy was spread over the land of Pharaoh. Night came on, and the lamp placed on a table looked like the street lights in a dense London fog, scarcely beaconing the way from one lamp-post to another; and the night passed, and the morning ought to have broken, for the sun must have risen; but, no! the change was only from black darkness to grey darkness; and some of the men, and nearly all the women, hurried to the churches; their forms wrapped up, and very dimly discerned through the deep gloom; and their footsteps, noiseless on the bed of ashes, recalled to the imagination Virgil's description of the shades; and they went and prostrated themselves at the feet of their saints, and, beating their bosoms, vowed candles and offerings for relief; but the saints were made of wood or stone, and heard them not; and another sun went down on their agony, for agony it was.

"During the day, at intervals, several shocks of earthquake were felt, and frequently the distant thunder, or a noise very like it, was heard. The ashes had accumulated to some depth, the fall was as great, if not greater than ever, the darkness as grey by day, and as black by night, no termination of it even to be prophesied, and a tomb growing up around man and beast; flight was useless; thousands of cattle had perished in the woods and savannahs, though at that moment the fact was not then known; and persons seemed more inclined to meet any fate reserved for them in the town, than to fly to what they knew not in solitude. And so they passed the second night. On the morning of the 23rd the layer of ashes had considerably increased in depth, but the fall had become very much more dense, and the natural grave of man seemed to be rising from the mother earth, instead of being dug into it. The women, with their heads covered with wet linen, again hurried to the churches with cries and lamentations, and tried to sing canticles to their favourite saints. As a last resource, every saint in Leon's churches, without any exception, lest he be offended, was taken from his niche, and placed out in the open air,—I suppose to enable him to judge from experience of the state of affairs,—but still the ashes fell.

"No doubt, at the height of two or three miles the sun was shining clear and warm in the bright blue sky, but all his power and glory could not penetrate into the thick cloud of ashes, even to make his situation in the heavens to be guessed at; but when he was nearly sinking in the western horizon, a mighty wind sprang up from the north, and in the space of half an hour allowed the inhabitants of Leon just to gain a view of his setting rays gilding the tops of their national volcanos.

"Of course the cessation of the shower of ashes was attributed to the intercession of these saints, who doubtless wished to get under cover again, which opinion was strongly approved of by the priests, as they would certainly not be losers by the many offerings; but, during a general procession for thanks that took place the next day, it was discovered that the paint, that had been liberally but rather clumsily bestowed on the Virgin Mary's face, had blistered; and half Leon proclaimed that this image had caught the small-pox at her residence in that city, and, in consequence of her anger, the infliction they had just suffered was imposed upon them. Innumerable were the candles burnt before the altars of the 'Queen of Heaven,' many and valuable were the gifts and offerings to her priests."—pp. 32—37.

The numerous anecdotes of animals of various kinds, and the accounts of their habits, predilections, and peculiarities, are very curious and interesting. Amongst the birds which have attracted Mr. Byam's notice, the king of the vultures occupies a prominent place:—

"Having mentioned the vulture," says he, "I cannot let the opportunity pass without remarking the extraordinary respect, fear, or

whatever it may be called, shown by the commoner species of vulture to the king of the vultures. In Peru, I have been told, that it might frequently be witnessed in that country, but never had my curiosity gratified; but one day, having lost a mule by death, he was dragged up to a small hill, not far off, where I knew in an hour or two he would be safely buried in vulture sepulture. I was standing on a hillock, about a hundred yards off, with a gun in my hand, watching the surprising distance that a vulture descends his prey from, and the gathering of so many from all parts, up and down wind, where none had been seen before, and that in a very short space of time. Hearing a loud whirring noise over my head, I looked up, and saw a fine large bird, with outstretched, and seemingly motionless wings, sailing towards the carcase that had already been partly demolished. I would not fire at the bird, for I had a presentiment that it was his majesty of the vultures, but beckoned to an Indian to come up the hill, and, showing him the bird that had just alighted, he said, 'The king of the vultures; you will see how he is adored.' Directly the fine-looking bird approached the carcase, all the 'olloi polloi' of the vulture tribe retired to a short distance; some flew off and perched on some contiguous branch, while by far the greater number remained, acting the courtier, by forming a most respectful and well-kept ring around him. His majesty, without any signs of acknowledgment for such great civility, proceeded to make a most gluttonous meal; but, during the whole time he was employed, not a single envious bird attempted to intrude upon him in his repast, until he had finished, and taken his departure with a heavier wing and slower flight than on his arrival; but when he had taken his perch on a high tree, not far off, his dirty ravenous subjects, increased in number during his repast, ventured to discuss the somewhat diminished carcase, for the royal appetite was certainly very fine. I have since witnessed the above scene, acted many times, but always with great interest."—pp. 91—93.

On the much-agitated question, whether the cause of the gathering of the vultures be sight or smell, Mr. Byam decides in favour of the former, and with a great appearance of justice on his side. The fact, however, still remains one of those marvels of nature, which we are unable perfectly to comprehend.

Birds, however, are not the only or the principal objects of our author's observation; beasts of all kinds have an interest in his eyes. There are many incidents and adventures relating to the various denizens of the forest: amongst the most striking are those in which pigs play a conspicuous part. These animals appear to be not only fierce and strong, but also sensible and faithful to each other, being always ready to act in concert when the death of one of their herd has to be avenged. Their vindictive fidelity to each other is very striking, and was, on one

occasion, very nearly the cause of Mr. Byam's losing his life. He thus describes the circumstance :—

"I was one day hunting alone, on foot, with a double-barrelled smooth bore, one barrel loaded with ball, the other with No. 2. shot, in a rather (for that country) open wood, when a large boar made his appearance about sixty yards off, and not seeing any of his comrades, I let fly the ball-barrel at him, and tumbled him over. He gave a fierce grunt or two as he lay, and a large herd of these boars and sows immediately rushed out of some thicker underwood behind him, and, after looking a few seconds at the fallen beast, made a dash at me; but they were a trifle too late, for, on first catching sight of them, I ran to a tree, cut up it for life, and had only just scrambled into some diverging branches, about ten feet from the ground, when the whole herd arrived, grunting and squealing, at the foot of the tree. It was the first time I had ever been *treed*, as the North Americans call it, and I could not help laughing at the ridiculous figure I must have cut, chased up a tree by a drove of pigs; but it soon turned out to be no laughing matter, for their patience was not, as I expected, soon exhausted, but they settled round the tree, about twenty yards distant, and kept looking up at me with their little twinkling eyes, as much as to say, 'We'll have you yet.' Having made up my mind that a regular siege was intended, I began, as an old soldier, to examine the state and resources of the fortress, and also the chance of relief from without, by raising the siege. The defences consisted of four diverging branches that afforded a safe asylum to the garrison, provided it was watchful, and did not go to sleep; the arms and ammunition '*de guerre et de bouche*' were, a double-barrelled gun, a flask nearly full of powder, plenty of copper caps, a few charges of shot, but only two balls, knife, flint and steel, a piece of hard dried tongue, a small flask of spirits and water, and a good bundle of cigars. As to relief from without, it was hardly to be expected, although a broad trail ran about half a mile from my perch, and as for a sally, it was quite out of the question; so I did as most persons would do in my situation, made myself as comfortable as possible, took a small sup from the flask, lit a cigar, and sat watching the brutes, and wondering when they would get tired of watching me. But hour after hour elapsed, and as there seemed no chance of the pigs losing patience, of course I began to lose mine; they never stirred, except one or two would now and then go and take a look at his dead comrade, and return grunting, as if he had freshened up his thirst for revenge. All at once it occurred to me, that though I could not spare any lead, but must keep it for emergencies, yet as powder and caps were in abundance, it would be a good plan to fire off powder alone every few minutes, and follow each shot by a loud shout, which is a general signal for assistance; and as one barrel was still loaded with shot, I picked out a most outrageously vicious old boar, who was just returning from a visit to his fallen friend, grunting and looking up at

me in the tree, and gave him the whole charge, at about twenty yards off, in the middle of his face. This succeeded beyond my expectation, for he turned round and galloped away as hard as he could, making the most horrible noise; and though the remainder, when they heard the shot, charged up to the foot of the tree, yet the outcry of the old boar drew them all from the tree, and away the whole herd went after him, making such a noise as I never heard before or since. Remaining up the tree for several minutes, until all was quiet, I loaded both barrels very carefully with ball, and, slipping down to the ground, ran away, in a contrary direction to the one they had taken, as fast as my legs could carry me."—pp. 100—103.

This is not a solitary instance of national vengeance, if we may use the expression; nor is man the only animal whom these fierce companions of the forest call to account for the slaughter of their fellows, as the following very curious and interesting fact will show :—

"Before leaving the subject of the wild boar and his habits, an anecdote, told me by an old ally and friend, the 'Tigrero,' or panther hunter, may be acceptable, as showing the courage and savageness of the brute far better than any thing I have met with myself.

"We were hunting together on foot, when, arriving at an open spot in the forest about forty yards across, with a single tree in the centre, he stopped and told me he had a curious story to tell me connected with that place, and that if I chose to sit down on a fallen tree at the edge, we could rest awhile. So we lighted our cigars, and, after a puff or two, he began this little zoological tale, the truth of which I cannot vouch for, but the man was well worthy of credit.

"'Don Jorge,' he began, 'I have purposely brought you here to show you the spot where a curious accident befel a tiger a few years since. I had crossed the trail of a tiger, but as it was rather stale I took little notice of it at first; but as the trail led towards the bed of the river, which was on my road, I began to take an interest in it. The trail left the river and entered the wood, and I followed it to this very spot, but never was I more astonished than at the sight before me. You see, Don Jorge, that large shooting branch,' pointing to a horizontal limb that shot out at right-angles from the isolated tree, and about eight feet from the ground; 'Well, from that branch was hanging part of a tiger, with his hind claws stuck deep into the bark. His head, neck, and fore-arms, had been torn off and mangled, as far as the shoulders, and a young pig, badly striped by the panther's claws, was lying dead underneath him. I saw at a glance how it had happened, as the ground all around was beaten in by the feet of a large herd of javalinos. The tiger had been crouching on the bough, and the drove passing under him, he had hung on by his hind claws sticking into the soft bark of the branch, and swung himself down to pick up the young grunter; but

before he could recover himself he was seized by the old ones, who had torn and mangled him as far as they could reach."—pp. 104—106.

We had intended to have added two other anecdotes relating to a very poisonous snake called the *Coral*: but we have already exceeded the limits of a mere notice, and we must therefore conclude, heartily recommending Mr. Byam's amusing little work to any of our readers who wishes for two or three hours of good entertainment.

VII.—*A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Cuddesden, at the Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, on Sunday, March 16, 1851. By the Rev. H. HOSKYNs, M.A., Rector of Aston Tyrrold, Berks, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

A SOUND and sensible Sermon, published by request.

VIII.—*The Church Patient in her Mode of dealing with Controversies. A Sermon, preached before the University, at St. Mary's, Oxford, on St. Stephen's Day, 1850. By ARTHUR W. HAD-
DON, B.D., Fellow Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

A VERY excellent and able discourse, eminently adapted for the present crisis.

IX.—*A Paraphrase and Comment, upon the Epistles and Gospels, appointed to be used in the Church of England on all Sundays and Holidays throughout the Year. By GEORGE STANHOPE, D.D., sometime Dean of Canterbury.* A New Edition. In 2 vols. Oxford: at the University Press. 1851.

WE are glad to see a new edition of this valuable and justly popular work.

X.—*A Text Book of Popery; comprising a Brief History of the Council of Trent, and a Complete View of Roman Catholic Theology. By J. M. CRAMP, D.D.* Third Edition. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1851.

THOUGH there is much in this book to which we strongly object, both as to matter and manner, it will be found a valuable addition to the libraries of those whose principles are already formed, and who wish for a magazine of facts and documents available in the contest which every English Churchman is bound to wage against the corruptions and usurpations of Rome.

- xi.—1. *Roman Catholics hostile to the free Use of the Bible : a Sermon preached in Exeter Cathedral. By J. ROGERS, M.A., Canon Residentiary.* London: Rivingtons.
2. *Jesus Christ the sole Mediator virtually denied by Roman Catholics : a Sermon. By the Same.*

WHILE men, like Canon Rogers, advocate in our cathedrals and parish churches the cause of truth, we have little apprehension of the triumph of Romanism. But assuredly these are not days in which the weapons of defence, or offence either, can be permitted any longer to rust on our shelves: they must be taken out, and edged afresh, and *used* with zeal and assiduity, if we wish to maintain the ascendancy of truth against an insidious, false, and desperate opponent. Canon Rogers has in these excellent discourses controverted two of the leading errors of the Church of Rome—the refusal of the Scriptures to the laity, and the worship of creatures instead of the Creator. These two subjects have a natural connexion; for the latter practice can only be maintained by those who do not study God's word. In the Sermons before us there is much learning, and much weighty argument on these important topics: in both instances the strongest points are seized, and presented in such a way as, we think, may fairly be regarded as unanswerable.

We extract the following passage in illustration of the plain and forcible style of these discourses:—

“ ‘Come unto me,’ says our Saviour Himself, ‘all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’ The Saviour is ever ready to listen to the prayers of all who need his aid or his mercy: ‘Him that cometh to me I will in nowise cast out.’ What, then, we may ask, is the need of the numerous mediators and intercessors who are objects of adoration in the Church of Rome, and who hold nearly the same place in that Church as was held by the tutelar deities amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans? The Virgin Mary is regarded by the Church of Rome as a *Mediator* and a *Saviour*. She is notoriously more an object of worship in Roman Catholic countries than the Saviour Himself. This may be proved by abundance of passages from the Litany of the Virgin Mary, and from other accredited works. It may be proved from the experience of every traveller in Roman Catholic countries. It is the crying sin of the Roman Catholic Church. A very few passages will prove that she is regarded as a *Mediator*, and an object of *direct prayer*. ‘O my holy Lady Mary! I commend to thy blessed trust and especial custody, and into the bosom of thy mercy, this day and every day, and in the hour of my death, my soul and my body . . . that by thy most holy *intercession* and *merits*, all my works may be directed and disposed according to thine and thy Son's will.’ ”

- XII.—*Roman Catholic Claims as involved in the recent Aggression, impartially considered, &c.* By AMICUS VERITATIS. London: Hatchard.

A VERY caustic and severe criticism of Dr. Wiseman's publications on the Papal Aggression; expressing the indignation which that unjustifiable act has called forth so generally.

- XIII.—*Speech of HENRY DRUMMOND, Esq., M.P., in the House of Commons, on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.* London: Bosworth.

WE believe that fact entirely bears out Mr. Drummond's statements in this remarkable speech; though there are certain allusions which the delicacy of the present age cannot tolerate, and which of course raised a furious storm amongst his auditors. There is much that is sound and true in this speech, and it evinces an extraordinary acquaintance with the Romish controversy.

- XIV.—*The Talbot Case. An Authoritative and Succinct Account from 1839 to the Chancellor's Judgment. With Notes and Observations: and a Preface.* By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. London: Seeleys.

THE whole circumstances of the Talbot Case—showing as they do, the tactics by which funds are obtained for the propagation of Romanism—are deeply instructive, and ought not to be forgotten. Mr. Seymour has judged very wisely in presenting the details of this remarkable Trial and the proceedings connected with it in such a shape as will render them available for future reference, and for permanent circulation. We regard it as one of the most valuable publications which have recently appeared on such topics.

- XV.—*Repentance: its Necessity, Nature, and Aids. A Course of Sermons preached in Lent.* By JOHN JACKSON, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Westminster, &c. London: Skeffington and Marshall.

AMIDST the more exciting discussions of the present times it is truly gratifying to turn aside from the strife of tongues, to the perusal of a work like that before us, in which the minister of God is seen pursuing his holy mission in calling sinners to repentance. In these discourses there is no attempt at popular oratory, but there is a careful, and conscientious, and judicious dividing of "the word of Truth"—much of the words of truth

and soberness—much of the solid and well-compacted theology which befits an able minister of the Gospel, and steward of its mysteries. It is gratifying to think that the very important position which the author holds is occupied by one who is plainly so competent to meet its responsibilities.

xvi.—*Memorials of the Sea: My Father: being Records of the Adventurous Life of the late William Scoresby, Esq., of Whitby. By his Son, the Rev. W. SCORESBY, D.D., &c.* London: Longmans.

THIS volume appears to us to be amongst the most interesting of the records of maritime experience that it has been our lot to see. The simplicity of the style, the detail of adventure, and the constant reference to Divine Providence, remind us of De Foe's celebrated work; but we have here the advantage of perusing a narrative of actual facts.

In the first few pages we have an account of a remarkable adventure and escape from destruction in a snow-storm; the accidents of a first year's apprenticeship at sea, including a dangerous fall into the hold of the ship, a narrow escape from being trepanned, an attack from a privateer, a preservation from being on board the *Royal George* when she foundered. Then we have accounts of the efforts of a seaman to gain a knowledge of his profession; the punishment he inflicted on a pair of bullies, the preservation of the ship by his self-taught seamanship, the jealousy which ensued, the capture of the vessel by the enemy, and imprisonment in Spain, escape from a Spanish prison, &c.

We need not say that great part of the volume is occupied with adventures in the Northern Ocean, and with accounts of regions within the northern latitudes. This work may be safely recommended for the perusal of the young, being replete with interest to a most unusual degree; and presenting a noble example of results which may be achieved by energy, and industry, and high-minded integrity.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AUSTRALASIA.—The Conference of the Metropolitan and Bishops of Australasia, at Sydney, referred to in our last number, has issued in the publication of a Report, which we are prevented by want of space from inserting at present.

A very numerously attended meeting was subsequently held at Sydney, at which the Metropolitan presided; and resolutions were moved and seconded by the Bishops of Tasmania, Adelaide, New Zealand, Melbourne, and Newcastle, and Messrs. Kemp, Cooper, Lowe, Metcalfe, and Campbell, for the purpose of establishing the Australasian Board of Missions, having for its object the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races, in the provinces of Australasia, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, New Hanover, New Britain, and the other islands in the Western Pacific. Upwards of 1300 persons attended the meeting, and hundreds were not able to obtain admittance. The proceedings were characterized by the utmost unanimity, and appeared to have been deeply gratifying to all who were present. The following remarks from the Bishop of New Zealand, to whom the design, in a great degree, owes its origin, will be read with interest:—

His Lordship rose to move the third resolution,—“That the foreign efforts of the Australasian Board of Missions be first directed to the islands lying nearest to Australia, viz., New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, in the hope that, by the blessing of God, its missions may hereafter be extended to all the heathen races inhabiting the islands of the Western Pacific.”—If he could have felt that his drawing their attention to the subject matter of this resolution would, in the slightest degree, have weakened their interest in the eternal welfare of their own poor Blacks, he would not have said a single word. It was to the misery of the Australian Black that New Zealand was indebted for the present condition of its aboriginal people, and he (the Bishop) was indebted for his own position. That venerable and lamented missionary, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, was first induced to direct his attention to the moral condition of the New Zealanders by

his observation of the misery and degradation in which the native races of the Australian continent were plunged. But their attention would not, he trusted, be the less forcibly drawn to the consideration of the Australian Black, because of his desire to enlist their sympathies in favour of those benighted races who inhabited the islands of the Western Pacific. On the contrary, the one work would be a material assistance to the other. He would first draw their attention to the wonderful progress of the Gospel in New Zealand, and by marking this progress they might derive additional encouragement to persevere. The first missionary efforts were made in the vicinity of the Bay of Islands; but the news that such instruction was to be had was soon spread over the whole of the northern island. At a district on the southern part of that island, far distant from the place where the missionary resided, the two sons of the chief were so desirous of obtaining instruction, that they left their home clandestinely and embarked in a whaler for the Bay of Islands, in order to bring back, if possible, a missionary to reside among themselves. The missionaries were by no means certain at that time as to the condition of the southern coasts, as to the safety of the attempt; but Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hadfield volunteered to return with these young men to the place from whence they came. A few years after this, these young men, who had in the interim been baptized, and became zealous Christians, finding that their missionary was not able to do all the work necessary to promote the rapid spread of Gospel truths, volunteered to go along the coast in an open boat to convey instruction to their less favoured brethren. Thus it was that many who had never seen the face of an English missionary, had become Christians and civilized. At one place of this description, when he asked, with some feeling of diffidence, whether there was any one among them who was able to read, he was told that there were a good many who could do so, and a class of thirteen was at once formed, who were able to read the Scriptures as fluently as their brethren at the Bay of Islands. Could there be any greater manifestation of Divine goodness than was afforded by this rapid spread of Christianity and civilization over a whole country resulting from the exertions of one man? He might well say that New Zealand and the New Zealanders owed a deep debt of gratitude to the memory of Samuel Marsden, and of Christian sympathy to the Australian Blacks, whose misery had drawn the attention of that good man to the equally forlorn condition of the neighbouring islanders. The Chatham Islands are brought within the influence of the Gospel in the same manner; and when he visited that place, he found there no less than 300 candidates for baptism. The islands of the Western Pacific, lying in the closest vicinity to the equator, such as New Britain, New Hanover, the large island of New Guinea, might, he hoped, in the end, become the field of missionary enterprise. At present, as far as he could ascertain, there was not a Christian among them. The Church of Rome had made some attempts to convert

these islanders, but had been compelled to abandon these attempts in consequence of the savage nature of the people. At present, however, he proposed to direct their attention to the islands lying in nearer proximity to the eastern coast of Australia. His attention was first more particularly directed to this subject during a voyage which he made in the "Dido" man-of-war, touching at the Samoas, at Tonga, at the Friendly Islands, and at Rotumah. Bearing in mind what he had himself become acquainted with as to the almost miraculous manner in which religious knowledge had spread throughout New Zealand, he came to the conclusion that it was the solemn duty of all Christians, and more particularly of himself, to do as far as practicable for these islanders, what had been done in former times for the aboriginal natives of his own diocese. He remembered that mercantile men in New South Wales had been able to induce persons belonging to these islands to go with them, in order to obtain employment, and he did not doubt that he should be able to procure in the same way pupils whom he might instruct and return to their parent lands. The result showed that he was right in this. He procured a small vessel, and in his very first voyage he met with so much success and encouragement, as determined him to adopt some definite plan upon which he might pursue the work. He saw plainly that he could not contemplate the establishment of Christian ministers upon the islands, and he, therefore, brought the young men to New Zealand, where, after a residence of eight months, they acquired a sufficient knowledge of the English tongue, and communicated to the teachers a sufficient knowledge of their own language, to enable them to understand each other. They were then returned to their native place, to exercise upon those people such influence for good as the knowledge which they had acquired would give them. This plan had succeeded so well, that in every place where there were persons who had been subjected to this slight training, masters might land as freely, and might reside with the natives as confidently, as in any part of New Zealand. It was this plan which he should propose now to follow. The climate of these northern islands was such, that in the months of January, February, and March, they were most unhealthy for Europeans, who were apt to suffer so severely from fever and ague, as to paralyse their exertions for the remainder of the year. In the intermediate period between these unhealthy seasons, the islands might be visited by a small vessel, and a teacher left, from whom the people would receive some instruction, and by whom arrangement might be made for getting some of the younger natives to accompany them to the place of their destination. Until a better place could be provided, his own college at Auckland would do very well for training these young men; and the vessel, on her return voyage, might call at the several stations, and take them there. At this place they might acquire a sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to read the Scriptures, and to impart religious education to their own countrymen. He preferred teaching them to read the Scriptures in English, because by

this means they would avoid the delay and difficulties of making translations into a number of languages. In the islands of the Pacific, as among the tribes of Australia, the languages of the people very much varied, and at one time, while lying at Tanna, he had heard as many as ten different languages spoken on board the vessel. The College at Auckland would at present accommodate some twenty or thirty pupils, or perhaps more, at the expense of not more than 10*l.* per annum each; for there was an agricultural establishment, and various workshops attached to it, which aided in its support. Experience had shown that industry must be cultivated simultaneously with the imparting of religious instruction, in order to insure any permanent success to their efforts in the latter direction. He therefore left these men to choose the kind of employment best suited to their tastes and abilities; and it was found that they usually settled down to some particular branch of industry, which they steadily followed. The only missionary efforts of any consequence which had been made in this direction was by a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, who had been sent from that Church in Nova Scotia, a distance of about 20,000 miles, and who at present occupied a station on one of the New Hebrides. If people so distant had awakened to the importance of this work, surely New South Wales, which lay within 1000 or 1200 miles of these islands, could not be less interested in the eternal welfare of their inhabitants. When he was last there, he was enabled to do this good missionary a service, which would, he trusted, not only benefit the missionary himself, but advance the work in which he was so zealously engaged. A custom prevailed at these, as well as other islands of the South Seas, of strangling the wives of those who were absent when they had been away for a sufficiently lengthened period, to induce a belief that they had died or abandoned the country. A number of the people of this island were away at Tanna, and had been so long absent, that preparations were being made to carry out this horrid custom. The chief, naturally anxious, applied to him (the Bishop) to go with his vessel to Tanna and fetch those men back. Upon this he told them that they must go to their missionary and prevail upon him to intercede for them. Thus constrained, they went to the missionary, to whom, in all probability, they had paid but little attention before, and the missionary, of course, made no difficulty in complying with their request. He (the Bishop) was also equally ready in his compliance, when the intercession of the missionary had been sought by the natives. They therefore went to Tanna and fetched away the men. Their visit to Tanna was, however, a most providential one in other respects, for they were enabled to bring away the remnant of the French mission which had come to that place from Samoa, and had been almost destroyed by fever and ague. The people of the other island were so delighted at the service which they had obtained through the intervention of their missionary, that they held a meeting, and conferred upon him the rank and privileges of a

chief of the first class. And this naturalization was an object of far greater importance than at first sight appeared, for the islanders had a practice of attributing to the evil influence of such foreigners as resided among them all evils of magnitude, such as famine or pestilence, with which they might be afflicted. A ready devotion, too, was displayed among the converted natives, and there was an immediate offer made to replace at Tanna, one who had died there while seeking the advancement of religion. The natives themselves, indeed, when they had once become believers in the truths of Christianity, were always anxious to make their heathen brethren participators in their knowledge. This, then should encourage the civilized man to exertion. He must know that, when once the Gospel was planted among the heathen, all blessings would spread, as the seed upon the sea-bird's wing, until the neighbouring races were made fully to participate in them. Of New Caledonia they, like himself, have doubtless heard many evil reports. Captain Cook, who was generally an accurate observer, spoke well, seventy years ago, of the people inhabiting this large island, preferring them even to those of the group generally known as the Friendly Islands. But no two opinions could be more at variance than those of Captain Cook and of the traders who had made this island a place of resort. As far as his own observation went, he was happy to say that it was confirmatory of the report of Captain Cook. When he was on the beautiful lagoon which surrounded this island, between the outer reef and the shores of the mainland, he saw a man fishing in a canoe, and he approached this man in a little boat which he always carried with him. He found the man perfectly affable and friendly, and, after an interchange of the customary marks of friendship, he had no difficulty in inducing the islander to come on board the vessel, where he remained for several days. He also visited a beautiful district in the island, over which a chief who had been in Sydney—and who, as was not often the case, had been improved by his visit—was the ruler. When he was last there, this chief had erected a good house for him (the Bishop) upon the banks of a river, and would be very glad, doubtless, if he could get him there to occupy it. He believed, therefore, that the inhabitants of this island were by no means so bad as had been generally stated, although he doubted whether Captain Cook was quite correct in thinking them superior to the Friendly Islanders. At this latter group he had witnessed one of the most interesting sights he ever beheld. About 200 children, who were at school, dispersed at the word of the teacher, and returning immediately afterwards, each with some little trinket or curiosity as an offering which they laid at his feet. They subsequently followed him to the boat, which was almost filled by these offerings. The Fejee Islands were partially occupied by Wesleyan missionaries, who had met with so much success among this hitherto savage people, as to induce a lively confidence in their continued success. At one of the savage islands of this group, two native women

had been caught fishing, and, according to the heathen custom, were condemned to be killed and eaten,—but two ladies, Mrs. Little and Mrs. Cotterell, in the absence of their husbands, went off in a boat to the chief, and presented him with the ransom demanded by custom. By this intercession the women were saved. Missionary ardour and devotion, they must see, were not only manifested by the male sex, but were felt with equal power by their wives. At the Island of Anatan a party of Fejeans had attacked and wounded most severely the wife of a carpenter, then absent; the Europeans proposed to kill the whole party, but only the man who actually inflicted the wounds was shot. The rest, dreading vengeance, fled to the woods; but one of them made his way to the missionary's dwelling, and lay concealed there for thirty-six hours, until he was compelled by hunger to come out and beg the missionary's intercession, which was accorded to him. These people then knew enough of the missionary character to have confidence in one of that class. Here was another reason for persevering in the work before them. At another island, where no great period had elapsed since Captain Padden lost seventeen men, and within three miles of the very spot where the massacre occurred, there was a native mission established by the London Society, and which had been handed over to him on account of his being so much nearer to the spot. Here he had met three congregations; one of about 200 persons, a second of about 150, and a third of a somewhat lesser number. There was no single person on the island, at the present time, with whom he could not have lived on terms of the greatest confidence, and for whom he did not feel a hope that they would be made wise unto salvation. The work of Christianizing these people might then be carried on with a good hope of success, and at the same time they might carry on the work of civilising and Christianizing the Blacks of Australia. That they were not destitute of capacity had already been shown; and he had himself trained and prepared a youth of this race, who was deemed worthy by his Metropolitan of the rite of confirmation. The most important step was to remove the educated Blacks from beyond the influence of the barbarous tribes; and if they founded colleges, this could easily be done. The work of a Christian mission was often very slow, and apparently profitless in the first instance for a long period of years, and equally rapid in the end. At New Zealand they were fourteen years without making any progress. At the Society Islands the time was even greater. Although the efforts to convert the aborigines of Australia had been hitherto without material success, he believed from the various indications already mentioned that the time had now come when they would be able to do very much for these poor people. By God's blessing and by their own exertions they would also, he trusted, be able to extend over the Western Pacific the same beneficent rays of the Gospel light, which had shone so gloriously over its Eastern Islands. They must earnestly pray therefore for strength to carry out their great and holy work.

Sydney.—We extract the following advertisement from the *Sydney*

Morning Herald, as a specimen of the way in which Romanism in the Colonies assumes rank and titles in defiance of the Queen's supremacy. Has the Sovereign no supremacy in the Colonies?

"His Grace the Archbishop of Sydney will open and dedicate to the honour and glory of the Great and Good God, under the Invocation of St. Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra in the fourth century, the new church at Penrith, on Wednesday, the 13th November, 1850.

"The dedication sermon will be preached by His Grace.

"The grand pontifical high mass will commence at eleven o'clock.

"A selection from the masses of Haydn and Mozart will be sung by the choir of the metropolitan church.

"A collection will be made on the occasion in aid of the Building Fund."

Hobart Town.—The fourth annual commemoration of Christ's College, took place on Thursday, the 5th December, 1850. The proceedings commenced with morning prayer in the College chapel at 11 a.m. The chapel was quite filled; and many of the congregation were assembled round the door, where, however, they were able to join in the service. Archdeacon Marriott, who acted for the Bishop in his absence, Archdeacon Davies, the Warden, and Sub-Warden having taken their places, the service commenced. The prayers were said by the Warden; and the chanting was accompanied on the organ by Mr. J. M. Norman, late a divinity student in the College. In the "Benedicite, omnia opera," the first phrase of each verse was taken alternately by the Warden and one of the boys, the whole congregation joining, heart and soul, in the "praise Him, and magnify Him for ever," which concludes each verse. The service being ended, the two Archdeacons were conducted by the Warden and Sub-Wardens to their seats in the upper school-room, which was presently filled by the rest of the company. When every body was seated the Warden rose, and having put on his cap, delivered an appropriate Latin oration.

Upon the conclusion of the Warden's oration, the Venerable Archdeacon Davies arose and presented the following financial statement, in nearly these words:—"As usual," said the Archdeacon, "he had to regret that the accounts were not more satisfactory, and that he was unable to report any diminution of the debt with which the estate was still encumbered, the interest of which, during the past year, had absorbed not less than 394*l*. of their income." The Archdeacon here produced the accompanying statement:—

Receipts.

Rents of land	£894 15 0
On account of scholarships, &c.	223 15 0
Subscriptions	170 0 0
Balance	34 0 6
	<hr/>
	£1322 10 6

Expenditure.

Salaries	£590	0	0
Interest	394	2	7
Improvement of College property	62	3	0
Balance due to Treasurer and late Warden, 1849	85	10	0
Books for Library	30	0	0
Paid Warden on account of fellowships and scholarships	160	14	11
	<hr/>		
	£1322	10	6

"The prospect before them was any thing but cheering. It must have been evident to all, as they passed through the estate that morning, that the crops were almost a total failure, which involved a serious diminution in their income for 1851. To make any further reduction in the expenditure was impossible; it would tend to impair the efficiency of the institution. To meet this deficiency, then, we must exhort those who have not yet paid up their subscriptions, to do so at once; and such, he would beg leave to remind of the old adage, '*Bis dat, qui cito dat.*' It was well known to many that our dear and valued friend Mr. Gell was exerting himself in England on our behalf; and he had the pleasure of telling them, that in a letter he had received from that gentleman, he was assured that there was very little doubt that 3000*l.* would be given by the societies in England to the College, and that the sole cause of delay was the want of an official application for the grant, through the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. He need scarcely add that this objection would be speedily removed, and that the money, when received, will be expended in paying off the mortgage on the estate."

"Had Mr. Wedge been present, he would have explained a proposal which he had made to the College Trustees, of keeping back the farms, as the leases fell in, and stocking the whole of the College estate with sheep. This plan, requiring a certain outlay, which Mr. Wedge thought would make a proportionate return, had been referred by the College Trustees to two practical gentlemen, Messrs. Toosey and Clerke, whose report had not yet been received. While anxious to improve the estate, the College authorities had not forgotten their duty to the children residing upon it. A gentleman, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, whose indefatigable exertions have been amply repaid with success, has the management of the village school, for which a matron also has been engaged to teach sewing, &c. He would now beg leave to present them with another account of a more satisfactory character. Last year, when it was found necessary to diminish the house expenditure, in order to bring it within the yearly income, he had informed them of a calculation of the Warden's, in which he had undertaken to effect this most desirable object. A year's trial had been made, and he had to announce the perfect success of the Warden's efforts, to whose careful attention to every detail of house expenditure might be attributed the success which

had attended his exertions, and to whom the thanks of the community were justly due."

Archdeacon Davies then handed over the accounts to Archdeacon Marriott for the information of the Bishop as Visitor.

Archdeacon Marriott:—"My friend and brother fellow has reminded us, in his last words, of the one subject of regret, which we all feel in common on this day, and which I must feel more than any—so much so, that could I have anticipated the absence of the Bishop, I should gladly have remained at home, rather than appear to occupy his place on such an occasion; and now, therefore, I am most unwilling to make you feel his absence the more, which must be the effect of my addressing you. Still there are two or three points on which I can hardly refrain from touching, especially as the Warden's speech was delivered in Latin, and as he has adverted to subjects of much interest to many who are here present. Our beginning has been, according to the excellent and invariable custom of this College, whether in its daily work, or in its annual commemoration, to express, in words common to us all, and common to all occasions, those deeper feelings with which we regard not one another alone, but Him on whom we trust—feelings of hope and anxiety, of regret and of thankfulness, in regard to those special and particular interests that unite us together on this day. Such has been our beginning; and we may now venture, without being misunderstood, to advert to two or three circumstances only, to which the warden has most appropriately alluded. And first, as no pleasure is without its pain, so no source of regret is without its mingled cause of thankfulness; and the Warden has well reminded us of the cause of the Bishop's absence. There are interests dearer and deeper than those even which are associated with this institution—deeper to all than many are aware, but which some are fully conscious of in their hearts, and we know on what mission our Bishop has been, and that he has been where he ought to have been for our good; and we trust to that mission proving a source of comfort, and peace, and confidence to many, as an help to godly union and concord. There are others also to whom our Warden has alluded most kindly and most justly. And I must speak of them, in order to say a word of encouragement to all the members of the College body, down to the youngest boy,—for the one thought I wish to impress upon you is, that the prosperity of the College must and will depend infinitely more, under God, on the character of each youth as he leaves its walls, than on any outward aid. We are beginning now, though only in the fifth year of our work, to gather round us one of the blessings which belong to older institutions,—I mean, the cherished recollection of those who have gone forth from among us, but who are still of us, and with us."

When Archdeacon Marriott had ended, the Warden invited the company to a luncheon which had been prepared in the College hall.

After luncheon, some of the company left; but at evening prayer the chapel was again filled, as in the morning; the chapel bell ringing at four instead of five o'clock, in order to meet the convenience of those of

the visitors who wished to attend. By half-past five all the visitors (the number of which was thought to be 200) had left,—many, we would hope, carrying away with them deep feelings of thankfulness for the occasion which had called them together, and of trusting faith in Him by whose permission alone they felt the institution would stand or fall.

BELGIUM.—The Bishop of Jamaica has been engaged on a tour of confirmation of persons of the English communion in Belgium. Fifty-six persons were confirmed at the Chapel Royal, in Brussels. On Good Friday his Lordship preached and administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to eighty communicants. There was a large congregation.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—*Church Movements in the Diocese of Toronto.*—The aggressions of the Liberal and Romish party on the Church in Canada have been instrumental in rousing Church feeling and energies in a very remarkable way. The appeal of the venerable Bishop, and his subsequent visits to England, have had the effect of providing funds for the endowment of a Church University—the Church having been deprived of its educational institutions by the vote of an adverse legislature. The Bishop of Toronto laid the foundation-stone of the Church University on March 17th. In his address the Bishop spoke sanguinely of the prosperity of the new College:—

“We may seem to those who look only to earthly and outward appearances as a feeble band; and, because we have little or no endowment, to be in danger of passing away like the summer cloud; but it is a work which has for its object the glory of God and the extension of his kingdom; and therefore, if we prosecute it in the right spirit, it will obtain the Divine blessing, and be sure to prosper. We have, indeed, much already for which to be thankful; the contributions of the members of the Church, both here and at home, have enabled us to contract for a noble edifice, which will, it is hoped, not only adorn, but become the channel of many blessings to this city and diocese. Even already, we stand, as to worldly means and appliances, much in advance of the two great Universities in England at their commencement, whose scholars, many years after they began the business of instruction, were so poor, as Chaucer tells us, as to be compelled to carry their own grist to the mill: and from so small beginning what are these Universities now? The most splendid establishments for literature and science in the world, and justly called the breasts of England. And how have they risen to this eminence? By untiring diligence and attention to the great objects for which they were instituted—the training up the rising generation to virtue and piety, and imbuing their minds with the sacred truths of Christianity in their purest form. The fruits are seen in the generous offerings made from age to age by grateful pupils to extend the power and usefulness of these Universities till they are now the wonder of the world.”

The Bishop then took the spade from the architect, and, having filled it with the soil, said, "We begin this work in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." He then threw it into the barrow, which was soon heaped over by the Council, each throwing into it one or more spadeful; the Grand Sheriff of the county, volunteering to be his Lordship's barrowman, wheeled it to the place of deposit:—

"Three cheers were then given for the Queen, three for the Bishop, and three for the prosperity of Trinity College. After the cheering, which was very hearty, had subsided, the Bishop said:—

"Gentlemen,—Before we separate, let me beg of you all to lift up your hearts in silent prayer to Almighty God, that all who are employed in erecting this building may be preserved from accidents and dangers, and that, when completed, it may ever promote the glory of God and the welfare of his people."

So ended this simple but very interesting preliminary step towards the erection of Trinity College. The site which has been selected is exceedingly beautiful; and the building, when finished, will present a striking and pleasing object to all ships approaching or leaving the harbour, which it will in a great measure overlook.

The Bishop of Toronto has addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, urging the necessity of the Church in Canada being permitted to make local regulations for the management of her own affairs.

The following passages comprise the principal recommendations or suggestions of the Bishop:—

"Let the Church in Canada be allowed full liberty of action. While there was only one Bishop and a few missionaries scattered over the surface of this vast province, and while the government here, and in the mother country, were members of the Church, and her natural guardians from position and inclination, we had security and peace. Her ministrations were gradually extended as the country became settled, and she possessed that influence in public affairs to which she was justly entitled; but now that the State at home and abroad professes to have no religion, and seems, in practice, to prefer all religious communities, but more especially the Roman Catholic, to the United Church of England and Ireland, it is unjust to hold her in chains by antiquated laws, which have no force against any of Her Majesty's subjects, except those that belong to the National Church, and to which she submitted at a time when there were no other religious bodies, and for the sake of the preference and special protection which are now withdrawn.

"To speak of the Church as in unity with the State, in the present state of things, is as ridiculous as it is untrue; for, since the unequal application of the principle of civil and religious liberty, in 1827 and 1829, she has been left as a target for all sects and denominations to shoot at, and as helpless as such target, because she is not free to exercise, in her own defence, the rights and inherent powers which, in common justice, ought to be confirmed to her, from that same principle.

"All other religious bodies have their legislatures, which are free to meet when and where they please, to deliberate and pass by-laws, so long as such only affect the spiritual concerns of those who are willing to accept them, and impose nothing inconsistent with their condition as subjects, to which all denominations must yield obedience.

"In this province the Roman Catholics are under no restraint; the Wesleyans have their Conference; the Kirk of Scotland and the Free Kirk have their Presbyteries and Synods; but, should the Church desire to meet in Convocation for the regulation of her affairs, she is threatened with the Act of Submission, which is said to reach the Colonies, although this country was not known at the time of its enactment.

"A special licence from the Queen is said to be absolutely necessary to enable any Bishop to assemble his clergy in Convocation for the purpose of passing canons and regulations for the peace and good government of his diocese.

"Now, as such licence has been refused to the mother Church in England for upwards of a century, it would seem to be in vain to apply for one here; nevertheless, the attempt must soon be made; and should it prove unsuccessful, we must then carefully examine the restraining enactments of Henry VIII., as doubts have been lately thrown out by high legal authority of its application beyond the seas.

"It is, however, our design to proceed with all becoming respect and moderation. We shall therefore petition, in the first place, for licence to meet in a diocesan synod for the regulation of the spiritual affairs of the Church; and should we fail, it will then be our duty to consider what can be done in the premises, for it is quite evident that the Church in Canada is now far too large to proceed with dignity and efficiency under its present imperfect ministrations.

"Assuming that the lay members of the Church in Canada approach three hundred thousand, under three Bishops and two hundred and forty clergymen, it must needs be that difficulties and offences will arise: and how are they to be dealt with?

"The Bishop is, in most cases, powerless. Jurisdiction is no doubt granted him by his appointment and commission, but he has no regular courts by which to try causes, and acquit or punish, as the case may be. Hence he is frequently unable to suppress reckless insubordination and sullen opposition, even in things purely spiritual. At one time he is accused of feebleness and irresolution; and at another, when he acts with firmness and vigour, he is called a despot.

"It may, indeed, be true that the Church has increased so rapidly that no great inconvenience has as yet been felt. The Clergy, as a body, have acted beyond all praise in the faithful discharge of their important and onerous duties. But this state of things cannot be expected to continue. The Bishop frequently feels himself weak, and requires at such times the refreshing counsel of his brethren, and their constitutional co-operation in maturing the measures which he may feel

it proper to adopt. Their presence, therefore, appears indispensable, if the Church in this extreme portion of the Lord's vineyard is to carry out successfully her Divine mission.

"Were the Clergy of the province to meet under their three Bishops, or even were they to meet under one Bishop in their respective dioceses, with such representatives of the laity, being communicants, as might be thought right, they would accomplish all that might be required.

"Never, perhaps, did the Church proceed in any colony with the like rapidity; and this not merely in Upper Canada, which happens to possess peculiar advantages, but equally so in Lower Canada, notwithstanding the overwhelming number of Romanists.

"Hence, we fear not Rome, her Jesuits, or her schemes. Our holy Church, resting on the faith once delivered to the saints, has successfully opposed them for three centuries, on the principles of primitive truth and order, and is still equally able to do so, leaning on Divine help, in every part of the world.

"I. The Clergy and lay delegates might meet, with their Bishops, and make rules and regulations for the better conduct of their ecclesiastical affairs, and for holding such meetings from time to time as might be deemed necessary and convenient.

"II. Such rules and regulations not to impose or inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalty or disability, other than such as may attach to the avoidance of any office or benefice held in the said Church.

"III. That no such rule or regulation shall be binding on any person or persons, other than the said Bishop or Bishops, and the Clergy and lay persons within the colony or diocese, declared members of the Church of England.

"IV. That it shall not be competent to the said Bishops, Clergy, and lay persons, or any of them, to pass any regulation affecting the rights of the Crown, without the consent of Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"V. That no such rule or regulation shall authorize the Bishop of any diocese to confirm or consecrate, or to ordain, licence, or institute any person to any see, or to any pastoral charge or other episcopal or clerical office, unless such person shall have previously taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, and shall have also subscribed the Articles of the United Church of England and Ireland, and declared his unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer.

"Were the Bishops and Clergy to meet, with such powers as these, slender though they be, the moral influence of such meetings and proceedings would be immediately felt and acknowledged."

In accordance with the intentions expressed in the above letter, the Bishop of Toronto addressed a pastoral letter to his Clergy, summoning them to a convention of the clergy and lay representatives of the Church in his diocese, to consider its position with regard to its relations to the State:—

In this pastoral the following are the most important passages:—

"It has been suggested, and even pressed upon me, by many of the most pious and respectable members of our communion, both lay and clerical, that the Church, now so numerous in Canada West, ought to express her opinion, as a body, on the posture of her secular affairs, when an attempt is again making by her enemies to despoil her of the small remainder of her property, which has been set apart and devoted to sacred purposes during sixty years; and that it is not only her duty to protest against such a manifest breach of public faith, but to take such steps as may seem just and reasonable to avert the same.

"Having taken this suggestion into serious consideration, and believing it not only founded in wisdom, but, in the present crisis of the temporalities of the Church, absolutely necessary, I hereby request every clergyman in my diocese to invite the members of his mission or congregation, being regular communicants, to select one or two of their number, to accompany him to the visitation.

"For the sake of order, it is requested that such lay members be furnished with certificates, from their minister or churchwardens, that they have been duly appointed, to entitle them to take part in the proceedings which may take place subsequent to the visitation.

"It is expected that such missions or congregations as accede to this invitation will take measures to defray the necessary expenses incurred by their clergymen and representatives in their attendance on this duty, which will be strictly confined to the consideration of the temporal affairs and position of the Church."

A report has lately been issued by the Church Union of the diocese of Toronto recommending co-operation:—"with our brethren in the United Kingdom in endeavouring to obtain for the Church, both at home and in the colonies, particularly in these provinces, an efficient organization, such as its necessities and the times demand; whilst it leaves the maintenance of its doctrine and its discipline in other and more competent hands."

The Synod of Toronto.—The clerical and lay delegates, convened by the Bishop, met at the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Toronto, on the 1st of May, when Divine service was performed and the Holy Communion celebrated; after which the certificates of the lay delegates were verified, and two secretaries, one clerical and one lay, elected. On the following day the synod proceeded to consider the best means of protecting the property of the Church, when the following resolution, the first of a series on the same subject, was agreed to:—

"That the Bishop, Clergy, and laity of the diocese of Toronto, in conference assembled, by the request of the Lord Bishop, at his Triennial Visitation, holden on the 1st and 2nd of May, 1851, do solemnly protest against the alienation to any secular purpose whatever of the lands called Clergy Reserves, originally set apart by Act of 31 George III., c. 31, and finally sanctioned by 3 and 4 Victoria, c. 78, for the maintenance of religion and religious knowledge in the province—as being opposed to the constitution of the Church of God in every age, at variance with the principles acted upon by all Christian nations,

subversive of the recognized rights of British subjects, and in violation of the fidelity and integrity of Parliamentary enactments and the decisions of law."

The next subject proposed by the Bishop was the revival of Convocation, on which the following resolution was adopted :—

"That this meeting is of opinion, that, for the more effectual exercise of the discipline of the Church, and the more advantageous management of its temporal affairs, it is expedient and desirable to apply to the Crown for the establishment of a Diocesan Synod or Convocation, consisting of the Laity as well as of the Clergy of the Church, so as best to meet the requirements of the Church in this diocese; and that the Committee aforesaid do draft a memorial to the Queen, founded upon the observations upon this subject expressed in the episcopal charge of the Lord Bishop delivered yesterday."

In the course of the discussion, the Bishop stated that he had been informed by the highest authorities in ecclesiastical law in England, that, for the purpose of obtaining synodical action, the Queen should be memorialized through the Archbishop of Canterbury. Education was another topic considered by the Synod, whose opinion on the subject was embodied in the following resolution :—

"That this meeting desires to express its sense of the paramount duty of connecting religion with secular education; and, in order to carry out this obligation, they deem it to be necessary to petition the Colonial Legislature to permit the establishment of separate Church schools, and that the assessments ordinarily paid by Churchmen for the support of common schools be applied to the maintenance of such as are in connexion with the Church, where such appropriation is practicable and desired, and that the Committee aforesaid be empowered to draft the same."

A vote of thanks to the Bishop was carried by acclamation. In acknowledging it, his Lordship observed on the harmony which had distinguished their proceedings, and which gave great promise of success. The Bishop concluded with the Apostolic benediction; after which the meeting separated.

In the evening a meeting of the Toronto Church Union was held at the City Hall, which passed off with equal unanimity, and with great enthusiasm.

Nova Scotia.—The Archdeacon of Halifax has called together his Clergy to take counsel concerning the raising of funds for the endowment of their Bishopric, the Archbishop of Canterbury informing them that the only available sum at the disposal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is the interest of the fund left by Archbishop Tennison, amounting to about 440*l.* a year "for the maintenance of Bishops in America." His Grace urges the subject on the colonists in the following language :—

"I need hardly remind you that a Bishop has now been maintained in Nova Scotia for upwards of sixty years, to the manifest advantage of the Church, and the benefit of the province generally, without any

expense to the inhabitants. That support has now been withdrawn ; but, I trust, that I do not mistake the feelings of the members of the Church, in presuming that they will be anxious to meet the difficulty arising from the cessation of Government aid by their voluntary contributions.

"A moderate income is all that is required ; but at whatever amount it be fixed, (and of this the Clergy of the colony are the most competent judges,) it should be derived from capital subscribed, so as to secure a permanent endowment of the see. It seems only fitting, too, that a suitable residence for the Bishop should be provided from local resources. What proportion of the necessary income of a Bishop can be raised in the diocese I have no means of judging ; but I sincerely trust that both Clergy and laity will perceive that the present is an occasion for the exercise of an ungrudging liberality ; and I would urge you, therefore, to take immediate measures for commencing an endowment fund."

A meeting of Clergy and of lay representatives of the diocese of Nova Scotia having been convened by the Archdeacon, it was resolved to aid in carrying out the design of raising additional funds for the endowment of the bishopric ; but the Clergy and laity present expressed their opinion that they ought to be permitted to take part in the election of future Bishops. The following important resolution was adopted,—

"That it be an instruction to the committee of correspondence to mention to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury a feeling among Churchmen in this diocese, that some measures be adopted for securing to them some voice in the nominations of their chief pastors after the present vacancy shall have been filled up ; and to solicit his council with regard to the best means of regulating generally the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of the Church."

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has voted the sum of 2000*l.* towards the endowment of the bishopric of Nova Scotia. The Rev. Hibbert Binney, D.D., late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, has been consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Prelates, and has proceeded to the scene of his pastoral labours.

CHINA.—It was reported at first that the young emperor of China, who succeeded last year to the throne, was very favourable to the Christian religion, and had invited four Romish missionaries to reside in his palace. It was stated by M. Perrocheau, a Romish Bishop in China, that the emperor had been educated by a Christian. The emperor, however, has since then issued edicts unfavourable to Christianity.

FRANCE.—The opening of the Holy Week was solemnized at Nôtre Dame with the accustomed pomp, by the Archbishop of Paris ; and the reliques of the true cross, the crown of thorns, and nails, were carried

in procession. All houses, omnibuses, and stalls, were adorned with sprigs of box, which replaces in the north the palm. In the south the olive is used.

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—The Municipal Council of the town of Arles have handed over their commercial college to the Archbishop of Aix, for the purpose of an establishment of secondary instruction. The Bishop of Valence has received the commercial college of Montelimar for the same purpose. Both grants have been confirmed by Government.

Lyons.—At the close of the Jubilee, the *Te Deum* was sung, and the benediction was given by the Archbishop of Turin (M. Franson). This prelate used the magnificent cross which had been purchased for him by public subscription by his friends at Turin.

Paris.—The Archbishop of Paris, to whom "the devotion to the august Virgin Mother of God, has always been, after the *love* due to her adorable Son, the object of his most tender solicitude," has issued regulations for the worship of the Virgin during the month of May, or "month of Mary," as he entitles it.

The preachers Lacordaire, Ravignan, and others, have issued a letter protesting against the unauthorized publication of their sermons by short-hand writers.

Arles.—At Lancon the Jubilee was lately preached by two missionaries from Aix. It is stated that the number of annual communicants out of a population of 2000, used to be scarcely forty; but that 300 communicated during this mission.

Aveyron.—A number of the adherents of the *Petite Eglise*, who adhered to the Bishops of France deposed by Pius VII. in 1801 at the desire of Buonaparte, have recently sent in their submission to the Pope.

Toulouse.—The Cardinal Archbishop has issued a circular, urging a subscription to meet the expense of proceedings *in re* the canonization of the venerable Germain Cousin of Pibrac, "whose name," he says, "is honoured and blessed by all classes of society," especially by the sick, "who have felt marvellous effects in numbers from his protection." He rejoices that the Pope has recognized "the heroism of his theological and cardinal virtues," and has directed that the four miracles ascribed to him should be canonically examined into. He trusts that Germain will eventually obtain "the ineffable honours which the Church accords to her most fervent disciples," and thinks he sees the approach of the "splendour of this magnificent apotheosis."

Marseilles.—The Bishop, Chapter, Clergy, and others at Marseilles, have been issuing a series of addresses and congratulations on occasion of the Pope having granted the use of the Pallium to the Bishop of Marseilles.

Mans.—A "deplorable" circumstance lately occurred at Evron. While a missionary priest was haranguing the people, he was interrupted by the exclamation, *A bas le G—!* and numbers of persons

were seen smoking pipes and cigars at one side and towards the end of the church.

The liberals of France, having learnt by the result of the expedition to Rome that Romanism is only favourable to Liberalism and Republicanism when it suits its own purpose, and is ready to exterminate Liberty with the sword, whenever it is opposed to the interests of the Papacy, are now adverse to that Church, which was the first to join in the cry of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*. In some of the recent debates the Mountain moved for the suppression of the sum of 45,000 francs granted to the French Cardinals for defraying the expenses of their installation, and of the supplementary stipend of 3000 francs a year, which these dignitaries receive over and above their episcopal incomes. In the opinion of MM. Bourzat, De Montjan, and other members of the Mountain, the French Cardinalship is useless and onerous to the State. The answer of the Romish party to this is set forth in the report of M. Ponjoulat on the subject.

"For eight centuries the election of the Popes has been in the hands of the Cardinals, and throughout the whole of that period there have always been French Cardinals. Many of these Popes, and not the least illustrious, have belonged to the French nation. Since the times of Hubert the Benedictine, and Frederic of Lorraine, our first Cardinals, how many striking names have there been, how many personages esteemed by their country for their great virtues and services, and who are deeply and gloriously interwoven with our history! The Sacred College is the representation of the Catholic nations of the universe around the chief of the Church. Is it possible for France to be absent from such a Senate? France, who so long since founded the independence of the Popes by the constitution of their temporal authority, and who has always played so pre-eminent a part in Catholic questions. The French Cardinalship is part and parcel of our exterior influence; its action is real and serious when a chief is to be given to the immense family of the Church. Both in a religious and political point of view, one candidate for the tiara may be preferable to another; those who speak of the nullity of our influence in the conclave are ignorant that the powers have a right of exclusion which is recognized at Rome. More than once France has seen the votes of the Sacred College select the name which had appeared to her most congenial to the interests of Europe and of religion. What shall we answer to those who tell us that the Roman purple unnationalizes our Bishops? When will men cease to expect that Catholics, in obeying the Pope, obey a foreign prince? Is it so difficult to understand that the dignities of the Church, like submission to the laws of the Church, are placed in a region pure and spiritual, in that empire of the conscience which knows no fanatics and escapes all earthly dominion? History has abundantly proved that the accomplishment of Catholic duty is no injury to patriotism, and that the French Cardinals most faithful to the Holy See have energetically displayed their love for their country. . . ."

The above is quoted ~~because~~ it gives, in substance, the arguments used, in the course of a very long and very tumultuous debate, by the Minister of Public Worship, and others, in defence of the endowment, which was supported by the Assembly by a majority of 441 against 194.

The religious rites and ceremonies of the different communions at Paris, during Passion week, have been attended by numerous congregations. On Passion Sunday, the Sunday but one before Easter, the relics were transported by the Archbishop from the different churches in which they are preserved to the metropolitan church, preparatory to their exposition on Good Friday. On that day the ceremony at Notre Dame was attended not only by an unusually large assemblage of the people, but by the Chief of the State and his officers. The circumstance, so unusual, has been the subject of universal remark and comment. On Easter Sunday the Church of St. Roch was filled to such an extent that people were standing outside the doors, as before a theatre, waiting for admission; and the Madeleine and other churches appeared to be almost equally frequented. At the Oratoire, one of the temples of the Reformed communion, as large as the nave of many cathedrals, the attendance was so great that hundreds went away under the impossibility of finding an entrance. It was the ceremony of the reception of the catechumens, at which a number of young people of both sexes are admitted to their *première communion* by the minister who has instructed them, and in presence of their parents and the assembled congregation. The ceremony is highly affecting and interesting. After the whole congregation is seated, the catechumens are introduced from an external part of the building; the girls first, all clad in white, and enveloped in white veils, followed by the boys. Then come the parents who, all together, high and low, rich and poor, take the seats prepared for them to witness the entrance of their children into the Church to which they themselves belong. Some allusion, such as the subject of the day admitted, is of course made to the ceremony in the sermon; but on the approach of the catechumens to the long narrow communion table in the centre of the church (round which all receive the elements standing in the Reformed congregations of France), M. Coquerel, the presiding minister, addressed to each sex an exhortation, appealing to the presence of their parents and the assembled congregation, and to his own toil and trouble expended upon them in the course of a long *cours*, or class of religious instruction, at which all must attend, as additional inducements to perseverance in well-doing. After the usual prayers, M. Coquerel preached an extempore sermon of more than an hour, in a tone elevated enough to be heard in every part of the immense building, and with that animated gesture and action which seems so essential to make an impression upon vast congregations. After this the celebration of the sacrament occupied nearly three hours; and as each party assembles round the table, a fresh exhortation is addressed to them, thus keeping up a perpetual call upon the mental and physical energies of the officiant.

The *Univiers* speaks thus of the observances of the season :—

"An influx truly extraordinary has not ceased to fill the churches of Paris during the last two sacred days (the *Grand Jeudi* and *Grand Vendredi*). . . . Who can say how many hearers have this year listened to the sermon of the Passion at Nôtre Dame, at St. Sulpice, at St. Roch, at St. Germain-des-Prés, at St. Eustache, at the Madeleine, every where in our forty churches ? . . . Yesterday (Good Friday) evening all the theatres were spontaneously closed, and in the *restaurants* the fast was generally observed. At the hour when the holy relics of the passion were to be adored, a mass of people encumbered the nave of our cathedral, amongst whom were numbers of workmen and their families, in Sunday attire. After having piously kissed the wood of the true cross, the crown of thorns, and one of the holy nails, the majority of these Christians proceeded to touch with their lips the *cinq onctions* of the sacred stone of the altar of the Virgin. . . . In the evening the vast Basilica scarcely sufficed to hold all who wished to hear the Père Ravignan. The assemblage was such that many were fain to resign themselves to catch only at intervals some few of his words. This rich harvest is the fruit of the *conferences* of Père Lacordaire and of the *retraite* began on the Monday of Holy Week by the Père Ravignan. Amongst the hearers of distinction who yesterday evening surrounded the Père Ravignan, we remarked, by the side of the Archbishop, the President of the Republic, accompanied by Marshal Excelsmans, and surrounded by his officers of state. Other remarkable personages also attracted attention. The Princess Mary of Baden (Marchioness of Douglas), M. Molé, M. de Montalembert, M. le General de Lamoricière, M. de Duc de Rohan, M. le Préfet de Police, &c."

Letters from Rome announce that on the solicitation of Monsignor Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, the title of Doctor of the Church has been definitely conferred on St. Hilary, formerly Bishop of that diocese, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and will be immediately confirmed by a Papal decree and brief.

A letter by M. le Pasteur F. Monod has been published, declining an offer made in a friendly letter to the Marquis of Cholmondeley by the Bishop of London, that certain proprietary chapels and the like non-parochial places of worship might be placed at the service of foreign Protestant ministers of religion now in London; but intimating that the use of the parochial edifices, or the aid of clergymen of the Established Church, is precluded by law. M. Monod declines the offer, in the name of his brethren; the ministers of continental churches holding that they ought not to accept an *inferior* position. The letter declining the offer is written with simple dignity; heartily acknowledging the spirit of the Bishop's offer; though dwelling with peculiar emphasis on the fact of the Bishop twice intimating, that the expected stay of the foreigners will be short, and urging what he terms the unchristian tendency of exclusiveness in the English law. The writer says:—

"We render full homage to your fraternal sentiments and your cha-

ritable intentions. You have done all that you could do; we thank you for it, and we shall remember it with gratitude; but we complain of the law by which you are fettered—of the ecclesiastical system which prevents you from acting according to your heartfelt wishes."

GERMANY.—*Proselytism of the Romish Church*—It is in the midst of Protestant and speculative Germany that the greatest efforts of Roman Catholicism have been lately made, and have, if we are to believe the organs of the Roman Catholic priesthood, been crowned with the greatest success. The instruments employed in this new crusade are the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, and an association calling itself the Association of St. Boniface.

The Redemptorists have established no less than seventy missions in Moravia and Bohemia. During the present season of Lent they have filled all the pulpits in the Roman Catholic churches of Treves and Coblenz, and so popular has been their preaching, that standing-room was with difficulty found in any one of those edifices. It is not merely in the country of John Huss, Jerome of Prague, or on the banks of the Rhine, that the Redemptorists boast of having obtained such signal successes. In the months of February and March they have been busy in Wurtemberg, and, if we are to believe their trumpeters and thurifers, their successes, not merely among the *Bauerschaften*, but among the better classes, have been prodigious. They triumphantly tell you that many thousand Wurtembergers assembled in the open air, and *una voce* voted that a Redemptorist establishment should be founded in Wurtemberg.

The Jesuits allege that they have obtained in Protestant districts of Germany what they themselves call results not less striking than their brethren the Redemptorists. To credit their organs and panegyrists, three of the foremost disciples of Loyola have not merely electrified but edified Cleves. They say that every one of the preachers daily had 10,000 auditors. In the town of Bonn, the seat of a Prussian university, in which the husband of our queen studied, another Jesuit preacher, it is added, produced to the full as much impression as his brethren. So, if we are to credit the Papistical organs in Germany, have like results been obtained at Weingarten, at Wolstein, at Hechingen, at Rottweil, and throughout Middle Germany, while Protestantism has been boldly attacked in the old episcopal town of Osnabruck, of which one of Her Majesty's uncles was bishop. They say a Protestant professor of Halle has abjured his Church, and is about to become a priest of their own religion. The Jesuits exclaim, "We have many more instances, among the rest a Protestant minister of Treves, who abjured his '*heresy*' in the beginning of the holy season of Lent." Thus in Italy, in Belgium, in Austria, in Prussia, in Bavaria, in Wurtemberg, as well as in England, is the Roman Catholic Church on the *qui vive*. The missionaries, whether Jesuits, Redemptorists, Dominicans, Capuchins, or Franciscans, are

aided by three associations called the Association of Pius IX., of St. Francis Xavier, and of St. Boniface. These three societies are in their turn served by religious sisterhoods, who go about collecting for the ornaments of Roman Catholic churches. Among these female societies is one called the *Filles de la Croix*, and already have thirteen ladies of this order purchased the old castle of Aspel, on the banks of the Rhine. Thus is an ancient residence of the archbishops of Cologne and the dukes of Cleves about to become a convent of proselytising Roman Catholic nuns.

The reader will remark, it is only in those countries of the Continent of Europe in which representative institutions and democratic opinions have been widely diffused, that the Roman Catholic Clergy encounter any obstacles. While in Austria Proper, in Bavaria, and even in Prussia, the preachers and propagandists of ultramontane Popery have had considerable success, they have encountered obstacles in democratic Baden and in independent Hungary. Whilst the Countess Ida of Hahn-Hahn, a recent convert to Romanism, has published canticles and poetry full of Mariolatry, the presses and pulpits of Baden and Hungary have been silent on these revivals of mediæval practices. The spread of Rationalism and of Socialism in Germany, it cannot be denied, has given an immense vantage-ground to the Roman Catholic Clergy. They now openly proclaim, that the year 1860 will see them complete masters of the religious world—Protestantism routed, Dissent destroyed, and Rationalism and Pietism merged in the unity of one great and true Church. "Look," they say, "to the effect produced in Holstein by the contrast of an ardent and comforting creed with a cold and a cheerless one." The Protestant population of Holstein, they contend, is struck with wonder and admiration at the religious enthusiasm of the Austrian soldiers of occupation, whether Germans or Italians. When the Imperial regiments proceed to mass with military music, or traverse the streets singing in chorus the hymn to Pius IX., or the Litany of the Virgin, there are many Protestant lookers-on, the priests tell you with unction, who desire to be received into the bosom of a Church which, undoubtedly, enlists into its service all that can thrall the imagination, if not a particle that can satisfy the reason. Such are the arts to which the Romish party have recourse every where; and there can be no doubt, that with weak men and imaginative, enthusiastic, and disappointed women, they are occasionally successful.

No doubt the Roman Catholic Clergy in every country of Europe that has been disturbed by Socialism, or agitated by Communism, have regained inordinate power; for the Government have called in their aid with a view to contend with and vanquish the plague of such doctrines.

Manteuffel, the present Prime Minister of Prussia, is the symbol and instrument of the Pietists and mystic party in Prussia. These Pietists, who have a regard for Roman Catholicism, are naturally befriended by Russia and Austria, whose plans they abet, or do not oppose. It is

easy to see, therefore, why M. Manteuffel is sure of the praises of the Pietists, not only in Prussia, but every where else. But whilst he pursues this system, the Jesuits are daily making progress, and in all directions gaining ground.

Number of Students in the Universities.—A statistical analysis of the number of students in all the German Universities, with the exception of those of Königsberg, Kiel, and Rostock, the numbers for which have not been officially published, furnishes, for the term about to expire, the following results:—

“In all the universities, taken collectively, there have been inscribed on the registers 11,945 students. The various universities may be classed, according to the number of students at each, in the following order:—Berlin, Munich, Bonn, Leipsic, Breslau, Tübingen, Göttingen, Würzburg, Halle, Heidelberg, Giessen, Erlangen, Friburg, Jena, Marburg, Greifswalde. Berlin has 2107 students, and Greifswalde only 189. The number of those studying the law is 3973; of the theological students, 2539; of those pursuing the study of philosophy and philology, 2357; of the medical students, 2146; and there are 549 engaged in the study of political economy. The University of Halle reckons the greatest proportional number of theological students, there being 330 out of 597; Heidelberg has the most students of law,—viz., 349 out of 557; Würzburg, the most students of medicine,—viz., 271 out of 871; Jena, the most students of theology,—viz., 132 out of 358. The greatest number of foreign students is to be found at Heidelberg, Göttingen, Jena, Würzburg, and Leipsic. The number of students has increased at Berlin by 119; at Würzburg, by 47; at Breslau, by 43; at Heidelberg, by 35; at Friburg, by 27; at Bonn, by 11; at Tübingen, by 6; at Leipsic, by 5; at Greifswalde, by 3; at Erlangen, by 1; while they have diminished in number, at Göttingen, by 49; at Halle, by 39; at Munich, by 39; at Jena, by 35; at Giessen, by 25; and at Marburg, by 24.”

Reactionary tendencies.—Scarcely a day passes without bringing fresh confirmation of the apprehensions entertained respecting the attacks which Romish and Protestant reactionaries combined are making upon the results of the Reformation in Germany. The Protestant reactionaries undermine and attack political liberty, the Romish reactionaries the spiritual liberty, which dawned upon northern Europe through the Reformation. The power of the Austrian government in religious matters is great within the Austrian dominions; in fact, the stability of the empire is founded on the subservience and obedience to existing powers, which the Roman Catholic religion teaches. Prussia is now under the yoke of Austria and Russia. Her attempted policy of national independence has failed against the overwhelming forces of re-invigorated despotism. The ministers who advised that policy have long since left the government, and other men with other principles now sway the destinies of Prussia. England and France now perceive the consequences of their acts. Neither the one nor the other, nor both united, can extricate her from the bonds into which

she has fallen. The present ministry and the *Kreuz Zeitung's* party, which governs the ministry, do not wish to be released. They feel perfectly comfortable in their dependence on Austria and Russia, because Austria and Russia will help them to re-establish despotism at home; and if England or France were to make the slightest effort in favour of Prussian independence, the present government would stigmatize it as a revolutionary proceeding.

Those countries which are in possession of political and religious liberty—England, France, Prussia, the small states of Protestant Germany, and Switzerland—could, united, have withstood the assault against political and religious liberty contemplated by the other parts of Europe. The grand cause of Protestantism and freedom required that each should have supported the other. But now the opposite influence rules in Prussia. The smaller states of Germany and Switzerland are in immediate danger of being conquered by the same influence. The principles of the Roman Catholic Church and of absolutism spread with rapidity among the lower orders when once proclaimed by the higher orders of society. Extravagant political principles lead to conversions from Protestantism to popery. Such people look upon the Protestant Church as an imperfect form of Christianity; and they consider the Roman Catholic to be perfect, because it establishes stronger than any other religious authority above and obedience below. Political absolutism desires to establish the same principle as the first axiom of government.

BAVARIA.—Demands of the Romish Bishops.—"Nearly as great a strife has arisen in Bavaria, through the lately published 'Memorial of the Bavarian episcopacy to the King,' as has occurred in England through the Pope's intrusion into the governmental rights of the realm. That 'memorial' is a compound of the most extravagant assumption and arrogance against royal and legal authority, and contradictory to almost all the civil laws. If all the things which the Bavarian Bishops require could be granted, they would not be Fathers in the Church, but despots in the country, and the King their servant. They, without abandoning their rank, pay, royal privileges, or standing in the State or in society, categorically demand the entire abolition of the *Placetum Regium*, and ask full power and the right to appoint and to dismiss, at their pleasure, not only the subordinate Clergy, but also the professors in the Universities and the teachers in all other schools. They require also full and undisputed power of instituting new Catholic universities, seminaries, schools, monasteries, and nunneries of every order and kind they please, and to send Jesuits and Redemptionists as missionaries into their dioceses. Priests, justly or unjustly judged by the Bishops or their ordinaries, are to have no appeal to the King's courts of justice. If that memorial were to be granted, the subordinate Clergy would be delivered up to the arbitrary cruelty of the *Jus Canonicum*, as in the time of Gregory VII.

"It is by such means that the Bishops think to regain their lost

spiritual influence. The Bishop of Augsburg alone signed it, with a protest added to his name—'The concordat, nothing but the concordat, and the whole concordat.' Now, the concordat is an integral part of the Bavarian Constitution; so the Bishops have thrown the firebrand of division into their own house. The Parliament, now assembled, begins already to complain, and to abuse all ecclesiastical orders, and the people do the same. One furious pamphlet has already appeared, calling upon the people to put an end at once to all priestcraft and kingcraft by cudgels," &c.

HESSE CASSEL.—Activity of the Romish Church.—The influence of Austria is steadily extending the Roman Catholic Church throughout Germany. Even in those parts where Protestantism is the religion of the State, the system of propagandism is brought into the most unscrupulous play. In Hesse Cassel, where the Austrian political and military power is dominant, the influence of the Jesuits is to be essayed. An announcement was made from the pulpits of the Romish Church, in the district of Fulda, lately, that priests of the Society of Jesus, who had been summoned by the Bishop of the diocese, would hold regular missions. The inhabitants of the unhappy electorate are punished by every possible visitation for their passive resistance to the illegal and despotic acts of their Sovereign. Military law, enacted and carried out by Austrians, terrorizes over all; hundreds of families are deprived of their natural supporters by the decrees of the standing courts-martial; and while thus the political and material independence of the population is being crushed, the Jesuits are introduced to wean them from their religious errors, and restore them to that Church which demands absolute dependence. Of course those who are convinced by the preachings of the Society of Jesus will be better treated by the military and political powers. The elector himself and his head minister may, perhaps, be brought to enter the Roman Catholic fold.

Opposed to the constitutionalists and republicans in Hesse Cassel, there stands the elector with Hassenpflug and his ministers. Foremost among these is Vilmar, minister in the department of public worship. One of his works is the creation of a Hessian *Treubund*, similar to the Prussian, the members of which are sworn to be faithful to God, to the elector, and their country—*Mit Gott für Kurfürst und Vaterland*. This society is mainly supported by the dregs of the legal profession and the Clergy, who, from various causes, have been the strictest adherents of the elector. Their fervour in his cause has gone so far that from more than one pulpit doctrines of unlimited obedience have been preached, combined with exhortations to join the *Treubund*, in order to get rid of the Bavarian soldiery. The lists of the members are periodically shown to the elector, and for some who have joined, the heavy burden of the soldiers quartered upon them has been lightened. Upon the mass of the people, however, little impression has been made, and the efforts of the Clergy in general meet with the same result as those of Hassenpflug to organize a secret police. In the southern districts of

Hesse Cassel the fanatical proceedings of the Redemptionists are producing great excitement. The brothers of this order have threatened with the most terrible punishment, after death, all those who have intermarried with Protestants, and who do not bring up their children in the Roman Catholic faith.

HESSE DARMSTADT.—University of Giessen.—At Giessen there is a faculty of Roman Catholic theology, whose professors have incurred the displeasure of Rome. One of these professors was lately chosen Archbishop of Mayence; but the Pope refused to approve the nomination, and the present Archbishop was consequently appointed. Since then attempts have been made to transfer the faculty of theology from Giessen to Mayence; but they have proved vain, in consequence of the numerous impediments in the way. Then another plan was set on foot, and a faculty of theology has been actually created at Mayence, and its lectures and courses opened a few days since. The school has been organized according to a plan which will probably deprive Giessen of most of its students, inasmuch as lodging and food in common, obtainable at the lowest possible cost, are part of the new system. This progressive movement on the part of the priestly and Jesuit party in Germany is general at this time. But it may not last long, for the association of the three parties—the priestly, the yunker or aristocratic, and the absolutist—must eventually destroy them all. Meanwhile, they are still sufficiently strong to dominate Germany; but their acts are so impressed with haste and anxiety that they show the desire to make as much use as possible of a moment which may never return.

MECKLENBURG.—Conversions to Romanism.—In all his attempts to increase the political power of Austria in Northern Germany, Prince Schwarzenberg has not failed to seek the assistance of the Roman Catholic Church, and re-establish its power. His success has been chronicled in Mecklenburg by the sudden conversion to popery of five or six members of the highest families in that duchy.

RHINE, UPPER.—Aggressions of Romish Bishops.—The bishops of the Roman Catholic provinces of the Upper Rhine, viz., the Archbishop of Friburg, the Bishops of Limburg, Rottenburg, Fulda, and Mayence, have agreed to a memorial to be presented to the several governments, urging the following demands:—

“1. Abolition of all the concessions made since March, 1848, in matters affecting the jurisdiction of the Church, such as the civil contract of marriage, &c.—2. Free exercise of the power of the bishops in their respective dioceses to grant spiritual offices.—3. A limitation of the right of patronage in benefices.—4. Permission to the bishops to examine canonically, and canonically to punish their subordinates.—5. Abolition of the state examinations for candidates for the priesthood.—6. Abolition of the assent of the state to the appointment to vacant livings.

—7. Abolition of the present right of appeal to the civil government from the sentences of the Ecclesiastical Court in criminal cases; the latter shall be immediately put in execution, after the simple evidence given of guilt, as far as deprivation from a benefice and confiscation of the income.—8. Every appeal to the civil courts to be considered a rejection of the legal and normal authority of the Church, and to be followed by excommunication.—9. Abolition of the state titles of the clergy.—10. The bishops to have the confirmation of all appointments of teachers of religion in the gymnasia and universities.—11. Abolition of the assent of the state to the publication of Papal bulls, letters, and episcopal pastoral addresses to the clergy.—12. Right of the bishops to give their licence for holding popular missions and religious exercises on the part of the priesthood.—13. Permission to form spiritual associations of men and women for prayer, contemplation, and self-denying obedience.—14. Restoration to the bishops of their power to punish members of the Church who despise its regulations.—15. Free intercourse of the bishops with Rome.—16. The temporal power to have no right to interfere in appointments to vacancies in Cathedral chapters.—17. Independence of the clergy in the management of the property of all Catholic Church and endowment revenues."

Jesuitism at Friburg.—At Friburg, in the Breisgau, Brother Rotenflue, a Jesuit, reads public lectures to the students on casuistry; and, though the Rector of the Faculty of Theology has forbidden the students to attend these lectures, the Roman Catholic youth, having appealed to the Senate, continue to listen and take notes. No philosopher or historian can give public lectures in a university against the will of the authorities; and in the present instance means might soon be found for enforcing silence on the Jesuit. But the Faculty of Theology at Friburg, which once was liberal enough to displease the ultramontanist party, has of late followed the current of the time, and most of its professors have rallied to Rome.

PRUSSIA.—Romish Propagandism.—A Berlin correspondent of a contemporary has the following:—

"The preachers of the Order of the Redemptorists, who have been exciting some sensation during a mission in Westphalia, Bavaria, and the Pfalz, are, it is said, about to extend their activity to the provinces of East and West Prussia. Some strange stories have reached Berlin of their style of preaching, and the facts mentioned hardly bear repetition. They recall what is recorded of the sermons of the wandering preachers of the sixteenth century, or a still earlier period, or the topics and language of the most violent American revivals. If half related of them is true, the Prussian police will infallibly prohibit their exhibitions as dangerous to public morality."

The Jesuits are progressing northward, bringing religious disturbances and family discords wherever they appear. In Mannheim, their preaching missions have created great discontent; and as several citizens took

the liberty of speaking their minds openly and freely on the subject, the police interfered and arrested them. Fears are entertained, if their missions be continued, that a serious breach of the peace may occur.

Persecution of Dissenters.—The following extract from the Berlin correspondent of the "Daily News" comprises much important information:—"According to the constitution, passed and sworn to in February, 1850, all religious persuasions may be freely exercised, and are wholly separate from political rights. The State Church of Prussia is Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—that is to say, the teachers of the Lutheran, Catholic, and Jewish persuasions are all paid by the State, and are under the immediate control of the cultus Minister. All persons preaching tenets differing from either of these three must depend for support on the voluntary contributions of their followers. Of late years the number of the sects has greatly increased, owing mainly to the forcible union of the Evangelical and Lutheran Churches, decreed some years ago. There are Baptists and Anabaptists, Methodists, Christian Catholics, German Catholics, Free Christians, Primitive Christians, and others, the majority of which have found locations principally in the Saxon and eastern provinces of Prussia. They have long since been viewed with suspicion and dislike by the higher authorities in the Protestant branch of the State Church; and as the leaders of this confession are now in peace at Court and in the Government, they have set in motion the whole of the machinery of the ecclesiastical and political police, in order to put them down, and efface them from the country. The brethren of the sects have been declared political offenders, because they hold public meetings not sanctioned by the law. In Pomerania and East Prussia, in Breslau, numbers have been arrested, and sentenced to the payments of fines, varying in amount from five to thirty thalers. The common illiterate police are the machinery employed to terrify and suppress. In East Prussia all the sacred offices of the Church performed by members of these sects have been declared illegal with a retrospective action. The married have been unmarried, the christened unchristened, the dead not buried with the usual Christian rites. In point of fact, all persons professing any other faith but those recognized by the State have been excommunicated. In the Saxon province the police have been strictly ordered to watch, with the greatest care, the proceedings of the dissenting bodies, and the activity of their leaders. Wherever they occur, the parish authorities have been instructed immediately to acquaint the police authorities, in order that the necessary repressive measures may at once be put in force. This is merely the commencement of a crusade against Dissenters from the recognized Protestant Church."

"I have described the matter in which the authorities of the Church are punishing dissent. What are they doing within the Church to prevent it? I will not enter upon the new *Kirchen Ordnung* (Church regulations), as it requires a more careful digest than I have yet been able to give to it. Suffice it here to remark, that it entirely subverts

the principle upon which the old *Kirchen Ordnung* was passed, viz., that the parish clergymen or priests were under the direction, and subordinate in many matters to the parish council, the elected administrative body. The new regulation places the council and administration entirely under the dominion of the clergyman, whose power is in some degree to be absolute. He is to keep conduct lists of his parishioners, &c. There are many other obnoxious points in the regulation, and I must return to it in another letter. Its spirit and its action must be Catholic and not Protestant. I do not suppose that the enforcement of such a regulation is calculated to prevent dissent; for, careless as the Berliners may be to religious matters, there is in the eastern and northern parts of Prussia a mass of Protestant feeling and principle, full of life and vigour, which revolts at the progress now making by Popery, and at every incident in the government of the Prussian Church which is calculated to assist that progress. It is this feeling which has secretly stimulated the Yunker or squirearchy to oppose the admission into the Germanic Confederation of the non-German Catholic provinces of Austria. There is, indeed, sufficient cause why this feeling should be kept awake, and be provoked if possible into greater activity. The metropolis of Berlin has witnessed for several weeks past the rise and progress of 'Liturgische Andachten,' prayer meetings at which the ordinary Church service is performed with all the effect which illumined churches and sacred music can impart. Choristers clad in scarlet robes assist at the ceremony. During the service different robes are worn at different periods."

New Regulations for the Protestant Church.—A new Church law (*Kirchen Ordnung*) has been settled by Synodal Commissioners, and is about to be submitted for the royal assent, in the provinces of Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia, which declares Holy Scripture to be the sole standard of faith, and recognizes, in addition to the Catholic creeds,—for the Lutheran congregations, the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Schmalkald Articles, and the two Catechisms of Luther,—for the Reformed (Calvinistic) Congregations, the Heidelberg Catechism,—for the United Congregations, as much of both as they have in common, with liberty to individual members to be Lutheran or Calvinistic, as they please. All the three sorts of Congregations are to form one United Church.

GREECE.—Religion of the Future Sovereign.—The final arrangement as to the succession to the throne is settled by Prince Adalbert consenting to marry, settling in Greece, and baptizing his children according to the rites of the Greek Church, when, if he has a son, and that son is of age at the time the Greek throne becomes vacant, he promises to abdicate in his favour.

HOLLAND.—A law having been proposed to the States-General of Holland to authorize and regulate Romish Conventual Establishments,

a pamphlet has appeared in opposition to it, entitled, *Des Couvents et des Maisons Claustrales; Lettre Patente aux Membres des Etats-Generaux*. This pamphlet has given vast offence to the Romish party, who complain of it as a part of a general plan of hostility and aggression in Holland against their rights and liberties.

The Ministry in Holland being favourable to the principle of religious equality, and being about to propose laws for giving to Romanism the same advantages as the established Protestantism, a strong feeling of discontent has manifested itself amongst the majority of the population; and the King is said to have received, in the most unfavourable manner, the application of a Romish Deputation. The Romish party are much discouraged by their reception, which appears to have been of no ordinary character—the King having given expression to the strongest sentiments in opposition to their religion. Possibly this sovereign has not been an unobservant spectator of what has been going on at this side of the Channel, and is resolved not to be made a tool by Romish propagandism.

INDIA.—*Promotion of Christianity*.—The “Lahore Chronicle” has the following paragraph:—“It is with unfeigned satisfaction we are permitted to announce, that a truly Christian member of our community has authorized us, through the Rev. J. Newton, of the Presbyterian Mission at Lahore, to intimate his readiness to contribute the sum of ten thousand rupees towards the funds of the Church Missionary Society at home, on the following conditions, viz.:—first, that the Society determine on establishing a mission in some part of the Punjab; secondly, that the Society signify, in this country, their intimation of establishing a mission on or before the 1st of October; and, lastly, that the missionaries intended to enter on such an extensive field be in Calcutta, or in any part of India, on or before the 1st day of March.”

Romish Jurisdictions.—The “Calcutta Star” states, that, by a “concordat” just terminated between the Crown of Portugal and the See of Rome, the Goa priests are to have no jurisdiction over churches within the British territories. The Boitakhana Church in Calcutta is the only one that is at present in charge of the Goanese padres, and may be expected now to be made over to Dr. Carew.

ITALY.—*Modena. Concordat with Rome*.—The concordat recently agreed upon between the Pope and the Duke of Modena authorizes the suspension of appointments to benefices for a year, in order to furnish an asylum for old and infirm priests, and to endow poor parish churches. Clergy taken in *flagrante delicto* shall be arrested by the civil power and handed over to the Ecclesiastical tribunals. Provisions are also made in favour of legacies and donations to the Church and monasteries.

Proceedings of English Perverts at Naples.—A correspondent of the “Daily News,” writing from Naples, under date May 14th,

says,—“Lord and Lady Feilding have gained golden opinions for their devotion, by ‘assisting’ at the miracle of St. Januarius, where they devoutly kissed the magic bottle containing the saint’s blood. Such an example of faith from the distinguished converts staggers even the bigots of Naples, who hesitate themselves to do public homage to this silly imposture.”

PIEDMONT.—*Introduction of a Law on the Monastic Orders.*—A project of law, on the subject of the Religious Orders, was presented on March 27th to the Chamber of Deputies at Turin, and was received by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, who were engaged in negotiations with the Pope, relating to the laws introduced by M. Siccadi, in consequence of his retirement. The bill was brought in by the deputy for Mondovì, M. Peronne, who, on presenting it, spoke in the following manner:—

“The civil laws have, in most cases, taken care of the persons and property of those who, on account of their tender years, were unequal to the protection of their own interests. These laws, however, have been silent with respect to a class of persons who, at an age when no experience of the world has been acquired, undertake to dispose of themselves, even at the age of sixteen, in monastic and religious seclusion. For the purpose of protecting those minors of both sexes, and saving them from a useless and late repentance when nature has been fully developed, and when they are capable of understanding the folly they have committed, I have the honour to present the present bill. It appears to me that no doubt can be entertained of the propriety of giving the civil power jurisdiction in this case, because the project of law is meant to affect persons who do not, and should not, on account of their tender age, belong to Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The following is an outline of the measure:—

“‘1. Individuals of both sexes, who desire to make religious profession in a convent, congregation, or a monastery of the state, shall not be allowed to take solemn vows in perpetuity, unless they have completed the age of twenty-one years.

“‘2. The persons competent, according to the preceding article, shall not be allowed to take the said vows without having lived in the social world for at least six months within the period of two years preceding their adopting that final state.

“‘3. Strangers who have taken vows in any foreign convent, not in conformity to the present law, are not admissible into the religious institutions of this country.

“‘4. Subjects of the realm who have taken vows beyond its jurisdiction shall be considered as strangers in the eye of the law.

“‘5. Such persons as receive, or allow to be received, religious candidates in contravention of the first and second clauses of this bill, shall be punished with five years’ imprisonment, and all such subjects of the realm who may infringe the terms of this law out of the kingdom, shall lose their civil rights.

" '6. All dispositions of preceding legislation contrary to the present law are annulled.'

" Though (continued the speaker) all legislation is subject to modification by the hand of time, we see that religious and monastic orders obstinately refuse to make any alteration in that which affects them from the remotest period. We are, therefore, called on to perform that which those orders refuse to do for themselves. It appears that the Church will in no manner diminish the control it has so long exercised over the human mind; but, while that fact accounts for the blind obstinacy with which it repels all change, it compels us to protect the young and the ignorant, and to provide, by wholesome legislation, for the public good. The house has, therefore, only to examine whether the motion I have the honour to propose be in principle just, and whether it be within our attributes to adopt it. On the first point, I need only say that the taking of eternal vows is the most solemn act a human being can perform, and that it is a reflection on common sense to allow them to be adopted at the age of sixteen years, which the actual law permits, when neither the mind nor body is developed, and the judgment and the passions given to us by Divine Providence for wise purposes, are not yet matured. Will you continue to expose the youth of both sexes to the influence of interested persons, who desire the possession of their worldly goods, and to the misery of an ineffectual repentance? With regard to the second point, the Chamber has already discussed and disposed of matters of a similar nature, and, in any case, I must presume that, whatever your final decision may be, you will not refuse for the present to take the measure I propose into serious and immediate consideration."

The proposition was received amid cheers from all sides of the house. The leader of the opposition, M. Brofferio, declared that the only fault he found with the measure was, that it did not go far enough, as he wished it did away with monastic institutions altogether. The *L'Ami de la Religion* states that the Chambers have under consideration a number of laws of the most "detestable description;"—i. e., most unfavourable to Roman Catholic views.

The royal palace of Turin, and the palace of the Duke of Genoa, was illuminated on the feast of the *Saint Suaire*,—a festival to which the Romanists of Piedmont are much attached. The ministers did not illuminate their houses.

Rumoured Concordat with Rome.—The *Croce di Savoia* has the following:—

" We are assured that a *concordat* has been concluded between Rome and the Sardinian Government. The latter, it appears, agreed to the unconditional return to their respective dioceses of Archbishops Franzoni and Marengia, and to the appointment of a new Nuncio to Turin. It is not known whether the Nuncio is to be invested with the powers enjoyed by his predecessor. The object and result of these arrangements, which are partly the work of the Court of Caserta, would be a political league between Rome, Naples, Piedmont, and Tuscany, in

order to obtain the evacuation of the Pontifical States by the French and Austrian troops."

This statement is contradicted by later accounts, from which it appears probable that there is little likelihood of a concordat. Piedmont and Switzerland appear to be, at present, the only countries on the continent which have not placed themselves unconditionally in the hands of Austria and Rome.

ROME.—*Disturbed State of the Population.*—The wretched government which has been thrust back on the Roman people at the point of the bayonet, and which owes its preservation to the continued forcible intervention of foreign powers, is learning by experience the rooted antipathy with which it is regarded, and is compelled, in self-defence, to resort to new measures of violence and severity against its subjects. The disturbances commenced by disputes between the Roman and the French troops, since which they have taken the shape of combination against the use of tobacco and other excisable articles.

The recent conflicts between French soldiers and Romans have suggested to the French general the necessity of taking some additional precautions for ensuring his own safety, and that of the army under his command. It is remarkable that, in the following proclamation, announcing the general's intentions to the inhabitants of Rome, no mention whatever is made of the Papal authorities, nor of the established government of the country:—

"Serious and repeated attempts have been committed against French soldiers, whose good conduct and discipline are generally recognized and proclaimed. This audacity on the part of men of disorder is owing to the moderation shown until this day, which signalizes the generosity of France. Since this generosity is not understood, it must give place to a just severity. Consequently, the general commanding the division of occupation in Italy, fixes the following dispositions for the city of Rome and the Comarca:—

"All permissions to carry arms are suppressed. All fire-arms, side-arms, and poignard knives are to be deposited at the *Etat Major de la place* between this and the 17th of May. After which delay domiciliary visits will take place; every inhabitant retaining arms in his possession will be arrested, and brought before a court-martial, to be judged according to the usual laws; and besides the sentence there passed upon him he will be fined fifteen scudi for each weapon found in his house. The proprietors of houses will be responsible for weapons seized in them.

"In the course of Sunday, the 11th May, a great number of individuals were observed in the city, and particularly on the Corso, carrying sticks of such dimensions as to lead to the inference that they contained hidden weapons. Such a kind of threat can no longer be suffered. Men carrying the above-described sticks will be arrested by patrols, which will be ordered for that purpose, and accompanied by agents of police. They will be detained in prison until they have paid the

above-mentioned fine (fifteen scudi). Sticks of a suspicious form are to be deposited at the *Etat Major de la place*. The fines will be paid to the paymaster of the division for the use of the military hospitals. The *Commandant de la place*, the Prefect of Police, and the Provost of the army, are charged with the execution of the present order, towards which the general requests the concurrence of all the officers and subalterns of the army, who, by causing the French uniform to be respected, will exercise a right and fulfil a duty.

"The General commanding the division,

"A. GEMEAU.

"At the head-quarters, Rome, May 12, 1851."

It is a general supposition, that the recent quarrels between the French and Romans are not entirely owing to the national antipathy of the parties, but that a feeling of hostility has been purposely fomented by the agents of the secret police, in order to maintain in full force the detestation with which the citizens and their conquerors have hitherto regarded each other, and to prevent any measure of fraternization taking place between the people and soldiers in case of a change of policy in France. Should a fresh revolution burst forth in that most volcanic of countries, it would no doubt be a great point for the ecclesiastical authorities to be perfectly sure of the movements of the present garrison, and to obtain a safe refuge from popular fury by retiring with General Gemeau into the precincts of the Castle of St. Angelo; for it is a fact, that the Romans look alike on the priests and the French with vindictive exasperation, and would take the first opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on either.

The general disarming of the people has not sufficed to calm the fears of General Gemeau, whose patrols, in company with police agents, begin perambulating the city as soon as it is dark, arresting, searching, and annoying the passers by. The uneasiness of the Government at the unanimous resolution of the inhabitants not to smoke any longer, is displayed by the following document:—

"NOTIFICATION.—Giacomo, of the holy Roman Church, Cardinal Antonelli, Dean of St. Agatha, in Suburra, Pro-Secretary of State of the Holiness of our Lord Pope Pius IX. The insults offered to this peaceable population to prevent it from using tobacco have called the attention of the Government to the best means of guaranteeing the free exercise of legitimate actions, and subjecting as soon as possible the persons guilty of such crimes to their due penalty. Wherefore, according to the orders of his Holiness, we publish the following dispositions. Whoever renders himself guilty of promoting, favouring, or executing any act directed to hinder the free exercise of lawful actions, and so disturb public order, will be subjected to a summary judgment, to carry out the penalties determined by law. The proceedings adopted will aim solely at establishing the impartial proof of the truth of the fact. In the term of twenty-four hours after the compilation of the proceedings, sentence will be passed by the competent tribunal, and put into execution immediately. Those who distribute or divulge intelligence, printed or written, of an alarming nature, or are found in possession of

such printed or written papers, will be subjected to the same form of trial, and punished by being sent to the galleys for a term of from one to three years, *salvo* heavier penalties when the prints or writings assume the character of a deeper crime. The police is charged to adopt all preventive and repressive measures against those who in any way provoke them, and all the authorities will watch over the full execution of the present dispositions.—Given at Rome, in the Secretary of State's office, on the 16th of May, 1851. G. CARDINAL ANTONELLI."

The next mode of annoyance against the Government adopted by the liberals will be the refusal to buy lottery tickets, the Papal treasury deriving an enormous yearly profit from that mode of encouraging the gambling propensities of the people. A great diminution is said to be already observed.

Romish Intolerance.—Religious toleration and reciprocity are approved of when such principles answer the purpose of ecclesiastical schemes abroad; but in the Roman states the plan pursued is different. Two Swiss citizens have recently applied for protection to the British Consul at Ancona (having no consul of their own to appeal to), their religion being the cause of vexatious measures adopted against them by the local authorities, both spiritual and temporal. It is to be regretted that nothing, or next to nothing, can be done for them. One case is that of a Swiss youth, named Rothpletz, who lately arrived at Ancona as assistant to a fellow-countryman, who carries on an extensive business as a baker. This youth is a quiet and inoffensive being, but coming from a suspected part of Switzerland (so it is surmised) he is ordered to quit the country immediately, to the great detriment of his prospects in life, and to the pecuniary loss of his master, who will have to bear his travelling expenses both ways. A Swiss resident of influence in Ancona has succeeded in procuring a delay of eight days, in order that he may communicate with the Swiss representative at Rome upon the subject, as the police at Ancona will not assign any reason for sending the young man (who is a Protestant) out of the country.

The second case relates to a lady of Sinigaglia, who, in 1827, she being then 21 years of age, was married to a Swiss gentleman, named Charles Flournois, with whom she went to reside in the vicinity of Geneva, and was registered and considered as a Swiss citizen, like her husband. In the winter of 1845-46, they proposed a trip to Italy, to visit their Italian friends, when, unfortunately, on their journey M. Flournois was attacked with a severe malady, which ultimately deprived him of his senses, and, in a moment of mental alienation, he precipitated himself from a window, and was killed on the spot. The widow continued her journey to Sinigaglia with her only child, a boy now nine years old, born in Switzerland, and baptized in the Protestant faith of his father. This lady since then has continued to live with her relatives, all of whom are Roman Catholics, and she nominally one also. The priests have now determined to convert this child to their own religion, which the mother opposes, notwithstanding all the menaces of the bishop, as her late husband's will expressly declared that his son should be brought up "in the pure Christian faith, as purged of its gross errors

by the Reformation." She wishes now to fly from the country with her child, which she will not be enabled to effect unless the Swiss government aids her in the effort.

On the 10th April a consistory was held at the Vatican, when Cardinals Fornari and Gousset received their hats, and M. Lucciondi was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, *in part*; M. Scerra, Archbishop of Ancyra, *in part*; M. Baldanzi, Bishop of Volterra; M. Cordova, Bishop of Pace, in South America; M. Florenti, Bishop of Costa Rica, South America; M. Sarrebeyroseze, Bishop of Etalonia, *in part*.

On April 8th, the Congregation of Rites held a meeting for the approbation of the martyrdom and miracles of Jean de Britto, Jesuit, missionary at Madura in the seventeenth century, preparatory to his canonization.

M. Perret, a French artist, has made a large and valuable collection of drawings from the subterranean relics of ancient Rome. He traces the origin of the conventional representations of our Lord, and the apostles, and saints. Many of the subjects are of the second and third centuries. It is proposed to publish this collection in France at the expense of the state.

By a decree of the Congregation of Rites, the worship of the "blessed" Laurence de Ripafracta, a Dominican friar, has been fully authorized. The beatification of Ægidius of S. Joseph, and Vincenti Romana, are going through the regular stages.

Ceremonies of Holy Week.—The following item of Romish news is from the pen of the "Daily News" correspondent:—

"The religious ceremonies of the Holy Week commenced with the customary blessing and distribution of palms by the Pope, which took place in St. Peter's Church, instead of the narrow limits of the Sixtine Chapel, as heretofore. A great number of foreigners were present. The procession of cardinals, bishops, state officers, and foreign dignitaries, which accompanied the portable throne of his Holiness up the vast nave of the Basilica was of unwonted length, the whole of the *corps diplomatique*, with General Gemeau, and the principal officers of his staff, in full uniform, with palm-leaves in their hands, following in the train of the ecclesiastics; and last of all a select band of English Catholics, likewise bearing palms, some of whom were dressed in black, as was Lord Feilding; and others, amongst whom was Lord Campden, displayed the splendour of deputy-lieutenants' and militia uniforms to the admiring Romans."

The subjoined rescript, enjoining collections in Rome towards meeting the expenses of erecting a Roman Catholic cathedral in London, has recently been issued:—

"Constantino Patrizi, by the mercy of God Bishop of Albano, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Archpriest of the Patriarchal Church of St. Maria Maggiore, Vicar-General of his Holiness our Lord, and Ordinary Judge of the Roman Tribunal and its district—

"The mission to England at present attracts the religious attention of every Catholic, and especially that of the Romans, who so distinguish themselves by their zeal and piety. The numerous conversions which

have lately taken place in that kingdom, and the good-will and tendency towards the true faith which is already manifested there by so many others, ought to fill with zeal, joy, and grateful pleasure the minds of all good men ; but the want of churches, especially in London, is a great obstacle not only to the propagation, but also to the preservation of the Catholic faith in that metropolis. The Italians, who are very numerous there, feel in a special manner the evils of so great a deprivation, and the necessity of a church in which to congregate. In consequence of this privation, and the greater number from their poverty being unable to pay the tribute which is generally demanded for an entrance into the English Catholic Churches, and the limited accommodation there assigned them not being sufficient, they find themselves in the painful alternative of either renouncing all religious practices, or of joining the Protestant Churches.

"The Holiness of our Lord Pope Pius IX., in his provident zeal for the good of religion, and of souls, having approved of the project of building in that capital a church commensurate with the wants of the Italians as to size and central locality, and having by circulars to the end of the year 1848, exhorted the Bishops to obtain donations for that most noble design, we, with notifications of the 16th of March of that year recommended to the inhabitants of this metropolis so good a work, and we commanded the superiors of each church, not excluding the regular Clergy, to make collections for it, ordering them to remit the amount of the collections to his Eminence the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide.

"Well-known distressing political circumstances having impeded the prosperous results which were anticipated, and the necessity now being most urgent of a larger sum of money to complete the payment of the site, and to commence immediately the building of the aforesaid church, we again appeal to the pious generosity of the Romans to contribute with those means which each has to a work so honourable for Italy, and so urgent and necessary for the circumstances of London.

"The holy Father, in order to give a greater stimulus to the piety of the faithful towards this object, has granted, with the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, on the 9th of March inst., the indulgence of 200 days to whoever shall contribute any donation for the above object. We recommend, however, to the reverend preachers and curates to excite with special exhortation the charity of the faithful to contribute to the great work ; and we commend, at the same time, all the superiors of every church in Rome, including those of the regulars, to establish in their churches collections in the manner and time most convenient, to commence with the present Lent, and to continue for a year, putting the money into the hands of the Sacred Cardinal Prefect, &c., or of Monsignore his Secretary.

"Dated from our residence, March 26, 1851,

"Cardinal Vicar, GIUSEPPE TARNASSE,
Canon Secretary."

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—Among the books recently condemned by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, are the Italian translation of the *Chronological Dictionary* by d'Harmonville, Dr. Whately's *Elements of Logic*, Mr. Hobart Seymour's *Pilgrimage to Rome*, and Henry's *History of the Institutions of the Egyptians under their National Kings*.

An incident of an alarming character occurred at the Church of St. Prassede, on the 27th of March, where a mission had been just opened for the inhabitants of the Quartier des Monts. Whilst a Franciscan friar was preaching, a bomb was thrown into the church, and burst in one of the side aisles, fortunately without injuring any one.

The alarming explosion at the Church of Santa Prassede, was followed up by a scene of another, but not less singular kind, in the ancient Basilica of Santa Maria, in Trastevere, where a preacher of the order of missionaries succeeded in working up his hearers to an unwonted pitch of fear and contrition at their misdeeds, and informed them that a collection of such miserable sinners had no longer any right to insult the Divinity by appearing in his holy house and presence. He, therefore, invited them all to leave the church, and, setting them the example himself, he came down from the pulpit, and led his wondering congregation into the Piazza, where some time was occupied in prayers or processions. Finally, he informed them that, by the intercession of the holy mother of God, he hoped they were more worthy of returning into the church, and, accordingly, he knocked at the door, (which had been shut meanwhile,) and obtained admittance for himself and his flock, who were surprised to find a large image of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by lighted tapers, exactly opposite the entrance. The usual cry of "Miracolo" saluted this change of place on the part of the statue, and salutary effects are asserted to have already shown themselves in consequence amongst some hardened Trasteverini offenders, whose consciences have been touched by so great a prodigy!

An extraordinary congregation, or commission, composed of six Cardinals, has been appointed by the Pope for the purpose of inquiring into the moral state of the convents, and reporting on the best mode of reforming the abuses which have crept into these establishments.

The order of confirmation, according to the rite of the Church of England, was performed lately in the English chapel, outside the Porta del Popolo, by the Right Rev. Dr. Spencer, late Bishop of Madras, fifteen persons (of whom fourteen were young ladies) being confirmed on the occasion. It was apprehended at first, in consequence of some vague rumour to that effect, that the Papal Government would have interfered with the ceremony, on account of its affording example of a British Protestant Bishop exercising his episcopal functions at Rome—the see, *par excellence*, of his Holiness. The Roman authorities, however, proceeded to no such imprudent step, the consequence

of which, in the present state of public opinion in England, would, of course, have been incalculably prejudicial to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church.

TUSCANY.—Concordat with Rome.—By a recent Concordat with Rome, the Papacy has acquired a vast extension of jurisdiction in Tuscany. At the same time, the Tuscan Government has repressed by force the attendance of the people at Protestant worship.

Count Guicciardini has been arrested at Florence, and committed to the common felons' prison, for the offence of reading and expounding the Bible, with which he had been made acquainted through the English residents.

In January last, by order of the authorities at Florence, numbers of persons were formally prohibited, by a document called a *precetto*, from attending Protestant service at the Swiss church. The Italian service in that church, usually performed for the benefit of Italian Swiss, was ordered to be suspended; and a large number of persons were thus deprived of their usual religious ceremonies. Herr von Reumont, the Prussian envoy, a Roman Catholic, was consulted by the consistory, in his character of protector to the Swiss Church; and, in reply, advised the temporary suspension of the service. In doing so, he admitted the right of the Tuscan Government to act in direct contradiction to the Constitution sworn to by the Grand Duke, which stipulates, amongst other things, complete tolerance for every creed. In the correspondence between the Prussian minister and the consistory, the latter stigmatized the presence of Tuscan policemen at the Swiss chapel as an insult to the King of Prussia, and asked permission to have in future the Prussian arms exhibited over the doors of the chapel. They urged in strong terms the right of a large number of Italian Protestants to a religious service in their own language, and declared their intention to appeal to the king directly, if the minister gave no satisfactory reply.

The consistory then indulged hopes that their correspondence with Herr von Reumont would be submitted to the king at Berlin, and they were not mistaken; but he so mutilated portions of it as to paralyze its effect.

In fact from what we have elsewhere remarked, the influence of Jesuitism at present appears to be predominant in Prussia. The hostility of Herr von Reumont is evident from the report he drew up to present to the king, and communicated to the consistory on the 8th of May. In this document he described the steps he had taken with the Tuscan ministry, in view of obtaining permission to perform the Italian service, a boon which he said might be granted if the consistory consented to admit to the service by tickets, *exclude every Italian*, keep the service private, and let all doors be closed as soon as proceedings commenced.

The consistory refused to give their assent to this report, and asked for two days to deliberate. At first this delay was granted, but before its expiration the Prussian minister sent word that he had been unable

to wait, and had sent up his report to Berlin, adding that if his proposals were not accepted, he would take no further steps with the Tuscan government.

Thus, the celebration of Protestant worship has been stopped. The pastor of a flock has been ordered out of the country, merely because he had assembled some of his congregation after service to read and explain portions of Scripture to them. His curate has been taken to gaol, and subsequently marched between gendarmes for seven days like a felon, and made to cross on foot the whole of Pisa, Lucca, Pietra Santa, Massa (in which state he was ironed), and Sarzana. His crime was that of assisting in reading the Scriptures for his colleague, who has been exiled.

L'Ami de la Religion states, that "many persons known by the exaltation of their political notions, have been arrested at Florence as guilty of having laboured to promote Protestantism in Tuscany."

In 1838, the British representative at Florence obtained leave to open a private chapel for Anglican worship. In January last, a formal complaint was addressed to the Hon. P. C. Scarlett, by the Duke de Casigliano, that "persons other than British subjects had been admitted, and that praying and catechising in the Italian language had been introduced, to the weakening of the Catholic religion"—*threatening to close the chapel*. It turns out that this accusation was wholly "groundless and erroneous." Lord Palmerston, in a spirited note to Mr. Shiel, exposes "the intolerant spirit manifested in the Duke of Casigliano's communication," and contrasts it with "the liberal and enlightened system which prevails in the United Kingdom in regard to the exercise of religious belief."

Mexico.—An American writer, quoted in the *Banner of the Cross*, gives the following description of a treasure he was permitted to see on a recent visit to Mexico Cathedral:—

"By special favour they showed us every thing; among others the custodian, in which the consecrated host is exposed on certain occasions. It cost 200,000 dollars, but is worth 500,000; and you will not wonder at this when I inform you that it is full four feet high, made of solid gold, and studded with precious stones. The pedestal is a foot and a half square, inlaid with diamonds and rubies. At each corner is the golden figure of an angel, exquisitely carved; around his waist and neck are strings of the finest pearls; his wings are inlaid or covered with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In his right hand he holds sheaves of wheat, made of yellow topaz: in his left, bunches of grapes, made of amethysts. The shaft is also studded with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. The upper part, containing the host, is made to represent the sun, and is a foot and half in circumference; the rays that emanate on one side are made entirely of diamonds of the first water, beginning with some of large size, and gradually tapering off. The cross that surmounts the top is also on this side made of diamonds, and

is superb. On the other side, both the cross and the rays are of the most beautiful emeralds—perhaps larger than the diamonds.”

PORTUGAL.—*Papal Diplomacy.*—A correspondent of the “Times” thus writes from Lisbon, in reference to the “Papal aggression” upon Portugal:—

“This aggression upon Portugal consists in the Pope’s attempt to deprive the Archbishopric of Goa of its jurisdiction over the Roman Catholic Church in those adjacent possessions which have passed from Portugal to the dominion of the English and Dutch. The Pope had evidently attempted to tamper with Archbishop Torres before he went to Goa, but he, upon his arrival, insisted upon maintaining intact the rights of the Portuguese Crown; he would not allow the Pope’s Vicars-Apostolic to usurp the jurisdiction of his Archbishopric, and, so far as the English possessions are concerned, it appears the Archbishop’s spiritual authority was acknowledged, and the Pope’s innovations disallowed. The Holy See is, however, never at a loss to compass its ends, and therefore the Nuncio in Lisbon adopted the Count of Thomar’s party, and the Count being appointed by the Ministry to arrange the affair with the Nuncio, Archbishop Torres was recalled from Goa, with the consent of the Government, and no other successor being appointed to that distant See, the Pope can in the mean time play his cards in India just as he likes.”

SPAIN.—*Concordat with the Pope.*—The concordat with the Pope, the ratification of which took place on the 11th instant, between Monsignor Brunelli and Senor Bertran de Lis, was published the following day. The following is a statement of its chief provisions:—

“Art. 1 declares that the Roman Catholic religion, being the sole worship of the Spanish nation, to the exclusion of all others, shall be maintained for ever, with all the rights and prerogatives which it ought to enjoy, according to the law of God and the dispositions of the sacred canons.

“Art. 2 deposes that all instruction in universities, colleges, seminaries, and public or private schools, shall be conformable to Catholic doctrine; and that no impediment shall be put in the way of the Bishops, &c., whose duty is to watch over the purity of doctrine and of manners, and over the religious education of youth even in the public schools.

“Art. 3. The authorities to give every support to the Bishops and other ministers in the exercise of their duties, and the Government to support the Bishops when called on, whether ‘in opposing themselves to the malignity of men who seek to pervert the minds of the faithful and corrupt their morals, or in impeding the publication, introduction, and circulation of bad and dangerous books.’

“The subsequent articles refer to the new arrangement of archbishoprics and bishoprics. An archbishopric of Valladolid is created in

addition to the existing archbishoprics of Toledo, Burgos, Granada, Santiago, Seville, Tarragona, Valencia, and Zaragoza. Eight Bishoprics are suppressed, and three new ones—those of Madrid, Ciudad-Real, and Vittoria—created. The dotation of the archbishops ranges from 160,000 to 180,000 reals, and that of bishops from 110,000 to 80,000. The dotation of the other dignitaries, &c., is also fixed.

"The 29th article provides for the establishment by the Government of certain religious houses and congregations, specifying those of San Vicente Paul, San Felipe Neri, and 'some other one of those approved by the Holy See;' the object being stated to be that there may be always a sufficient number of ministers and evangelical labourers for home and foreign missions, &c., and also that they may serve as places of retirement for ecclesiastics, in order to perform spiritual exercises and other pious works.

"Art. 30 refers to religious houses for women, in which those who are called to a contemplative life may follow their vocation, and others may follow that of assistance to the sick, education, and other pious and useful works; and directs the preservation of the institution of Daughters of Charity, under the direction of the clergy of San Vicente Paul, the Government to endeavour to promote the same; religious houses in which education of children and other works of charity are added to a contemplative life also to be maintained; and, with respect to other orders, the Bishops of the respective dioceses to propose the cases in which the admission and profession of noviciates should take place, and the exercises of education or of charity which should be established in them.

"The 35th article declares that the Government shall provide, by all suitable means, for the support of the religious houses, &c., for men, and that, with respect to those for women, all the unsold convent property is at once to be returned to the Bishops in whose dioceses it is, as their representatives; but it adds, that in attention to the circumstances of the case, his Holiness disposes that the property shall be sold by the Bishops, and the proceeds invested in untransferable three per cent. Inscriptions, to be distributed among the convents, in proportion to their wants and circumstances, the Government to make up any deficiency in the pensions of those who have a right to them.

"The dotation of the secular clergy is provided for by the 38th article, which recites the provisions of the existing law on that head passed in 1849, but it also adds that whatever property belonging to the Church, including that of the religious communities of men, which remains unsold, and which has not been restored under the law of 1845, shall now be restored forthwith; but, as in the instance of the convent property above mentioned, his Holiness disposes that it shall be sold and invested in the three per cent. stock for the use of the Church.

"By the 39th article, the Government are to make proper dispositions that those amongst whom the property of pious foundations and endowments has been distributed, shall secure the means of fulfilling those

charges, and the same with those who have purchased ecclesiastical property liable to those charges.

"Article 40 declares that all the property and revenues above mentioned belong to the Church, and shall be enjoyed and administered by the clergy, and provides for the funds of the Cruzada, &c., being administered by the Bishops.

"Article 41 says, 'The Church shall besides have the right to acquire property by any lawful title, and its property in all that it possesses now or may acquire in future shall be solemnly respected. Consequently, as regards the old and new ecclesiastical foundations, there shall not be any suppression or union without the intervention of the authority of the Holy See, saving the faculties belonging to the Bishops according to the Holy Council of Trent.'

"The 42nd article guarantees the purchasers and present holders of ecclesiastical property, sold under the civil dispositions existing at the time, in the quiet possession of it, free from all molestation on the part of his Holiness or his successors.

"This document was drawn up, March 16, by the parties who have now exchanged ratifications."

The dotation of the clergy and of public worship, as fixed by the bill of 1840, amounts to 154,000,000 reals; but it is computed by parties who have examined the new concordat, and the increased scale of many of the sums assigned in it, that there will be an increase of expenditure under this head of 36,000,000 of reals.

The capital of the estates restored or assigned to the Church is estimated as follows:—

	Reals.
Possessions of secular clergy, originally estimated at	2,000,000,000
Deduct sold up to July, 1844, when the sales were suspended	470,000,000
Value of property restored	1,530,000,000
Ditto, estimated value of encomiendas and maestrasgos of military orders	280,000,000
Ditto, estates of religious communities of men	260,187,325
Ditto, hermitages, sanctuaries, &c.	126,715,436
	<hr/> 2,196,902,811

The estates (unsold) belonging to the religious communities of women were estimated at 357,184,892 reals.

It is asserted that many of the minister's best supporters contemplate the desertion of his standard, on account of the concordat. Even many of the Carlist party are said to be indignant at the humiliation of the nation. The Pope's nuncio receives 100,000 reals a year as president of the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Rota, a tribunal which has to judge of ecclesiastical affairs. Besides his regular pay, he has a

number of perquisites. Whenever any of the suppressed order of monks wishes to obtain permission to offer himself as a candidate for a curacy, he must pay the Pope's nuncio three dollars. His Holiness's representative has in this manner extracted 40,000 dollars from the Spanish clergy. There are dispensations and indulgences at the rate of 60,000 reals, without mentioning those which belong to the general agency office of indulgences for marriages, &c., of which there are no less than 477 degrees, varying in price from 2000 to 44,000 reals, and for which the Spanish nation pays 12 millions a year. It appears, also, that the abolition of the commissionership of the crusade was, in a great measure, owing to the manoeuvres of the Pope's nuncio, into whose hands a great deal of the lucrative business of that department will now fall.

Intelligence of a somewhat alarming nature has come from Zaragoza. Symptoms of discontent had sprung up among the people, which induced the authorities to redouble their vigilance, besides adopting every military precaution likely to check a popular movement should it be attempted. The cause of this sudden change in the aspect of things there, as elsewhere, can only be ascribed to the concordat, in proportion as its unacceptable stipulations become more generally known, because the people at large were sick at heart of riots; but, of course, the unquiet spirits, those who only thrive by such events, take advantage of the treaty in question to work on the passions and raise up the ire of the working and industrious classes. "*La Nacion*" insists that, according to former precedents, the concordat cannot be considered the law of the land until the Cortes give their sanction, because the authority conferred on ministers by both Chambers in May, 1849, for entering into the negotiation did not mean that any law should be revoked without the previous consent of the legislature. Even Napoleon, who signed a concordat with Pope Pius VII. on the 15th July, 1801, did not consider it as the law of the land until the 8th of April of the following year, after the Legislative Assembly had approved it. The concordat which Louis XVIII. adjusted with the same Pope on the 16th of July, 1817, was submitted to the Chambers by his Cabinet on the 22nd of November following, and thrown out, so that he was compelled to abandon it. The concordat adjusted by Philip V. of Spain was never carried into effect, and had to be replaced by another many years afterwards. This concordat affair may bring trouble and disquietude on Spain.

The dissatisfaction generally felt is increased by the suspicion of a secret article, providing for the restoration of the whole of the eighteen orders of monks and friars by which Spain was formerly infested; so as to give to each order at least one convent in every province, and to establish a Papal militia of some 28,000 men at the public expense.

The religious ceremonies of the Holy Week were celebrated with the usual pomp in all the churches of Madrid. The Queen washed the feet of six poor men in the royal chapel, and at four o'clock Her Majesty, accompanied by the King and the entire Court, left the palace to perform the seven stations.

A mysterious and tragical affair has caused a great sensation at Madrid. An ex-minister and ex-ambassador, suspecting an intrigue between his wife and an ecclesiastic, a near relative of one of the highest dignitaries of the Spanish Church, laid wait for his rival, and having surprised him on his criminal errand ran him through the body with a dagger. The corpse was conveyed away and interred with much haste and secrecy, and every effort was made to hush up the affair, and to baffle the endeavours of the civil magistrate to institute an inquiry.

A Madrid daily paper relates a strange story of Spanish ideas of religious liberty in connexion with an English manufacturer, residing in San Felice de Guisols, a town situated between Barcelona and Rosas. It appears the gentleman in question sought the hand of a young lady in marriage, but the curate refused to solemnize the marriage unless he first turned Roman Catholic, and with his father's consent. The latter, however, threatened him with disinheritance if he changed his religion :—

"In this terrible dilemma he proceeded to Barcelona, and, after consulting the English consul there, was duly married by that functionary, in accordance with the Consular Marriage Act of 1849. This step taken, the happy pair returned home, with the certificate of their nuptials, and passport *en règle*. For a time they lived together unmolested; but their happiness did not last long. The curate, enraged at what had occurred, complained to the Bishop, who ordered the separation of the bride and bridegroom. They refused to obey the mandate, and he then had recourse to the civil governor of the province, who directed the alcalde of San Felice to carry the separation into effect. This official, however, confined himself to giving them notice, and was in consequence prosecuted with the Englishman and his wife. The former had recourse to his consul, who reported the affair to the British minister in Madrid, who, in his turn, applied to the Spanish Government for redress. Lord Palmerston had passed various communications upon the subject to our Government, which has referred it to the Royal Council. It appears that the Ministers of the Interior of Foreign Affairs, and of Grace and Justice, have given contrary opinions, and that the Royal Council has decided that the separation shall take place until a dispensation is obtained from the Bishop to enable the curate to solemnize the marriage according to the Roman Catholic ritual."

SWITZERLAND.—The speech of Sir Robert Peel, in the debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, has elicited a reply from Monsignor Luquet, Bishop of Hésebon, and Apostolic Nuncio at Switzerland, at the time of the war of the Sonderbund. The bishop reminds the young baronet that he was bound to respect the religion professed over the whole universe by 160,000,000 of Catholics :—

"Now, you have not done this—you have forgotten yourself to such a degree as to treat that very Christian truth as 'idolatry' and 'superstitious mummary.' You have forgotten yourself so far as to hold up

to ridicule, in the description of an imaginary and impossible picture, one of the greatest names of Christian ages—St. Gregory VII.—whose glory has been so extolled by German Protestantism itself."

After declaring his belief that the aggression of Pius IX. has for its object the relief of freemen from the slavery of infidelity, "for the freemen of England the single but ardent desire of Pius IX., as of all of us, is to break in pieces the chains under which, in the name of liberty, Protestantism crushes your souls." The Bishop hopes, for the sake of his soul, soon to number Sir Robert among "the number of the faithful devoted to the Roman unity;" and then proceeds to correct the diplomatist's version of what he saw as *chargé-d'affaires* in Switzerland.

The Popish party appears to be generally depressed in Switzerland. M. Marrilley remains in exile. The Roman Catholic Cantons have consented to send deputations to Zurich. *L'Ami de la Religion* is inconsolable at the humiliation of those Cantons, and their submission to the central authorities. It has received the most afflicting accounts of the state of instruction in the Canton of Geneva. "Catholic" books are every where suppressed, and replaced by Protestant works; the Roman Catholic Catechism is no longer taught in schools, and the inspector of Romish schools is a high Protestant!

The Swiss Protestants.—The letter addressed by the Bishop of London to the Marquess of Cholmondeley, offering to place certain proprietary chapels at the service of foreign Protestant ministers during their stay in London, has elicited letters from M. Duby, Pastor of the National Church of Geneva, Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, and Archdeacon Baggesen, Vice-President of the Ecclesiastical Synod of the Swiss Reformed Church, who have written to express the lively joy created by this recognition of brotherhood with the Evangelical Churches on the Continent on the part of the English Church.

UNITED STATES.—The following statistics are taken from the journal of the General Convention of 1850:—

"Churches consecrated in three years, 155; Priests ordained, 228; Deacons, 221;—total, 449. Candidates for orders in seventeen dioceses (New York, New Jersey, and Virginia, among those not reported), 120; confirmations, 18,937; clergy (1850) in twenty-nine dioceses, 1558; baptisms, adults, in twenty-four dioceses, 5957; infants in ditto, 33,072; not specified in four dioceses, 3896—total, 42,925. Communicants added in eight dioceses, 4987—total ditto in twenty-eight dioceses (New York omitted), 79,802; marriages in twenty dioceses, 3420; burials in twenty dioceses, 16,233; Sunday school teachers in seventeen dioceses, 4520; Sunday school pupils in nineteen dioceses, 38,603; clergy deceased in sixteen dioceses, 43."

The Bishop of Oxford has received from Bishop Chase, of Illinois, the presiding Bishop of the American Church, a reply to the communication of the protest of the Diocesan Meeting at Oxford on the Papal aggression, in which the venerable Bishop says:—

"The estimation in which your excellent father was held by good Lords Gambier and Bexley, my once best of earthly friends, now doubtless in Paradise, makes me confident that they would join me in most heartily commending the 'protest' your lordship has made against the invasion of the Pope (recently set forth) on the faith and primitive discipline of the Protestant Church of England.

"May the Lord of Hosts bless your Lordship and all the Clergy and laity of your diocese in opposing this 'man of sin,' whether he work by secret machinations or by open force, and may you be crowned with triumph in everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The Archbishop of Canterbury has addressed a circular to the Bishops of the American Church, inviting them to join in the approaching jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as a means of "keeping alive and diffusing a missionary spirit, and so, under the Divine blessing, enlarging the borders of the Redeemer's kingdom." His Grace observes that, in making this proposal, no gift is sought, but only Christian sympathy and communion in prayers, and that it is wished that any alms which the American congregations might add to their prayers, should be appropriated to the relief of the pressing needs of their own church. The first response to this invitation has been made by the Bishop of Maryland, who, reserving any more definite plan of action until he shall have taken counsel with his brother Bishops, at once promises to 'recommend the observation of the Jubilee Sunday throughout his diocese.' In the course of his letter he says,—

"Our debt of gratitude to the venerable Society is owned with pleasure and filial pride. It will be doubly gratifying to make the recognition of that debt the occasion for adding another to the bonds by which we are so closely bound to our brethren in Great Britain, and her many colonies and dependencies."

Dr. Henshaw, the Bishop of Rhode Island, acknowledges, with "cordial approbation," the receipt of the Bishop of Oxford's protest against Papal aggression:—

"This act, clearly opposed as it is to the canons and usages of the Catholic Church, will doubtless be condemned by all Bishops not of the Roman obedience as schismatical and wicked. Whether it would be practicable to obtain the opinion of any considerable number of the Oriental Bishops I have no means of forming a judgment; and many of them have suffered so severely from the encroachments and treachery of Rome, that they can feel little sympathy for her. The Church in this country, however, gratefully acknowledging the Church of England as a mother to whom she is deeply indebted, under God, for her first foundation, and a long continuance of nursing, ease, and protection, deeply sympathizes with her venerable parent in all the vicissitudes of her lot, and laments the present sufferings, whether arising from treachery within or assaults from without, as if they were her own. Many true hearts here offer up before the throne of grace fervent prayers for pro-

tection and blessing on behalf of the Bishops, Clergy, and people of our fatherland in this their time of need.

"The protest adopted in Oxford, manly and firm in its language, and at the same time temperate in its spirit, seems to me to be a document well suited to the crisis; and it is to be hoped the example may be followed in the other dioceses of the United Church of the British empire."

The *Banner of the Cross* announces another loss to the American Church in the death of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis. The following notice bears the impress of the familiar initials G. W. D. :—

"Scarcely has the grave closed over the remains of the beloved Ogilby, when the Church is called to renew her grief by the grave of the venerable Dr. Jarvis. It was a great thing to possess, in two men, such treasures of learning, enforced by the highest principles, and adorned by every Christian grace. How mysterious the Providence, which, within two months, withdrew them both from among us! What riches must be his, who can spare from his Church such men! Truly he is a God that hideth Himself!

"Dr. Jarvis seemed to be among our oldest Presbyters. The son of the venerable Bishop of Connecticut; admitted early to Holy Orders; the companion and assistant of his father, even before he was ordained; and, ever since, the companion and assistant of older men, he seemed to us all much older than sixty-five. There was in him a gravity of person, a solemnity and a fulness of wisdom, that sustained this impression. The present writer undertakes no detail of the useful and honourable life of Dr. Jarvis. His acquaintance with him was through a period of more than thirty years. It was his privilege to be his pupil; and the debt of love, contracted then, could never be repaid. Dr. Jarvis was then the rector of St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale; and the very model of a country parson. He became one of the four professors in the General Theological Seminary; and none who sat at his feet as pupils will ever cease to remember, with grateful pleasure, the fulness and accuracy of the scholar, the assiduity and suggestiveness of the teacher, the blandness and dignity of the gentleman. Brought up among books, and living in the atmosphere of his large and well-selected library, it was his delight to pour from his own fulness into the minds of the young. And those whom he taught as pupils he conciliated and secured as friends. Dr. Jarvis has held some of the highest places in the Church. In the General Convention he always exercised a wide and wholesome influence. At the instance of that body he undertook to prepare a history of the Church; and had published two volumes, and made extensive preparations for the remainder of the work, when he was called to his rest. To the whole Church it is an irretrievable disappointment. It may be doubted if he has left one so well qualified for that high and responsible enterprise. But it is not for us to doubt or to distrust, when God has spoken. Let us rather thank Him that He has lent us so long the talents, the wisdom, the

learning, the courtesy, the dignity, the purity, the piety, which must ever consecrate, to all who knew him, the memory of Dr. Jarvis. The present writer has known him as few knew him, and loved him even better than he knew him. Kindly will he cherish his memory. Humbly will he emulate his excellence. Fervently will he pray that he may follow him, as he was the follower of Christ. 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' "

The Baptist Coloured Church at Buffalo has suffered a large diminution of its members in consequence of the Fugitive Slave Law :—

"One hundred and thirty of the communicants, as we are informed by the pastor, left the place from fear of arrest on the charge of being fugitive slaves, and have passed over to Canada. The Methodist Church, in the same place, has lost a considerable number of its members from the same cause. There is said to be amongst these more disposition to make a stand and to evade and resist the law than among their Baptist brethren. Somebody had advised them to arm themselves and defend their liberty. The Baptist pastor, however, told his people that he found in the Gospel examples which justified running away, but no examples which warranted fighting. The Coloured Baptist Church at Rochester, which formerly numbered one hundred and fourteen communicants, has lost them all except two since the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. The pastor, a native Kentuckian, was the first to flee, and the whole flock followed him. The Coloured Baptist Church at Detroit has lost eighty-four of its members from the same cause. They abandon their homes and their occupations, sell such property as they cannot conveniently carry with them, and seek refuge in Canada."

It was generally reported that Dr. Hughes, Romish Archbishop of New York, was to be made a Cardinal, but no such appointment has taken place as yet. Dr. Eccleston, Romish Archbishop of Baltimore, died on April 26th. His funeral, which passed through Philadelphia, was attended by his clergy in full costume, and the President of the United States, with his ministers, and the diplomatic body, formed part of the funeral procession.

WEST INDIES.—Lord Harris has determined upon carrying out a course of Government secular instruction at Trinidad, totally irrespective of religion. At a council held on the 2nd of April, the Governor laid before the board, in a message, an outline of his plans, which, to carry into effect, the Attorney-General would follow up by a series of resolutions. They are simply the machinery for normal schools of three grades (primary, superior, and collegiate), to afford the rising generation instruction in languages, grammar, geography, arithmetic, science, and morals; every thing but religion, which latter is to be ignored because of the community being divided among Christians, Mahommedans, Gentoos, and Heathens, and the Fetish. As Lord Harris cannot consent that the Bible should be "considered a

banished book," an unobjectionable selection is to be made, as his lordship in no way yields "to the notion that, as the word of God, the whole of it may not be consulted by all for their religious instruction." At an earlier part of the proceedings, the Attorney-General presented a petition from the Wesleyans, praying for an annual grant of 200*l*, for educational purposes, which, he gave notice, he should move the consent of the board to at their next meeting.

M. Laherpeur, the newly-appointed bishop of the See of Martinique, just erected by the Pope, has arrived at St. Pierre, Martinique, and been received by the authorities with great ceremony.

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THE
ENGLISH REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Lectures on the Four Gospels Harmonized.* By the Rev. L. VERNON HARCOURT, M.A., Author of the "*Doctrine of the Deluge.*" 3 vols. London: Rivingtons.

THERE is a peculiar character in the tone of genuine Anglican theology, corresponding, in some degree, to the distinctive national temperament. It has not the grace, and finish, and polished elegance which may be found elsewhere. It lacks the subtle and acute reasoning, the enormous labour, and the audacious speculation, which may in other lands have been exhibited. Its style is grave and unaffected, its reasoning solid and substantial; not descending to minute refinements, or far-fetched and abstract speculations. Its appeal is to a reason and a faith, neither influenced by passion, enchained by bigotry, nor puffed-up by self-confidence. And such a theology is evidently adapted on the whole to the wants of Englishmen. It partakes of their solid and practical character. It has no passion or transcendentalism in its expressions or its theories; its moderation is that of its nation, and its sobriety is that of the New Testament itself.

We are speaking of genuine English theology—of the writings of those men who have formed the national mind—the Hookers, and Ushers, and Taylors, the Beveridges and Bulls, and other worthies of the English Church. It may be that a Petavius, a Vasquez, a Bellarmine, a Bossuet, a Chamier, a Grotius, or a Gerhard may have exhibited a more ponderous erudition, or a more subtle casuistry; that a Schleiermacher, or a Strauss, or a Möhhler may have carried speculation to further and remoter depths; but taking it all in all, the English theology is such as perhaps no other nation has equalled. It is especially in the interpretation and illustration of the word of God, that England has been long conspicuous: not indeed in mere verbal and grammatical criticism—that criticism which has elsewhere been pushed to the most dangerous extremes, but in the gathering up the lessons of truth and of duty comprised in the sacred text, and applying them to the varying controversies and other circumstances around us. Here indeed is the glory of English theology—that it is emphatically scriptural—that it is guided by Scripture—submits its opinions to the word of God—and labours to bring home that word, in its integrity and simplicity, to the hearts of the people. It lays aside the subtleties and the formalities of a

more systematic and logical theology to follow in the traces marked out for it by the Holy Scriptures ; and it finds in the sentiments of the early Christians a confirmation of the correctness and soundness of this course. To employ the words of one of the most excellent of our divines—"The result has been a combination of mental freedom and mental discipline ; of adherence to all that has received the concurrent stamp of ages past ; and of openness to all those intellectual improvements with which the goodness of Providence may yet be pleased to bless posterity¹."

It is a matter for no ordinary congratulation, that amidst the turmoils of these stirring and exciting times, and amidst the flights of publications of a trivial, exciting, superficial, or transitory character, which surround us, there should be from time to time some few works executed which may suffice to carry on the succession of sound English theology ; and to maintain its general tone and character, without any alteration except that which is rendered necessary to adapt it to modern tastes and the peculiar circumstances of the age. In respect to the important subject of a Gospel Harmony, we have in the course of some years been favoured with two works which are entitled to take their place amongst our standard theology. The one is the well-known Critical Dissertations of the Rev Edward Greswell on the Harmony of the Gospels ; a work, the research and learning of which is only rivalled by its masterly and elaborate argument : and, to omit other works of merit, we have, in the three large and closely printed volumes of Mr. Vernon Harcourt, now before us, a Commentary on the Gospels Harmonized, which is characterized by many excellencies of a high order ; an unostentatious learning, a sobriety of judgment, a moderation of tone, and a practical and devotional spirit ; which place it, in our opinion, amongst the most valuable accessions made of late years to our theological literature.

The general form of the work is that of a series of "Lectures," or Homilies on portions of the Gospels arranged according to their supposed chronological order. These Homilies themselves are to a great extent exegetical, and bring to bear on the interpretation of Scripture a large amount of research and learning ; displayed, however, chiefly in its results, and refraining from the introduction of details only suited for the learned reader. It is thus, at once, learned and popular in its character ; and it does not refuse the aids of modern science in its illustrations and arguments, while it preserves throughout the reverential tone of the elder theology, repels the vain speculations of mystic and sceptical

¹ Bishop Jebb, Pastoral Instructions, pp. 279, 280.

systems; upholds the great essentials not only of Christian faith but of Christian discipline; and in building justification through faith only on the merits of Christ, is careful to urge the duty of Christian obedience, and the need of sanctification through the Spirit.

Mr. Harcourt thus explains his views in the preface :—

“By harmonizing the narratives of the Evangelists several advantages are gained: they lend light to each other in the explanation of things which would else be obscure. It contributes much to the settlement of chronological difficulties; needless repetitions are avoided, and when any thing is repeated we are sure that the topic is of great importance in the sight of God. . . . But if it is sometimes difficult to explain the full meaning of Scripture without the comparison of parallel passages, it is still more difficult to deduce from it just inferences, at least, inferences which will commend themselves by their obvious truth to the acceptance of others. For there is always great danger of falling into error by neglecting the exhortation of the wise man—‘Lean not unto thine own understanding.’ I speak not now of that self-reliance on the all-sufficiency of reason which makes sceptics reject Divine assistance, but of those who imagine that they rely entirely upon God, because they pray to be directed by his Holy Spirit. If, indeed, any are bold enough to expect, in answer to their prayer, that plenary inspiration which was imparted to the disciples on the day of Pentecost, I can only say, that they are extremely criminal if they do not at once settle all the theological questions that agitate Christendom, by issuing epistles, like St. Paul, with an authentic revelation of the will of God. But the Protestant Church allows no one this claim of infallibility; for it must be proved by the same token of a divine commission as those which St. Paul exhibited. And yet there is no lack of those who seem to advance this claim, if we may judge by the bitterness with which they assail all who differ from them. They forget that the right of private judgment only permits them to form their own opinions, under a deep sense of their responsibility to God, but not to impose them upon others; that they have no right to say, ‘I believe this, and therefore you must believe it, or I will not hold you to be a Christian.’ But if their pretensions fall lower than this papal infallibility, the seat of which, like the philosopher’s stone, no theological alchemy has been able to discover since the days of the Apostles, otherwise than in false pretence, then there must be some employment of their own understanding, which may mislead them notwithstanding their prayers.”—pp. vii. viii.

From these pretences to inspiration, whether advanced by those who have apostatized to Rome, or by others, the author rightly appeals to the general voice of Christianity.

“Since all lean to their own understandings, all are equally liable to err through its infirmity. If it be asked, How then can any doubt

be resolved? I would ask this question in return, How are other doubts resolved, political, legal, or scientific? On all such subjects men are satisfied to abide by the verdict of the majority, if that majority be considerable, and the jury composed of persons quite competent to judge. And this is just the advantage which the Catholic Church has over every sect or party, which comprises all the true and earnest followers of Christ, from the commencement of his dispensation down to the present time, and not merely the names of a single denomination or a single period. Luther, and Calvin, and Wesley, and others, have been distinguished champions of truth in some of its branches, but they were not apostles; they were not infallible; so far from it, that in some things they greatly erred; nor is there any reason whatever to suppose that they were more faithful, more earnest in prayer, more devoted to the study of Scripture, than Augustine, or Jerome, or Chrysostom, or many of the ancient Fathers of the Church. . . . Therefore I value not the authority of those who build their systems upon the sayings of men, I appeal to the sayings and life of Christ Himself. 'Lord, to whom should we go? thou hast the words of eternal life.' It might perhaps be politic to adopt the language of a party, if I loved the praises of men more than the praise of God: but 'Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,' I acknowledge no party but that of the National Church to which I belong, and which allows ample scope for individual opinions within certain reasonable limits: and may that liberty never be taken away from us by the love of dogmatizing, so long as the object of our speculations is truth, and truth only—the truth as it is in Jesus!"—pp. ix. x.

It is not often that we read words like these in the present day. Men have too generally become so involved in the influence of religious parties, that they have not only lost their natural independence of thought, but have ceased even to vindicate the right to think and act for themselves on the most important questions. Almost every question is now determined in the minds of numbers of pious, conscientious, and well-informed men, not merely with reference to the revealed will of God and the plain and evident teaching of their own Church, but with reference to the course taken by certain leaders of parties. Multitudes of intelligent men, well fitted to exercise an independent judgment, are thus in a great degree led blindfold by their party associations; and persons who may not be invested with piety, or wisdom, or practical sense, superior to that of many of those over whom they exercise influence, are enabled to direct their opinions on many points, through party associations, and through the journals of the day, with almost absolute power. Of course we are aware that the tendency of the spirit of the age is to lawlessness—to an impatience of all authority—to an irritable and exaggerated claim for liberty of thought; and it would be impos-

sible to overrate the evils of such a spirit. The spirit of Christianity is not that of insurrection against authority ; on the contrary, it is the spirit of reverence for and obedience to authority. But if it be so, it is certainly not a spirit of slavish submission to self-created authority, or to the will of individuals, or to authority which is not lawfully constituted ; and a greater evil cannot well be, than to see large numbers of earnest and pious men tied together as a party, and promoting party objects, and animated with party zeal and passion, and unable to act with freedom and independence through fear of party denunciations. In point of fact, it is now not very easy to meet men who are active in the cause of religion, and who at the same time exercise real freedom of thought and action on religious subjects. Even the best men appear to be unable to resist the influence of certain names or journals. You find them, often unconsciously to themselves, led by the permanent or the temporary shibboleth of some set of men ; and throwing their aid, unintentionally, into the cause of certain principles and objects, which they would not approve if they were fully known, and fairly judged of. Unfortunately we have in the religious world, as in the political, too little of the large and loving patriotism which makes men look in the first instance to the maintenance of the great vital and general interests of the community, and which can at the right moment overlook all minor differences in a combined effort for the general good. Yet we are far from attributing to the Church generally this narrow and bitter feeling of partisanship ; for well we know that there is still much of the genuine spirit of loyalty and charity remaining ; but it is not prominent or influential ; and it seems to act more as a restraint on the collision of extreme partisans, than to assume any direction of Church affairs. It is, however, an element in our present position, which is, without doubt, amongst the causes of hope ; for were we wholly delivered over to the tyranny of religious partisanship, the Church would in one year be torn into half a dozen sects ; and the people would become Infidels, Dissenters, or Romanists, according to circumstances.

We must endeavour to present a few specimens of Mr. Harcourt's mode of treating his subject. The first lecture is headed by the first four verses of St. Luke's Gospel ; on which we have the following commentary :—

“ Let no one read the Scriptures except as an inspired book, as a book free from error, although it may sometimes not be easy to disentangle the truth from the difficulties which surround it ; for these difficulties arise, not from the word of God itself, but from our prejudice and inadvertence, from our want of faith or want of research, from the dimness of our discernment, or the shallowness of our under-

standing. Inspiration is the hinge on which all our faith in revelation turns ; true believers gladly own the truth of St. Paul's assertion, that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God ; for if we do not believe that statement, if the authority of the Apostle is disdained, and his assertion is denied, into what a bottomless slough of scepticism must we necessarily fall !"

After pointing out the utter subversion of Christianity which must follow from disbelieving the inspiration of Scripture, the writer proceeds thus :—

"History demonstrates most incontrovertibly the readiness with which some men mistake the delusions of the devil, or of their own perverted understandings, for personal inspiration. In order, therefore, to obviate these mischievous errors, and to terminate a thousand hopeless disputes, it is a great comfort to know that we have an appeal, not to the word of man, but to the written word of God, and that we can repose with confidence on the statement of the Apostle, that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God. Inspiration need not be literal, nor even verbal : different letters and different words, and differently constructed sentences, will convey the same meaning. Even if two statements differ by various degrees of strength or laxity of expression, it is still possible to determine what was the mind of the inspiring spirit by comparing parallel passages ; and if this point be gained, it is all that the theory of inspiration requires : for it would not be expedient to remove all obstacles and difficulties from the path of knowledge : it would not be consistent with the ordinary method of God's usual government of the world. He leaves them for the trial of our faith and the exercise of our intellect upon high and holy questions. For there is a close analogy between the mode in which our natural and our spiritual life are severally sustained ; and this seems to be intimated in the passage quoted by our Lord out of Moses : 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' In both, labour is the law to which he must submit in order to obtain suitable bread."

Did space permit, we should gladly transfer to our pages many passages from this writer's expositions of Scripture ; but we are compelled to content ourselves with transcribing a few specimens of his teaching on the sacraments. He writes thus on Luke ii. 21 :—

"Circumcision was an initiation into the mysteries of God, and an admission into the privileges of the covenant ; so is baptism : circumcision was a seal of the righteousness which is by faith ; so is baptism : circumcision denoted a solemn obligation to renounce the world and mortify the flesh ; so does baptism : circumcision was a token of the Divine blessing communicated and promised ; so is baptism : without circumcision these blessings were withheld ; so are they now without."

baptism : they might be lost after circumcision ; and they surely can be lost after baptism : children were brought to be circumcised ; and they are now brought to be baptized. Who, then, will venture to say, that children are incapable of entering into covenant with God ? ”

After some further remarks on Infant Baptism, Mr. Harcourt thus proceeds :—

“ Whatever difference there is between baptism and circumcision, is entirely a difference of advantage to the former ; for circumcision was a means of grace directly applied only to one sex, and greater benefits and more abundant graces are conveyed by baptism ; the pardon of original sin, and that transfer from a state of nature to a state of grace, which is called regeneration. It was so well understood by the primitive Christians, that regeneration was annexed to baptism, that they frequently used that term to express the sacrament : it was a custom derived from the Jews, who, when a proselyte was admitted into their Church by baptism, were accustomed to call it his regeneration. . . . Christian regeneration, however, implies something more than mere admission into the Church ; it is the infusion of a more spiritual nature, a new birth unto righteousness, an adoption into a state of grace. But if this be so, it might be said, if regeneration belongs to all infants properly baptized, how happens it that so many turn out to be worldly, dissolute, and irreligious ? The whole difficulty arises from misunderstanding the terms, and overlooking the fact, that baptism is a contract or covenant between God and man. Salvation is not granted to them absolutely, but conditionally : and the condition plainly is—if they believe and repent. But infants, it will be said, cannot believe and repent. True, they cannot : but a deed may be signed by the guardians in behalf of an infant, conveying property to him, on the condition that he shall sign himself, when he come of age. He thus acquires a contingent right to the property in fee ; and it is his own fault, if he lose it by failing to fulfil the stipulations of his guardians. In like manner children have a contingent right to salvation ; and it is their own fault if they forfeit it. As children of Adam, born in sin and the children of wrath, it was impossible for them to be saved ; as the children of God they are placed within the possibility : as children of Adam they are under the penalty transmitted to them from the fall, and incapable of apprehending justification by faith : as children of God the penalty is remitted, and they are capable of being justified through the merits of Christ. But when does this adoption into his family take place ? Ordinarily, without doubt, at baptism. The exceptions need not be taken into consideration, for they affect not the general rule. In adults it is the reward of faith ; to infants the same faith is imparted, till they deny it ; and, thus far, baptized infants, till they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved. Now, we are all justified by faith ; and of the Ephesians, who were predestinated to the adoption of children, not individually but collectively, the whole Ephesian Church, old and young, good and bad of

them it is said that, after they believed, they were sealed with that holy spirit of promise, which is the earnest of inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession."—Vol. i. pp. 76—78.

This passage will suffice to exemplify the remarkable firmness and caution with which Christian doctrine is enunciated; and the general mode of treating the subject-matter. We have been most favourably impressed with the spirit and tone of all that we have read, and much struck at the evidences of well-digested thought, and unostentatious labour and research which meet us every where. Nor is it the least value of this work, that practical utility, and the inculcation of doctrines and lessons peculiarly called for in the present times, appear to be the great object, to the exclusion of abstract theories or speculations.

We have quoted at some length from Mr. Harcourt in reference to one of the Sacraments; and we must cite some of his remarks on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, partly with a view to the further illustration of his method of teaching, and partly as introductory to some observations on the subject of the honour due to the sacrament, which appears to be, in some quarters, in danger of being carried beyond its legitimate limits.

In his lecture on the parallel passages, Matt. xxvi. 26—30, Mark xiv. 22—26, Luke xxii. 19, 20, the author discusses the subject of the Eucharist, and argues against the carnal and Romish view not only from the words of Scripture, but from the discoveries of modern science. He then proceeds thus:—

"There is no escape from this challenge; for if substances are not distinguishable either by their attributes or by their elementary composition, they are not matter; they must be something immaterial and incorporeal, and the word can only be used in a supernatural sense, in which Protestants will readily acquiesce; for it is the doctrine of our own Church, that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. Now almost in the same terms Calvin declares, that no vain and empty sign is here propounded to us, but that they who receive this promise with faith really become partakers of the body and blood of Christ. For 'in vain,' said he, 'would our Lord command us to eat bread affirming it to be his own body, unless the effect were really added to the figure. Now although we perceive nothing but the bread, yet He who undertakes to feed our souls with his flesh, does not disappoint or deceive us. Wherefore, the eating of the flesh of Christ is not only shown by a sign, but is truly and actually exhibited.'"—Vol. iii. pp. 412, 413.

There is, perhaps, no doctrine of the Christian religion which has given rise to more violent controversies, or to more distinct deviations from the teaching of God's word, than the doctrine of the Eucharist. On the one hand we have Romanism, which, not

satisfied with the plain and simple exposition of the words of the Gospel in their integrity, but selecting arbitrarily one text and dwelling exclusively upon it, and affixing to it a literal and carnal sense, arrive at conclusions which are not merely contradictory to the evidence of the senses, but inconsistent with the plain teaching of Scripture, and tending, accordingly, to evident perversion of Scripture to suit the Romish doctrine. The doctrine of Romanism, with reference to the Eucharist, is thus essentially rationalizing, and its issue is idolatry. That which the Scriptures declare to be bread, and which is only spiritually, and in no natural sense, the flesh of Christ, is declared to be not merely the literal and carnal flesh of Christ, without any mystery except its imperceptibility by our senses ; but it is regarded as Christ Himself, in actual bodily presence, with his person, both divine and human ; so that the wafer before us is to be held as our God, most strictly and literally ; and adoration and prayer is due to Him who is before us, though our eyes are held that we do not see his form. And hence, in Roman Catholic countries, it is not "the Sacrament" which is carried in procession, or worshipped, but it is "*Jesus Christ Himself*," both God and man, who is carried in the pix and worshipped on the altar. The Roman Catholic priest, who once in a sermon described the power of his order to consist in "creating his Creator, and carrying his God in his waistcoat pocket," may have used expressions which to us appear blasphemous or irreverent, but which simply and broadly state the Roman Catholic doctrine, and do not go beyond it.

On the other hand, men have been led, in their recoil from so exaggerated and so dangerous a doctrine, to affix on Scripture a sense which it cannot be wrested to. It may be very easy to quote passages without end with a view to give a merely figurative meaning to the language of Scripture on the subject of the Eucharist. Such expositions have been frequently made ; but, after all, when the plain and repeated expressions of the Lord and of the Apostles are read, an impression of mystery and reality is left on the mind, and we are unable to acquiesce in the very simple and easy alternative of believing that all is merely figurative and typical ; and that the words of Scripture on this point involve no difficulty or trial to faith. And we must say that such expositions are not only wholly inconsistent with the doctrine of Calvin, of Luther, and of many of our leading Reformers in England, and with the doctrine of the great majority of the confessions of faith published at the period of the Reformation ; but are perfectly alien from the established doctrine of the Church of England, as shown in her Articles, her Homilies, and her Liturgy. The expressions used in all these formularies, in strict accordance with

the spirit of the great majority of the Reformers both here and elsewhere, recognise the sacramental and special grace of the Eucharist, and never attempt to explain away its mysterious and real character, except, indeed, *apparently*, when in opposition to Romish exaggerations and errors.

The extreme diversity of opinion on the subject of the holy Eucharist proves its great liability to be misunderstood; and as we are not without apprehension that amongst some of those who profess, to a certain extent, sound principles, there are material misconceptions of the amount and kind of reverence due to the holy Sacrament; it may not, perhaps, be altogether an useless task to recapitulate the belief which appears to arise from a deliberate survey of Holy Scripture, and to be most in accordance with the general teaching of Christian antiquity.

It is, then, we believe, the opinion of various persons, and the language of an influential writer has recently, perhaps, confirmed the opinion, that in the Eucharist an adoration is to be offered to Jesus Christ as really present in the sacred elements. It is argued, that if the doctrine of the real presence be true, it follows that we must adore Jesus Christ as really present. It is not certain, indeed, that those who argue thus believe, in all cases, that Christ is locally present in the bread and wine; but some, we apprehend, are of this opinion; and whatever has been said in explanation of the worship of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist by members of the Church of England, has, we fear, been misunderstood, or is, in fact, calculated to have bad effects. It is our opinion that such expressions should be discontinued, because, in fact, they are based on a false system of argument; and it is impossible in practice to discriminate between them and the tenets of the Church of Rome. Let us attempt briefly to draw what we conceive to be the right line.

We say, then, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is to be approached and received with reverence as a sacred and holy thing. Every kind of irreverence and disrespect should be avoided: It is rightly received kneeling, or in a reverential attitude. It should be consumed with reverence—should not be applied to any common uses—should not be treated with any species of carelessness. On the other hand, we say that the Eucharist should not be knelt to, worshipped, or adored. It should not be the object of religious worship. Prayers should not be offered to it. It should not be regarded as the Deity incarnate.

In the first place, we say that the Eucharist should be treated most reverentially as a sacred and most holy thing. The words of our Lord—"This is my body—this is my blood of the new covenant—or the new covenant in my blood," are enough to

prove that it is a sacred and holy thing. In whatever sense these words be taken, it is plain that reverence is inculcated; even the *sign* of Christ's body, when instituted by Himself, would be a holy thing. But when St. Paul not only adds that this "bread is the *partaking* of Christ's body;" but especially blames those who unreverentially partake of the Lord's Supper, and who do not "discern the Lord's body;" it does seem that nothing more need be said to prove that reverence in reception, and reverence in administration, and reverence in thought and language concerning this mystery, is truly Scriptural and Christian, and does not in any degree merit the charge of superstition. On the contrary, it is difficult to reconcile with the spirit of Scriptural teaching on this subject, any careless or slovenly performance of the rite—any approach to it without prayer and preparation of mind—or any neglect of the sacramental elements, in permitting them to fall to the ground, or to be left for common uses.

And with this view the whole practice of primitive Christianity, as far as we can trace it, fully coincides. Instances may be pointed out in the early ages, in which, possibly, a superstitious reverence for the sacrament was evinced; but the general view and practice was that of reverence—the view which we have above endeavoured to state; and nothing more. In Tertullian's time Christians were careful that the sacrament should not fall to the ground: but they went no further.

And now to turn to the other side of the question. We contend that a belief in the real presence—such a belief as the English Churchman rightly holds, is inconsistent with any adoration or worship of the sacred elements, and does not in any way lead to such a practice.

In the first place then, when we speak of the real presence, we do not mean that the bread ceases to be bread or loses its former substance. It is absolutely certain from the language of Scripture that the contrary is the fact. St. Paul says, "The *bread* which we break is the communion of the body of Christ."—"We are partakers of one *bread*." Our Lord says: "I will not drink henceforth of this *fruit of the vine*." The same expressions are used without scruple by all the early writers. But if we believe the sacrament to be really and truly *bread*, it follows immediately that his body is present, not in a natural way, but in a spiritual way. In what mode it is present, Scripture does not enable us to determine, and we should be imprudent in attempting to investigate it: it is known to God, but not made known to man. We only know that it is not, and cannot be, a natural, or corporal presence. Now if this be the case, it follows that there is no sufficient reason to offer adoration to the body or blood of Christ as

really present ; because the real presence is not a bodily or natural presence ; and we have no right to infer that the same worship is called for or due to a spiritual presence that there would be to a bodily presence of Christ. Suppose Christ to be before us or amidst us in his bodily presence as He was at the Last Supper, on the cross, or now in heaven, and we should of course worship Him as our Lord and our God, even if we could merely hear his voice, and could not see his form ; but when his body is not merely invisible and imperceptible by the senses, but when we know that He cannot be naturally and bodily present under the bread and wine, we are placed in a different position altogether. We believe that the bread we taste is the communion of his body ; but we have no authority for saying that it is strictly, formally, naturally, and personally, Christ Himself. We have no authority for believing that the wafer, or the particle of bread, is the Creator and the Saviour of the world in his proper person.

It is a remarkable fact that the Holy Scripture, in speaking of the sacrament, never speaks of it as *Christ Himself*. Our Lord says of the bread, "This is my body," and of the cup, "This is my blood:" but He does not say of them, "This is myself." There is a marked difference between the two forms of expression, which was doubtless not without a deeply important meaning and design. St. Paul carries on the same form of speech : he does not speak of the sacrament as "Christ," but as "the body" and "blood" of Christ ; and this mode of speaking is adopted by the great mass of the early writers. They do not speak of the sacrament as Christ Himself ; but as his body and blood.

It is very true indeed, that in whatever sense the body and blood of Christ are received, we must admit that Christ Himself is in a certain sense received. To partake of Christ's flesh, is, in *some sense*, to partake of Christ ; and hence our Lord, in the sixth chapter of St. John, speaks of eating himself—"He that eateth me," &c. But it does not follow that Christ is present *personally*, unless the body spoken of be present in a *bodily* way. It is nothing but the *carnal and literal* presence of Christ's body which can authorize us to argue, as the Roman Catholic does, that, if the body of Christ be present, his whole person, soul, and divinity are present along with it. This argument is only effective on the assumption that his body is present in a natural and carnal sense : if it be present in a spiritual, or mysterious, or unrevealed mode, no such argument can hold good, because the mode by which his body and blood are present may not involve any such consequences ; and to affirm that it *must* do so, is to pronounce, without any Divine authority, on points which have not been revealed.

It may be further remarked, that there is no trace of the

adoration of the Eucharist amongst the records of the primitive Church until the latter part of the fourth century, when one or two writers, deviating from the general rule, appear to recognise something of the sort. It was only at about the same period that some writers began to use language which implied that Jesus Christ was literally and personally on the altar. But however excessive such language may have been, the fact of its novelty, and of the absence of any such language in the earlier writers, removes from it all pretence to be considered of any weight or authority in determining what the apostolical belief of the Church was.

We would wish to guard ourselves from misconception on one point. We have said that the Roman Catholic argument which infers that Christ's whole person is present because his body is present, is invalid except on the assumption of the corporal presence of his natural body. But we could not be understood by this to object in any way to the doctrine that Christ is *in some sense* personally present. If his body is truly though spiritually received, He is Himself, in some sense, spiritually received; though He is not, *as a person*, with his body, bones, blood, soul, and divinity, simply and literally present, and eaten.

The Church of England carefully explains the reverence with which the Eucharist is to be received, as not being intended to be directed to any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, because the body of Christ in this natural sense, is in heaven not on earth. This declaration is directed with great precision against the Roman Catholic doctrine. The Church of England directs the Sacrament to be received in the attitude of reverence; but it is to God—not as imagined to be inclosed personally within the dimensions of a particle of bread, but as present in his Deity both in heaven and earth.

If there be no evidence that Christ is personally present in the Eucharist, in the same literal way in which He was present at the last supper and is now in heaven, saving and excepting that He is concealed from our senses; there can be no reason or ground for offering worship to the Eucharist; and in this case, that worship cannot be a matter of indifference: it is an unauthorized worship of God's creatures as God Himself, and as such is idolatrous. If the Eucharist be actually bread and wine in substance, and only in a spiritual and mysterious sense Christ's body and blood, it is an idolatry to treat it precisely as if it were Christ Himself in his own person literally present.

It is the evil of Roman Catholic books of devotion on the subject of the Eucharist, that they all include the notion of a real presence in a corporal and natural sense. Their language savours of it throughout; and they cannot on this account be safely recommended for use. The use of such works in the present day

renders it incumbent on all advocates of the truth, to present to the religious public such safeguards as may prevent ignorant or inexperienced persons from being misled by the use of such works, to the adoption of the erroneous principles in reference to the Eucharist which they comprise, and to the consequent practice of superstitious and even idolatrous worship, and to alienation in affections from the English Church, which countenances no such practices. Experience has sufficiently pointed out the evil effects of an approximation even in language to the Church of Rome, which has been sometimes permitted in a spirit of conciliation, and without knowledge of the consequences which might be deduced by a morbid speculation; but if practical evils have resulted from any such mode of proceeding, which are lamented by the originators of that proceeding, it is assuredly the duty of such persons to do as much as in them lies, to detect the origin of the mistake, and to apply the best remedies and corrections in their power, with a view to promote a more sound and healthy state of opinion.

It will occur as an objection to the views above stated, that their adoption would go to "unchurch" the Church of Rome; that if the Church of Rome enjoins what is really a breach of the second commandment, it cannot be a branch of the Catholic Church at all, and should not be in any degree treated as such. We think this objection will not be found to be based on any conclusive reasoning, or at least, not to involve consequences from which any true Churchman need shrink. That a Church which enjoins or even tacitly sanctions such things as the adoration of the Virgin for instance, which every Churchman admits to be idolatrous in its character, is unfaithful to its Divine Head, is a self-evident truth. There is no more difficulty in recognising the existence of idolatry in the worship of the Eucharist than in that of the blessed Virgin; and whatever opinion may be formed of the Church of Rome in the case of admitting the one, is the same which would be formed of it in admitting the other. In whatever sense the Church of Rome is a part of the Church notwithstanding her worship of the Virgin, in the same sense she may be a Church notwithstanding her worship of the Eucharist. And that sense is explained by the parallel position of the people of God under the old covenant. If those to whom God's truths were pledged of old—if they who had been chosen to be his people—remained so, even when they were subject to his judgments for their sins and especially for their idolatry—the people of God under the new covenant may also grievously go astray from his commandments, and yet his election may not be made of none effect. His graces may be still offered, when they are surrounded and counteracted by much of human error; and the Roman

branch of the universal Church may not be wholly cut off from the root, though it be afflicted with grievous and lasting evils.

But we would add the expression of a conviction that wherever there be a Church so unfaithful to its Divine Head, there the authority given to the true Church is deeply impaired. God has not so given authority that it may be lawfully exercised against Himself. His commission to the Apostles and their successors, and to the Church generally, is not for the purpose of authorizing the Church to add to the faith delivered to the saints, or to corrupt it. In such a case it is not to be forgotten that it was said to Eli: "I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever: but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me; for them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." And, therefore, on the whole, we think it has been a mistake to argue about the Church of Rome as if it retained exactly the same rights and powers as if it had been in fact faithful. To argue that because the presence of God is with his Church—because He has promised perpetuity to her—because it is unlawful to separate from her—and because the commission of Christ is given to its ministers—we are bound to recognise all those attributes as equally extensive and equally applicable whether the Church be faithful or unfaithful to Christ; appears to be unreasonable. And therefore in admitting that the Roman branch of the Church is not wholly cut off from Christ, notwithstanding its idolatries, but still remains a part of the people of God, though subject to his displeasure, we would add that the conduct of the Church of Rome appears to have rendered separation from it not only a justifiable but a laudable act; nor consequently do we see that there is any violation of Catholic principles in establishing missions with a view to promote such secessions. Let the Church of Rome do her duty and reform herself of the idolatries she now sanctions, and the errors she now imposes as matters of faith, and we shall recognise her authority as *ipso facto* restored; but in her present state we should say that not merely is it right and lawful to establish a mission for the conversion of Romanists in this country or Ireland, where their bishops have no canonical succession; but we should say that there could be nothing objectionable in itself in the establishment of a mission at Rome, or in Italy, or Spain, for the same purpose; nor do we think that the establishment of such a mission would be schismatical or subversive of Catholic unity. The Church of Rome, in departing from her obedience to Christ, has no claim on the principles of Catholic unity, and no appeal to the Apostolic succession and authority.

ART. II.—1. *Anglicanism Considered in its Results.* By W. DODSWORTH, M.A.

2. *Six Letters on the Present State of the Church.* By the Rev. JOHN JEBB, Rector of Peterstow.

3. *Whiteside's Italy in the Nineteenth Century.*

4. *Seymour's Pilgrimage to Rome.*

5. *Seymour's Mornings among the Jesuits.*

OUR readers may remember that, in our last number, when treating of the controversy carried on between Dr. Pusey and Mr. Dodsworth on the subject of Auricular Confession, we referred, in passing, to a pamphlet which, since his perversion to the Romish Church, the latter gentleman has given to the world, under the title of "*Anglicanism Considered in its Results.*" We purpose, in the present paper, to enter upon an examination of this production; and, although, to every mind of common honesty and common principle, it must be a task of a very painful nature to examine the arguments, by which one, who has been false to his ordination oath, who has basely deserted the spiritual mother at whose bosom he was nourished, labours to excuse his apostasy; although, to use the striking language of Mr. Jebb,

"it seems almost impossible to believe that good sense, and honesty, and all the best attributes of the English character have suffered such fearful shipwreck; and that instructions and warnings, of a far higher nature than this world can administer, have been set aside for sickly fancies, childish misgivings, and the obstinate indulgence of opinions merely human¹;"

there are yet, we think, some peculiar features in Mr. Dodsworth's pamphlet, which render it desirable to notice it somewhat in detail. In the first place, Mr. Dodsworth is the first pervert, as far at least as we are aware, who has fairly endeavoured to excuse that which, as he himself says, has proved so great an offence to Protestants, in the case of the recent perversions, viz.:

"the very decided and seemingly abrupt character of the change. As, for instance, that they should be this week attending the services of the Established Church, and the next asserting their belief that it forms no part of the Church of Christ²."

And, moreover, Mr. Dodsworth, not satisfied with a defence of

¹ Jebb's *Six Letters*, p. 112.

² *Anglicanism*, &c. p. 10.

his own personal conduct, has been bold enough to enter into a defence of the communion which he has so recently joined. Conscious, as he evidently is, that, if the charges advanced against the Church of Rome are in the smallest degree true, the Romish system must be fearfully corrupt, he first of all denounces the truth of the charges in question, and then gravely maintains that, if true, the Church of Rome protests against them quite as much as we do; that they are only "spots in the sun's disc," and that they form therefore no argument whatever against the truth of the system itself,—he first of all pleads "not guilty," and then "a justification." Now, as we happen to have a very strong opinion that Mr. Dodsworth is either wilfully deceiving his readers, in making such a statement as this, which we will say at once we do not believe, or else that he knows very little indeed of the system of MODERN ROMANISM, as that system is practically carried out, *not in England, but in Italy, its head-quarters*, we purpose to show him, and our readers, how the Church of Rome executes the commission assigned, as she says, exclusively to her, of preserving unimpaired, in all its purity, *the faith once delivered to the saints*. We purpose, therefore, before we have done, to make copious extracts from two of the works we have placed at the head of this paper—the one, the production of a well-known English clergyman; the other, of an eminent Irish barrister who is now a member of the British senate. It may be well however to say that, in quoting from these interesting works, and most interesting they are, we do not intend to express our concurrence with every *opinion* maintained in them; nor do we purpose to enter into any critical examination of their contents. We simply have recourse to Messrs. Seymour and Whiteside for *facts*, which they themselves saw with their own eyes, tending to illustrate the working of Modern Romanism in its most favoured quarter, and respecting which we could scarcely, we apprehend, have two more unexceptionable witnesses, considering the station in society which the narrators of them respectively hold. We presume that even Romish insolence will scarcely venture to charge an English clergyman and an English barrister with wilful and deliberate falsehood.

And we trust we need hardly say how intensely painful it is to us to be forced to enter upon such an inquiry as this. Delightful indeed would it be if all the branches of the great Christian vine were, each in all their fulness, putting forth their fruits in due season; if each portion of the CHURCH OF CHRIST were only anxious to rival each other in the great work of spreading over the world *the glad tidings of good things*; if all were dwelling *in the unity of the spirit and in the bond of peace*. But this is a picture which never can by any possibility be realized, so long as

Rome maintains her present position towards the Church of England. So long as, in the plenitude of her unbounded arrogance, she professes to unchurch all those who will not bend to her dominion; so long as, denying the succession of our Hierarchy, and the validity of our orders, she presumptuously and schismatically endeavours to break down the barriers by which the purest of all branches of the Catholic Church is, blessed be God, invincibly defended; and, above all, so long as—alas! that it should be said—men continue to be found, weak enough and wicked enough to be lured, partly by her seductions, but still more by the impetus of a blind self-will, from the path of Christian duty in which a merciful Providence had placed them—so long must it be the duty of English Churchmen, sternly and emphatically to protest against the gross and manifold corruptions which Rome not only endures, but in which, as we will presently show, she glories and delights; so long must we imitate the conduct of the Jewish builders, of whom *every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon*³, a weapon which must never be sheathed so long as those who force us to draw it continue their wanton and unprovoked attack against us.

And if we needed a justification of the course which we are now advocating, we should find it in the very first page of Mr. Dodsworth's pamphlet. Nothing gives such great offence in the present day, in certain quarters, as the imputation of "Romanizing." It is regarded as the quintessence of bigotry and intolerance to insinuate for a moment that a particular system of teaching, only, alas! too prevalent amongst us, is calculated to lead men to forsake our communion for that of the Romish Church. Let those who thus think hear Mr. Dodsworth on this point:—

"I cannot doubt," he says, addressing his late parishioners, "but that, upon mature reflection, these reasons will appear in various degrees satisfactory to many amongst you; because they are indeed but the legitimate results flowing from those truths which it has been my aim to teach you⁴."

We firmly believe this to be true. We say nothing of the dishonesty to the real principles of the Church of England which such an admission involves on Mr. Dodsworth's part; we are simply concerned with the statement itself, and most firmly are we convinced that, so long as men venture to tamper with Romish error, to hold and to teach "all Roman doctrine," so long will apostasy to the Church of Rome be the natural result, the well-nigh inevitable development of that teaching. In fact, Mr. Dods-

³ Neh. iv. 17.

⁴ Anglicanism, &c. p. 1.

worth has misnamed his pamphlet. When we first began to read it, when we saw the tone of exultation in which he asserts that no writer has yet stood forward to vindicate what he calls "Anglicanism," we were for the moment bewildered. But when he came to such a passage as this :—

" I may assume that the Anglican believes, substantially, the following doctrine :—

" 1. That the very body and blood of our Lord are in no merely figurative sense, but really and substantially present, not merely to the heart and soul of the believer, but ' under the form of bread and wine ' upon the altar.

" 2. That in this sacrament the priest really offers in commemoration the true and proper sacrifice of that very body, which once for all was offered on the cross, and that in this sacrament is transacted the perpetuation of that one sacrifice once offered, which is propitiatory for the sins of the whole world ' ; "

when, we say, we read this passage, we saw at once the mistake which Mr. Dodsworth had committed. He should have called his pamphlet, not "Anglicanism," but "Romanizing considered in its results,"—those results being, as he and others have proved, and will yet prove, perversion to the Church of Rome.

Mr. Dodsworth evidently, and no wonder, feels very acutely the imputation of dishonesty consequent upon the abrupt character of his, and other, perversions. We can only say that, for ourselves, we make the charge in this, as in all other cases, with very great reluctance, and very great pain ; but, if there be any real distinction between right and wrong—if there be such qualities as common honesty, common principle, and common truthfulness, then we are utterly at a loss to imagine how Mr. Dodsworth, and they who have acted as he has acted, can possibly escape the charge of a gross violation of those qualities. The simple question at issue is this : Is there any real and fundamental difference, *de fide*, between the Churches of England and Rome ? Is it, or is it not, true, that every English priest, at his ordination, and again at his institution to an incumbency, does sign a deliberate protest against what the Church of England deems, whether rightly or wrongly matters not, the doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome ? If this be so, then, if Mr. Dodsworth were ever an honest priest of the English Church, he must, twice in his life, at all events, have considered that the differences, *de fide*, between England and Rome were not mere shadows, but real and substantial grounds of opposition. Can he, or any one else, really doubt that, the moment he began to entertain any notion that the protest he had deliberately signed against Romish error was a groundless protest,

⁵ Anglicanism, &c. p. 41.

that moment it was his duty to have gone to his diocesan, and said, "My lord, I entertain doubts upon certain points: whether those doubts may ever ripen into conviction, God knoweth; but in the mean time I, with my changed opinions, cannot allow my people, I cannot allow my brother Churchmen, to suppose, that, which, *if I continue my ministration, they have a right to suppose*,—that I still continue to protest against what the Church of England calls Romish errors. I therefore request your lordship to appoint some one to minister in my stead for a certain period, during which interval I may deliberately enter into the question of the whole controversy between the Churches; at the end of which time I shall either resume my pastoral labours with increased convictions of the truth of the charges brought against Rome, or I will resign my incumbency into your lordship's hands, and join the Romish communion." This, we submit to Mr. Dodsworth, would have been a very much more honourable course than, "having misgivings about the Church of England," to continue his ministrations as an English priest in such a manner, in spite of his former protest, as that at last, *when he goes*, he coolly tells his people that his perversion is but "the legitimate result flowing from those truths which it had been his aim to teach them!" Mr. Jebb, in his admirable Letters, which we should like to see in the hands of every English clergyman, has put this point very forcibly. He says, addressing one in the position which, it is perfectly clear, from his own showing, Mr. Dodsworth occupied for a very considerable time before his perversion,—the position of a waverer, *or worse*,

"You must recollect (may it not be recollected by you at the last day to your dismay and confusion!) that in taking this headstrong step you have acted like a man who (to use a phrase well known to Romanists) 'vult decipi, et decipitur.' For, instead of confiding your doubts to neighbours and friends, who are firm in their faith, and strong, upon a most religious conviction, in their attachment to the branch of CHRIST'S Church established in this land, you have taken a step which every moralist, every casuist, must pronounce wrong. You have gone for a solution (possibly for the hoped-for *confirmation*) of your doubts, to men notoriously unsteady in their opinions, and disaffected to the Church of their baptism. You have taken into counsel men who have already deserted her, and have applied for arguments against your mother to those who are new to the system of her implacable and unmitigable foe, the Church of Rome, to persons ill-informed of their new position themselves, without even having fairly listened to what that mother can say in her own behalf'."

While touching on this point we cannot refrain from bringing

⁶ P. 9.

⁷ Jebb's Six Letters, pp. 9, 10.

before our readers the forcible way in which Mr. Jebb disposes of the objection, that it is uncharitable to blame the recent perverts, because they have only acted according to the dictates of their own conscience.

"The punishment of these men has been judicial. They had been warned, carefully warned, not to tamper with Rome, not to forsake that guide who had so amply instructed them in all that is necessary for salvation. But though thus warned, they ran their ship upon the breakers, which they had been told were a-head. As an illustration of this, I must tell you a strange dream which occurred lately to one who was perplexed by that awful but unquestionable fact, that many of these perverts have earnestly prayed, some time before their apostasy, that they might be directed aright. He thought how awful it was that prayer should not be answered, and so fell asleep. His dream was, that some one pointed out to him a ship at sea, going in the direction of that loadstone island which forms the subject of a well-known tale. 'You see that ship: the master of it was warned of his danger; he was told to take the course to the right, and he would escape: wise mariners, experienced navigators, have assured him of this by an unvarying testimony: the land he first sought was in sight; but storms arose; his heart failed him; he saw all was smooth toward the left; he took that course; he is now within the influence of the loadstone; the ship will not obey the helm; it will soon be shattered; *he is now praying to God to direct him right and to save him*: this cannot be: he has neglected all providential warnings.' And he awoke. Is it not so with those, who, having weakly or wilfully yielded to the influence of Rome, now allege their *prayers* as an argument that they are right?"

But it is time that, leaving the discussion of Mr. Dodsworth's personal conduct, we proceed to examine into the reasons he assigns for forsaking the English Church. He assigns four principal reasons: 1st, Regard to the unity of the Church, which unity, of course, "Anglicans" violate. 2dly, The doctrine of sacramental grace, as held by the Church of England. 3dly, The actual state of the existing established Church. 4thly, Interference of the civil power. And lastly, Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles. We do not, however, propose to inflict upon our readers any discussion on all these points, and for this simple reason; that, with the single exception of the first, they do not, supposing all Mr. Dodsworth says to be perfectly true, they do not afford the slightest excuse for leaving the Church of England, and still less for going over to the Church of Rome. And as to the question of unity, it is sufficient for us to know: 1st, That there may be unity of error as well as unity of truth; and that, if the majority cling to error, then the minority must maintain the truth,

* Ibid. pp. 42, 43.

none the less firmly, but rather the more so because they are a minority. It is sufficient for us to know, 2dly, as Mr. Dodsworth perfectly well knows also, that, waving for a moment the question of the Papal supremacy, we have never violated, in the slightest degree, Catholic unity; on the contrary, we are willing and desirous to be at peace with all men, provided others do not attempt to impose on us unscriptural and uncatholic terms of communion. If they do so attempt, they, and not we who resist it, are responsible for the consequences. And as to the question of the Papal supremacy, on which, in fact, as far as perversion is concerned, the whole question hinges, we simply ask Mr. Dodsworth, and we pray him to consider the point attentively—does he in his heart believe that St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, and St. Augustine would have submitted to any supremacy in the slightest degree such as the Bishop of Rome now claims? We say nothing about the decrees of the Council of Trent, but, for the sake of narrowing the argument, we put the question on that single issue. Would those great fathers of the Church have styled the Bishop of Rome the “Vicar of God,” “the Vicegerent of CHRIST on earth?” Would they have recognised him as the sun round which they were to revolve? Would they have looked upon him as the alone source of *their* jurisdiction? Would they, or would they not, if the present claims had been asserted at that time, which, as Mr. Dodsworth well knows, was not the case, would they have quietly submitted to them, or would they, at all risk of violating Catholic unity, have manfully asserted the freedom of their respective Churches, and their own perfect independence of the Bishop of Rome? When Mr. Dodsworth shall prove the affirmative of this position, then, and not till then, shall we be careful to disprove the charge of violating the unity of the Christian Church in shaking off the iron yoke of Papal domination.

But Mr. Dodsworth is very anxious to know by what right the Church of England, in convocation assembled, drew up the Thirty-nine Articles. “By what authority,” he asks, “did the synod of London proceed in this important work?” By what authority, forsooth! We answer, By virtue of the same authority by which Irenæus withstood Victor, when he endeavoured to override the Asiatic Churches; by the same authority by which Cyprian and the African bishops refused for a single moment to bend to the attempted usurpation of Stephen; by the same authority by which Augustine and his coadjutors successfully resisted Zosimus when he declared the Pelagians sound in the faith;—by virtue, that is, of the entire independence of the

Church of England of all foreign control; by virtue of her existence as a branch of the Church Catholic, with which, save only in the interchange of Christian fellowship, the Bishop of Rome has no more to do than the Emperor of China, or the Grand Llama of Thibet! In fact, as we said before, on the single point of the independence of the English Church, so far as secession from that Church is concerned, the whole question hinges between Mr. Dodsworth and ourselves. Now, unless we are very much mistaken, Mr. Dodsworth's pamphlet affords strong internal evidence that he is scarcely at heart an Ultramontanist in the question of the Papal supremacy. He only speaks of it once, and that in a way as if it were a difficulty to be slurred over. At all events, he puts the question in a very different way to many other writers of the Romish Communion. He says,

"Again, it may be asked, if the Anglican feels a difficulty in acknowledging the supremacy of the pope, must he not feel a much greater difficulty in admitting the supremacy of the Crown? The former professes to rest upon Scripture, and at least admits of scriptural argument; but what can be said for the latter? It was first asserted in its present sense by a wicked man with the view of gratifying his own lusts¹."

We think these words show that, had there been no other difficulties, as he imagines, in the path, the single question of submission to the papal see would not have drawn Mr. Dodsworth from the Church of England. At all events, we shall continue to think so, until we have from him a clear and tangible statement to the contrary, coupled with a refutation of the arguments we have stated above. Leaving this point, then, as we cannot help thinking it remains at present with Mr. Dodsworth, "*adhuc sub judice*," we proceed to consider a little more in detail his reasons for secession. He asserts that he was "once thoroughly convinced that the Church of England was the Church of CHRIST in this country, and that she held and taught all Catholic truth²." Now, supposing the Church of England once to have been "a true Church of CHRIST," we wish to ask Mr. Dodsworth when, *as he imagines*, she ceased to be so? We apprehend that the only requisite for a true Church, (we are speaking now simply as to its outward form, its external constitution,) would be the having the Apostolical Succession. Of course, a Church may be fearfully corrupted internally, as was nearly the *whole* Church during the prevalence of Arianism; but that corruption alone could not destroy the succession. Now we ask Mr. Dodsworth to tell us, when the Church of England lost her succession? When was she unchurched? We know very well the answer

¹ P. 103.

² P. 2.

which used to be given to the question. It used to be said that Archbishop Parker was not validly consecrated. We should have been taunted in by-gone days with the "Nag's Head" story. But we feel satisfied that Mr. Dodsworth does not attach the smallest possible credence to that old wife's fable, that absurd and impudent fabrication, *by using which Romanists showed very plainly that they had no better argument to bring forward.* Well, then, if Archbishop Parker were properly consecrated, when, we repeat, did the English Church lose her succession? We ask Mr. Dodsworth to consider this point carefully, and as he will answer for the non-consideration of it at the bar of a higher tribunal than that of the "Vicegerent of CHRIST." We are quite willing, as we before said, to concede to him, for the sake of hypothesis, every other point on which he touches in his pamphlet. We say that, unless he can invalidate the succession of the Anglican Church, he has not given a shadow of a reason which can justify secession. Nay, more than this: granting all he says to be true, he should have clung to her the more closely from those very considerations; he should have endeavoured to do all in his power to improve her position. It would have been his duty not to forsake the Church in which God placed him, but rather to do all in his power *to strengthen the things which remain, which are ready to perish.* And therefore, we are really not careful to answer Mr. Dodsworth in any of the other points he raises. We beg to ask Mr. Dodsworth, Is the condition of the English Church, taking his own view of that condition, worse than was the condition of that branch of Christ's fold to which St. Athanasius belonged, when the Emperor was fostering Arianism, when Catholic truth was persecuted well-nigh to the death? And yet did St. Athanasius ever dream of forsaking the sphere of duty God had assigned him, *because of those difficulties?* Hear his own words:—"This," he said, when in the point of going into exile, "this is but a little cloud, which will soon pass away³." Oh! well do we remember the sickening sensation of disgust we could not but feel, when, after the delivery of the Gorham judgment, we heard men talk about leaving the Church of England, *in consequence of that judgment*—men, who were engaged week after week in preaching patience to their various flocks; in upholding submission to trial and difficulty, and suffering, as a necessary part of Christian duty; and who yet, when their own hour of trial, and difficulty, and suffering came, showed themselves *unstable as water*, and therefore *did not prevail.* But we write not now for them. They are gone, for

³ Socrat. iii. 14.

the sake of peace, where we firmly believe they will never find it, or, at all events, only the peace of a false and fatal security. But, if these pages should haply meet the eye of one who has not yet taken the last step, who is yet *halting between two opinions*, we would, in God's name, entreat such an one to ponder well what we have said—to ask himself, how he dares to undo God's work? We would say to him, Here is the position in which God has placed you; and you have no more right, *by any act of your own*, to relinquish that position, than you have to throw away the life which God gave you, that you might spend it in doing his will and promoting his glory.

And here we gladly pay a well-merited tribute of praise to one on whose conduct we felt it our duty to make some severe remarks in a former paper. It is with a feeling of unfeigned satisfaction that we are still able to number Mr. Bennett among those priests of the Anglican Church who have not been lured away from the path of duty into the Romish communion. We dare not, as honest men, retract one jot or one tittle of what we said in our former paper; but we may at least say this, that not even the warmest *personal* friends of Mr. Bennett will rejoice more sincerely than ourselves, if ever the time shall come when, having calmed, by mature reflection, the influence of an overwrought excitement; having withdrawn those passages of his latest production, which we feel quite sure he now regrets having given to the world; having, above all, disengaged himself from the pernicious influence of *false friends and evil counsellors*, he shall once more labour to spread the religion of Christ in that sphere of duty which we verily believe he is, by nature, pre-eminently qualified to occupy, the position of a parish priest of the Church of England.

We have only two passages more to notice of Mr. Dodsworth's pamphlet ere we proceed to show our readers how far his apology for Romanism tallies with the experience of modern times. Mr. Dodsworth finds great fault with the doctrine of the Church of England with respect to the "eucharistic sacrifice." We need hardly say that we are not about to bandy words on this subject with Mr. Dodsworth: we merely allude to it because we are desirous of quoting a striking passage from Mr. Jebb, in which he not only fully answers Mr. Dodsworth and the Romanising party, but expresses, very much better than we can do, the views we ourselves hold upon this high subject:—

"The sacrifice of the eucharist is one at present much debated. I am confirmed in a persuasion that in one sense the term is proper, in another improper.

"The Romanists themselves, though with an inconsistency I cannot

understand, allow a distinction between the sacrifice of CHRIST on the cross and the sacrifice of the mass. The distinction is without a real difference; or, at least, contradictions are involved in their expositions, if transubstantiation be allowed. But it is clear, that upon true Christian principles there is no victim, no reiteration of that which it is one great object of the Epistle to the Hebrews to teach us was made once for all. It is quite certain, that the popular notion at least of Romanists is that the sacrifice is really iterated. But, with all our great divines, I hold it to be a sacrifice in a commemorative, representative, symbolical, and, what is more, an influential sense.

"I was only the other day reminded by a passage in Bishop Andrewes⁴ of a notion which had long fixed itself independently in my mind, though, for aught I know or can remember, it may have been entertained by many. It is this: That there has been but one *real sacrifice* since the beginning of the world; that is, but one slaying of a victim, Who, by his own inherent merits, could atone for sins. All the slain victims preceding the death of Christ were not so much sacrifices, in the strict sense of a word, as adumbrations of that death which is the sole real sacrifice. Their death was real, but there was no real propitiatory virtue. Their whole virtue consisted in the prefiguration. Now is not the Christian ordinance as real a sacrifice as that of the Jews, nay, more real? There are differences between our ordinance and theirs, but still their symbolical function is similar. There is no actual death of a victim, still that actual death was only a significant figure; the breaking of the bread is a figure equally significant. The act is not prospective, but retrospective; it does not prefigure, still it represents; though it does not *foreshow*, still it shows (καταγγέλλει)⁵ the Lord's death. The Jewish Church in offering the sacrifice, made (unwittingly on the part of the sacrificers) an impetration of future merits, of a nature yet unrevealed, and by the most gifted of the prophets but indistinctly apprehended. In the commemorative service of the Christian Church, (or, to speak more distinctly, in that act which is the commemoration of the one sacrifice and oblation once offered,) an impetration of Christ's merits, fully known and revealed to the Church, is made; not only is

⁴ "There must be actually somewhat done to celebrate this memory. That done, to the holy *symbols*, that was done to Him, to his *body*, and his *blood*, in the passover: *break* the one, *pour* out the other, to represent κλῶμενον, how his sacred body was broken; and ἐκχυνόμενον, how his precious blood was shed. And in *corpus fractum*, and *sanguis fusus*, there is *immolatus*. This is it, in the Eucharist, that answereth to the sacrifice, in the passover: the memorial, to the figure. To them it was, Do this in *prefiguration* of me; to us it is, Do this in *commemoration* of me. To them, *prænuntiare*; to us, *annuntiare*; there is the difference. By the same rules, that theirs was, by the same, may ours be termed a *sacrifice*. In rigour of speech, neither of them; for (to speak after the exact manner of divinity) there is but one only *sacrifice*, *veri nominis*, properly so called: that is, Christ's death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed, at his death; but ever before represented, in figure, from the beginning, and ever since repeated, in memory, to the world's end. That only absolute; all else relative to it, representative of it, operative by it."—*Sermon VII. of the Resurrection.*

⁵ 1 Cor. xi. 26.

his death represented in a lively manner, but the special efficacy of that death is pleaded, and the promised benefits are sought. So that I cannot but think that view inadequate, which would represent the eucharistic service to be a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' merely in the sense in which every religious service may be called a sacrifice. All acts of devotion are undoubtedly an offering of ourselves, our souls, and bodies; and every prayer we make pleads the benefit of Christ's most precious blood, as every prayer does in fact commemorate the death of the Lord. But in the Communion, as a very special showing forth of the Lord's death is made, so a very special impetration is made of those benefits which directly flow from the merits of the great victim⁶."

But we have to notice now a very singular remark of Mr. Dodsworth, and one which we are surprised that even he could have the assurance to make under the circumstances. As one of the reasons for his perversion, he assigns the general apathy which prevails among the English clergy on questions of the most vital import.

"When the sacrament of baptism was openly impugned in the highest courts for ecclesiastical suits in the land, the excitement which followed, though considerable *in one party*, was yet partial and confined. The result only tended to show how really weak the High-Church party is. So, again, when the dependence of the Church upon the State in matters most purely spiritual was shown, (and this even under the aggravated form in which the highest court of appeal is constituted, not even requiring its members to be in communion with the Church,) it scarcely produced any strong feeling⁷."

Now this is really too bad! We readily allow that the fact is, to a certain extent, as Mr. Dodsworth has stated it; but if he is ignorant as to the real cause of this apparent apathy, we will endeavour to enlighten him a little on the subject. He, and such as he, are the one grand cause above all others why the great majority of the Church of England have been literally *afraid*, to mix themselves up with any demonstration, whether on the subject of the Gorham controversy or the Royal supremacy. They have seen those who have clamoured the loudest in defence of the "Catholic faith," dropping off, one by one, into the ranks of the greatest enemy that faith ever had. They have seen men, sworn servants of the English Church, deliberately betraying her cause; deliberately violating the most solemn and most sacred obligations by which men could possibly be bound; and they were afraid, therefore to run the risk of contamination by coming in contact with others who, it was suspected, the event has shown how truly, were about to adopt a similar line of conduct. But

⁶ Jebb's *Six Letters*, pp. 89—91.

⁷ Dodsworth's *Anglicanism*, p. 64.

Mr. Dodsworth is very much mistaken if he imagines that there is any *real* apathy among the great body of the English clergy on the subjects he mentions. Let it once be clearly and distinctly understood, that no one shall be allowed to take a part in any future Church movement who will not sternly and emphatically oppose Romish error, in exactly the same proportion that he endeavours to uphold Catholic truth; who will not maintain, in all their integrity and against all adversaries, the doctrine and discipline of the English Church, as embodied by our venerable reformers in her Book of Common Prayer; who will not, from any morbid feeling of so called "charity," shrink from the open and manly denunciation of falsehood, wheresoever and by whomsoever it is maintained—let this once be distinctly understood, and understood it must be if any future Church movement is to be of the slightest use, and sure we are then that there will be no lack of good men and true to defend the English Church against all invaders; to live, and, if it be God's will, to die, in defence of that beloved spiritual mother who is, in all respects, the truest earthly embodiment of EVANGELICAL TRUTH AND APOSTOLIC ORDER.

And now, then, we proceed to examine the apology which Mr. Dodsworth makes for certain practices in the Romish communion, to which "Anglicans" have a very decided objection,—an apology made, in one respect at least, in the most barefaced hardihood or in the most complete ignorance as to the real nature of the Romish system. These practices are, first, "The devotions to the saints, and more especially those addressed to the blessed Virgin Mary;" secondly, "The superstitious use of relics and images;" thirdly, The IDOLATRY imputed to the Romish System; and, fourthly, The doctrine of the "Immaculate Conception." There are a few little *minor* differences, such as the receiving the Holy Communion in one kind, the doctrine of purgatory, the papal supremacy, and so on, which Mr. Dodsworth evidently thinks are matters of comparative unimportance, one way or the other, and in which the Anglican will very easily be induced to acquiesce, if he can once get over the other difficulties! Now, with regard to the first of these objections, we cannot refrain from remarking upon the very singular way in which Mr. Dodsworth meets it. He says: "There can be no doubt that the Catholic Church denies utterly that she (the Virgin Mary) invades the prerogative of God;" and by way of proving this, he quotes a long passage from Bellarmine, which has not, from beginning to end, the slightest reference to the Virgin Mary, but refers simply and solely to the lawfulness of praying to the saints! Why is this?

Is it that Mr. Dodsworth is not aware of the extent to which Mariolatry is practised in the Romish Church? or is it that he thinks the practice cannot really be defended, and so passes it over *sicco pede*? But, be this as it may, Mr. Dodsworth asserts that the Catholic Church pays no worship and ascribes no attributes to the Virgin Mary by which the prerogative of God is invaded. What does he think of the vision of the two ladders⁹, in the work of St. Alphonso de Liguori, called, the "Glories of Mary," extending from earth to heaven—at the top of one is the Virgin Mary, and at the top of the other is JESUS CHRIST! All who attempt to enter heaven by the ladder of Jesus Christ fall back and fail, while all who try the ladder of the Virgin Mary succeed by her assistance! Either Mr. Seymour has grossly belied St. Alphonso de Liguori, or else the Romish Church, by sanctioning the works of that writer, has blasphemously assigned to the Virgin Mary the exclusive prerogative of God. Or what will Mr. Dodsworth say again to the encyclical letter of the late Pope Gregory XVI., in which the following passage occurs: "That all these may fall out prosperously and happily let us lift up our eyes and hands to the most holy Virgin Mary, *who alone* has destroyed all heresies; who is our greatest confidence, even the whole ground of our hope¹⁰." Does he, or does he not, believe that it is "the special office of the Holy Spirit to lead to, and to teach all truth, and by his light to dissipate all the darkness of error and heresy?" If he does not believe this, he does not believe in the teaching of Holy Scripture, and of the Primitive Church. If he does believe it, then must he also believe that Pope Gregory XVI., the so-called "vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ on earth," deliberately ascribed to the Virgin Mary a "prerogative" belonging solely and exclusively to God the Holy Ghost.

Before we proceed to inquire into the questions as to whether superstition and idolatry do or do not prevail in the Romish communion, we will briefly revert to Mr. Dodsworth's very singular defence of the objection with respect to the "Immaculate Conception," affording as it does a very fair specimen of the evasion and chicanery to which Romanists are compelled to have recourse, when they enter into a defence of the principles of their system.

"The doctrine," he says, "of the Immaculate Conception has recently been urged as a difficulty in some quarters. But, in the first place, it may be said that this as yet, at least, is an opinion, not a dogma, of the Church.

⁹ Seymour's *Mornings among the Jesuits*, p. 127.

¹⁰ Seymour's *Pilgrimage to Rome*, p. 379.

And next, it can scarcely be regarded as a *practical* difficulty in the way of the Anglican who probably knows very little upon the subject¹."

Mr. Dodsworth evidently intends us to believe, by this passage, that the doctrine of the "Immaculate Conception" is one upon which the Church of Rome has as yet given no opinion whatever. What will he say to a little tract, which now lies before us, called, "The Octave for the holy Souls now in Purgatory, and the Novena of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God as practised in the Oratory, King William-street, Strand?" In this tract, we find the following passage:—(p. 12) "The Novena in preparation for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, beginning on the 29th of November. Indulgences;—300 days each day; plenary once on the Feast, or during the Octave, applicable to the Dead.—PIUS VII."

In the next page we find the following prayer:—

"O, most pure Virgin, conceived without sin, and from that very first instant entirely beautiful and without spot, I humbly worship thee, as mother of my Saviour, inasmuch as God has taught me, by the esteem He has for thee, and by his respect and submission towards thee, what honours, and what homage I ought to render thee; deign, I beseech thee, to accept this Novena which I consecrate to thee. Thou art the secure refuge of penitent sinners, and I therefore may rightly have recourse to thee," &c.

Now, we say nothing about the blasphemy—we *can* use no milder term—of this prayer; we simply draw attention to the fact, that, in the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, presided over by that especial favourite of the Romish See, Dr. Newman, here is a special service for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, solemnly authorized by the head of the Romish Church, with special privileges attached to its observance; and yet, when Anglicans object to the doctrine therein sanctioned, as utterly unscriptural and uncatholic, we are to be coolly told that the doctrine in question is "as yet, at least, an opinion, and not a dogma of the Church!" As if, forsooth, the Church of Rome would allow a doctrine to be taught in her communion, under such authority, which she had not at least virtually sanctioned by her Imprimatur. But so it is ever with the Romish Church. Ask her upon what authority she supports her claims, she will tell you, with Bellarmine and the old doctors, that she appeals to Scripture and to primitive antiquity. Tell her again that you can find no warrant for those claims in the Bible or the Primitive Church, and she will tell you, with Dr. Newman, *wholly contradicting her former teaching*, that doubtless Scripture and an-

¹ Anglicanism, &c. p. 101.

tiquity do speak very obscurely on these points, but that you must look to "development," as her sole authority! Tell her again, that she sanctions, by her teaching and her practice, a doctrine which cannot be defended even by "development," and then comes Mr. Dodsworth, and coolly asks us to believe that the doctrine in question, so sanctioned and so enforced, is not a "dogma," but simply "an opinion," of the Catholic Church! And this is the man who leaves the Church of England, because, *as he asserts*, she allows of the existence of "open questions!"

And now let us see how Mr. Dodsworth defends the superstition and idolatry which are charged upon the Romish communion. After a good deal of irrelevant matter, such as being "outside the system," and therefore not being competent judges of it, Mr. Dodsworth thus speaks:—

"But a still weightier consideration is that much which is objected to under this head is really an *abuse*, condemned by the authoritative voice of the Catholic Church herself. Thus speaks the Council of Trent, 'Into these holy and salutary observances should any abuses creep, of these the Holy Council vehemently desires the utter extinction, so that no images of a false doctrine, and supplying to the uninstructed opportunity of perilous error should be set up . . . All superstition also in invocation of Saints, veneration of relics, and sacred use of images be put away; all filthy lucre be cast out of doors.'—Sess. xxv. So that where such abuses exist it is only fair to set them down, not to the system itself, but to the defective administration of the system: just as Anglicans have been wont, (though now they can no longer do so) to attribute the false doctrine which is so extensively taught in the established Church on baptism, not to the Church itself, but to its defective discipline or administration²."

One is tempted to exclaim at this passage, in the well-known words of the great Satirist,

— at quis custodiet ipsos

Custodes?—

Doubtless the Church of Rome is quite ready to condemn all "superstitious worship" of images,—and so we doubt not would the savage be, who prostrates himself before his fetish,—or the devotee who throws himself under the car of Juggernaut. Mr. Dodsworth may depend on it, that he cannot repel the charge of superstition by merely stating that the Council of Trent condemns "abuses." The question is, What is "superstition" and what are "abuses?" It is very little matter to us what the Council of Trent says on this subject; all we are concerned with is the practice of the modern Church of Rome. What that practice is, we will show Mr. Dodsworth presently; meantime, we would just observe, in passing,

² Anglicanism, &c., pp. 98, 99.

that a modern Romanist's appealing to the dictum of the Council of Trent against "abuses," is something like "Primate" Cullen describing the Church of Rome as the only "true friend of civil and religious liberty." That individual had the audacity, we had well-nigh used another word, to assert, at the Rotunda meeting, that "wherever the Catholic Church prevailed, there true liberty followed. Wherever Catholicity has been superseded, there slavery followed. He hoped it would be believed that the Pope as well as the bishops were the true friends of civil and religious liberty!" ("Morning Chronicle," Aug. 21.) Doubtless, as Mr. Dodsworth appeals to the Council of Trent, so would "Primate" Cullen appeal to the practice of the Romish Church in support of his assertion. We would venture, with all submission, to offer the burning of Savonarola, of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, as an apt illustration of "his grace's" assertion, referring him to the dungeons of Naples for the experience of more modern times. Let us hear how Mr. Whiteside, quite as competent a judge as "Primate" Cullen, corroborates the assertion of the pseudo-Archbishop of Armagh. He says:—

"Supposing, however, an unfortunate priest is suspected of heresy, to him no mercy will be extended; for him there is no law but the will of the Pope and the inquisitors; and this again is insisted upon as a necessary part of the discipline of ecclesiastical Rome; and those who deliberately adopt this system are convicted of a preference for the discipline of the Inquisition, to the reasonable liberty of the Church of England. An example of what has been said occurred in Rome the winter previous to my residence there. A Roman priest doubted several of the doctrines of his Church; he became acquainted with some English gentlemen, (from one of whom I had this narrative), and frankly expressed to them his change of opinion, and consequently the peril in which he stood. On inquiry they were convinced of his sincerity, his danger increasing every hour. My informant declared that the priest's terror was such, lest he might be suspected of heresy, that his life was miserable. The priest said, he knew well what his fate would be, if arrested and discovered, that is, if it became known he meant publicly to change his religion, *imprisonment for life at the least*. Several Englishmen (amongst whom was my friend) subscribed a sum of money, and also applied for a passport in a feigned name; and having provided the terrified priest with a purse and a passport, he escaped by Leghorn to England. Having heard this statement from one not given to exaggeration, I applied to an advocate to be informed what was the law in cases of heresy. His answer, in writing, was characteristic of a good Catholic:—

"'Protestants' (he wrote) 'who sojourn amongst us are tolerated and respected, but no Catholic can embrace their creed; with respect to apostates, *'non vi é legge contro costoro, ad imitazione credo io delle*

leggi Spartane, che non aveano stabilita alcuna pena contro il Parricidio."

But Mr. Whiteside further illustrates this point. He gives a long analysis of a tract, published at Florence in 1846, by the Marchese Massimo Azeglio, which produced a very great sensation throughout Italy. Space will only allow us to give Mr. Whiteside's comment on this remarkable production. He says:—

"We may derive another important lesson from the perusal of this tract—that an educated Roman Catholic expresses his opinions on the misgovernment of his Church with sincerity, truth, and an unflinching boldness. In what he has written he has laid bare the absurdity of the Pope's temporal government, and he appears to have the lowest opinion of the moral teaching and education afforded by the Papacy, in its spiritual character, to its subjects. He and the thousands who in Italy think with him, would manfully reform both Church and State in Rome with an unsparing hand. . . . A tree is to be judged of it by its fruits. What were the fruits of the Papal system? *The scaling up the Scriptures, the interdiction of knowledge, flagitious temporal government, alternately the ridicule and scorn of the people, and, what was more dreadful, according to the proved statements of Massimo Azeglio, an open denial of justice.*—

"Heartily may we unite with him in wishing to the Roman people improved institutions and rational freedom!"

If, indeed, by "religious liberty," "Primate" Cullen means liberty in the "religious" to do as they please with the people, then, doubtless, no country is so highly favoured as Italy, even though the Italians are stupid enough not to appreciate the blessings of their system, except by the aid of French bayonets. Mr. Whiteside gives an illustration of this, which would be amusing, could we forget the sad state of things it unfolds. He heard Il Padre Ventura preach at the church of St. Andrea della valle. Il Padre announced his text from Malachi. A clerical friend of Mr. Whiteside whispered that there was no such text in that prophet. Let us hear the issue:—

"My clerical friend called on me next day: 'Well,' said he, 'there is no such text in Malachi as Ventura quoted.' On naming the matter to an Italian priest of my acquaintance, he said it was evidently a mistake. No doubt it was; but, had the Italian preacher quoted from the Koran, instead of the Bible, not one member of the congregation, in all likelihood, had a copy of the Scriptures, so as to correct the error or contradict the preacher. There is not a copy of the New Testament to be purchased in the Italian language in Rome, or, indeed, in any part

* Italy, &c. vol. ii. pp. 264, 265.

* Ibid. pp. 320—322.

of Italy. Over and over again I have sought for it, but never could find it for sale. The copies of the Scriptures in Italian, to be met with in private houses, have been printed in England.

"A young lady of my party, the first winter of my sojourn in Rome, asked an Italian matron (owner of our house) to lend her a copy of the Italian Testament. The lively old lady answered with much animation, 'I cannot lend that book. Two years since, a sweet Englishwoman resided in this house; the dear good lady presented me with the Scriptures, and I was grateful for her kindness. When my husband saw it, he said that was the prohibited book, and desired me to conceal it. I locked it up accordingly, have not opened it for two years, and could scarcely tell in what language it is printed.' Now this was a very respectable person, and, judging from the colour of their stockings, had high ecclesiastics amongst her friends; and the above is her account of the reception the Scriptures meet with in Italy.

"The practical lesson to be derived to ourselves from such facts is valuable. There is a large party of men emanating from Oxford who assert that the system of Rome, as enforced in Rome, is certainly right, and consequently that the freedom of reading the Scriptures which prevails in England is radically wrong. When the proposition of these theologians is once understood, namely, that the free use of the Scriptures should be restricted, the indignant sense of the British people will decide the question of the Reformation as their forefathers did, rejecting alike the sophisms of casuistry and the intolerance of priestcraft. To hear it boldly asserted that we may buy and read the Koran, but not the history of the life and teaching of Christ, as recorded in the New Testament, strikes the most unthinking as a proposition repugnant to reason; and enough appears even in this chapter to demonstrate the necessity of asserting the right of private judgment, and resolutely vindicating the independence of the human mind¹."

But now let us see how far Modern Romanism justifies the charge of "superstition," so far as the use of relics is concerned. We will consider the question of image worship, when we come to discuss the "idolatry" of the system. In the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan, they show, among other relics, *the brassen serpent* that Moses had made, and elevated in the wilderness! Again, Mr. Seymour gives a long list of relics, which are preserved in the High Church of Santa Croce de Jerusalemme. Among these relics are the following:—"The finger of St. Thomas the Apostle, which touched the rib of our Lord; the cord with which our Lord was bound to the cross, and the sponge that was extended to him, with gall and vinegar. A large piece of our Lord's coat; *a phial full of our Lord's blood; a phial full of milk of the most Blessed Virgin Mary; some of the manna with which the Israelites were fed,*" &c. &c. The following relics,

¹ Italy, &c. vol. ii. pp. 201—203.

again, are found in a catalogue in the Church of St. Praxede:—
 “A tooth of St. Peter, and of St. Paul; *the chemise of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the girdle and swaddling clothes of our Lord; the rod of Moses; and the coat without seam belonging to our Lord.*” Now, this is a very small selection from a very large catalogue. We ask Mr. Dodsworth, first, Does he believe himself in the genuineness of these relics? We ask him, secondly, Does he think *that one single priest in the whole city of Rome believes in them either?* and if not, how is it possible to exempt the Church of Rome from the charge of encouraging in the people a “superstitious” veneration for a most barefaced system of imposture? But, is this superstitious veneration confined to the people? Let us see. On the 18th of November, 1845, Mr. Seymour attended an exhibition of the “Great Relics” of St. Peter’s before the pope, cardinals, and whole court of Rome. These relics are, the likeness of the Saviour, said to be impressed on the handkerchief of St. Veronica; a portion of the cross; the head of St. Andrew; and the spear of St. Longinus. The head of St. Andrew was not then exhibited, being reserved for the day specially dedicated to that saint. The other three relics were publicly exhibited. The pope, his cardinals, prelates, and guards, all *kneelt* in front of the high altar. During this time a priest exhibited each of the three relics in succession, holding it first to his left, then to his right, and finally straight before him. On this display, Mr. Seymour makes the following remarks:—

“This exhibition,” he says, “is justly regarded as the most important of all such ceremonies in the Church of Rome. It takes place several times during the Holy Week. And its importance arises from the fact of its being done by the authority and in the presence of the Head of the Church, and before the court of Rome. It is not a private ceremony, or an individual devotion, nor an unauthorized exhibition. It is a grand ceremony of the Church. The Pope attends it in state. The court attend it in form. There are fixed days appointed for it, and the ceremony is as much authorized as any ceremony can be in the Church of Rome.

“Now my impression is this: I have seen the Pope and cardinals and a similar attendance enter St. Peter’s, and kneel in similar form before the elevation of the Host on the High Altar. I have also seen the Pope and cardinals and a similar attendance kneel in a similar manner before the Host on the Altar of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in St. Peter’s. I have witnessed this repeatedly. I have also witnessed the ceremonies at the exhibition of the great relics on three different occasions; and, having most narrowly and carefully watched and noted every thing, I am bound to avow my impression to be this;—namely, that the *outward* form of reverence, worship, or adoration paid to the relics, is, in every, even the minutest particulars, identically the

same as that paid to the Host. I say—the *outward* form, for no man can judge of the inward feelings or intentions of others; but of that which every observer may see, and of which he may judge, namely, the *outward* form—the *outward* act of reverence, worship, or adoration, in all the highest solemnities of which it is capable, is one and the same, whether rendered to the relics or to the Host. In other words, the Pope, cardinals, and court of Rome render to that which they believe to be a relic, *an outward worship* precisely the same as they render to that which they believe to be God⁶.”

We ask Mr. Dodsworth in what spirit he believes that the Pope and his attendant prelates knelt before these relics? We ask him whether it is not impossible to avoid the conclusion, either that they were guilty of one of the gravest acts of “superstition” of which men could well be guilty, or else that they deliberately sanctioned a system of the grossest imposture and deceit? May we not well use to Mr. Dodsworth the indignant language in which Southey addresses one who, like him, was rash enough to defend the Romish system?—“And yet, sir, you resent a charge of superstition against a Church in which such things are believed—of imposture and wickedness against a Church in which such things have been invented. You affect surprise and indignation at the imputation!”

But, even while we write, the apology which Mr. Dodsworth offers for the Church of Rome is flung to the winds by one to whom that Church professes to attach the very highest value. At the very time that Mr. Dodsworth is trying to silence Anglican objections by the consideration that “much which is objected to under this head (the superstitious use of relics and images) is really an *abuse* (sic) condemned by the authoritative voice of the Catholic Church herself,” Dr. Newman, for the edification of the good people of Birmingham, thus endorses, and thus glories in, the very worst of the practices to which Anglicans object! Unless, indeed, Mr. Dodsworth can produce, from the Romish use of relics, practices still more superstitious, still greater “abuses,” than those Dr. Newman mentions, we must conclude—1st, That there is a very material discrepancy between the views of the two perverts on this subject; and, 2ndly, That Mr. Dodsworth had better study the Romish system a little more closely before he again ventures to defend it. We commend the passage from Dr. Newman to the special attention, both of Mr. Dodsworth, and of our readers—particularly the closing sentence—fully bearing out, as it does, the oft-repeated assertion, that there is only a step, and that not a very wide one, between the

⁶ Seymour's Pilgrimage to Rome, pp. 361, 362.

⁷ Vindiciæ, p. 468.

"development" of modern Romanism and the infidelity of the modern rationalist. Once let Dr. Newman's "faith" be in the smallest degree shaken, and, unless God's grace interpose, infidelity must be his sole alternative.

"Certainly the Catholic Church, from east to west, from north to south, is, according to our conceptions, hung with miracles. The store of relics is inexhaustible; they are multiplied through all lands, *and each particle of each has in it a dormant, perhaps an energetic, virtue of supernatural operation.* At Rome there is the true cross, the crib of Bethlehem, and the chair of St. Peter. Portions of the crown of thorns are kept at Paris; *the holy coat is shown at Treves*; the winding-sheet at Turin; at Monza, the iron crown is formed out of a nail of the cross; and another nail is claimed for the Duomo of Milan; and pieces of our Lady's habit are to be seen in the Escorial. The agnus Dei, blessed medals, the scapular, the cord of St. Francis, *all are the medium of divine manifestations and graces. Crucifixes have bowed the head to the suppliant, and Madonnas have bent their eyes upon assembled crowds.* St. Januarius's blood liquifies periodically at Naples; and St. Winifred's Well is the scene of wonders even in an unbelieving country. Women are marked with the sacred stigmata; blood has flowed on Fridays from their five wounds, and their heads are crowned with a circle of lacerations. Relics are ever touching the sick, the deceased, the wounded, sometimes with no result at all, at other times with marked and undeniable efficacy.

"Who has not heard of the abundant favours gained by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and of the marvellous consequences which have attended the invocation of St. Anthony of Padua? These phenomena are sometimes reported of saints in their lifetime, as well as after death, especially if they were evangelists or martyrs. The wild beasts crouched before their victims in the Roman amphitheatre; the axeman was unable to sever St. Cecilia's head from her body; and St. Peter elicited a spring of water for his gaoler's baptism in the Mamertine. St. Francis Xavier *turned salt water into fresh for five hundred travellers*; St. Raymond *was transported over the sea on his cloak*; St. Andrew shone brightly in the dark; St. Scholastica gained by her prayers a pouring rain; St. Paul was fed by ravens; and St. Frances saw her guardian angel. I need not continue the catalogue.

"I will avow distinctly that, putting out of the question the hypothesis of unknown laws of nature (which is an evasion from the force of any proof), I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, *and for the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman states.* I see no reason to doubt the material of the Lombard crown at Monza; and I do not see why the holy coat at Treves may not have been what it professes to be. I firmly believe that portions of the true cross are at Rome and elsewhere; that the crib of Bethlehem is at Rome, and the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul also. I

believe that at Rome, too, lies St. Stephen ; that St. Matthew lies at Salerno, and St. Andrew at Amalpi. *I firmly believe that the relics of the saints are doing innumerable miracles and graces daily, and that it needs only for a Catholic to show devotion to any saint in order to receive especial benefits from his intercession.* I firmly believe that saints in their lifetime have before now raised the dead to life, crossed the sea without vessels, multiplied grain and bread, cured incurable diseases, and stopped the operation of the laws of the universe in a multitude of ways. Many men, when they hear an educated man so speak, will at once impute the avowal to insanity, or to an idiosyncrasy, or to imbecility of mind, or to decrepitude of powers, or to fanaticism, or to hypocrisy. They have a right to say so if they will ; *and we have a right to ask them why they do not say it of those who bow down before the mystery of mysteries, the DIVINE INCARNATION.* If they do not believe this, they are not yet Protestants*."

But now, we have to consider the last, and immeasurably the most important, part of the subject. We have to inquire whether the Church of Rome can, or cannot, fairly be charged with IDOLATRY. And as we are perfectly aware of the damning character of the charge itself, so are we aware also of the fearful amount of responsibility which rests on those persons who make it, either in a malicious and rancorous spirit, or without a due amount of inquiry into its truth. For ourselves, we solemnly declare, in the sight of that God who seeth in secret, that we entered upon the consideration of the question at issue, not simply with no feeling of prejudice against the Church of Rome, but with the most sincere desire that we might be able to acquit that Church of the crime charged upon her. We declare, with equal solemnity, that, unless the data we rest upon are utterly false ; unless that which Mr. Seymour and Mr. Whiteside declare they saw at Rome with their own eyes, they as a matter of fact never did see ; unless they have wilfully and maliciously trumped up a story which is from beginning to end a sheer and wicked invention ; unless, again, the Church of Rome is in no wise committed by the acts of her popes, cardinals, and prelates ; then do we unhesitatingly assert that the Church of Rome does deliberately sanction the grossest idolatry as an integral portion of her system, as that system is set forth and developed in the city of Rome itself ; an idolatry worse than that of the heathen, because committed against a higher amount of knowledge of God's law. Mr. Dodsworth feels, and we respect him for the feeling, excessively indignant at the imputation of idolatry. He says,

" But I except entirely from the application of such observations the CHARGE OF IDOLATRY. I fully admit that they are far too insignificant

* Guardian, Sept. 3.

to meet that charge. It must be tried upon its grounds. I can only say, for myself, that the charge is totally false.

"But I would urge that this crime is of so fearful and damning a character, that if Anglicans believe it true, they convict themselves also as partakers of the sin. For with idolatry *no terms may be kept*. If the Catholic Church can be convicted of idolatry, the language of even ultra Protestantism is too weak for its condemnation. Idolatry taints every thing that it touches. 'Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils.' Yet the Church of England acknowledges the priesthood of Rome and recognises her orders; and Anglicans, at least, would deal with her as a mother or sister Church *."

Now on this passage we have only to remark that the recognition of Romish orders has nothing whatever to do with the question of idolatry. We apprehend that the priesthood of Aaron was not invalidated, because he made the golden calf for the people to worship; we apprehend that when nearly the whole of the Jewish Church were involved in the charge of idolatry, the Levitical priesthood still continued: and so, obviously, the Church of Rome will continue, externally, a branch of the Church of Christ, in whatever corruption she may be involved, so long as she preserves the succession unimpaired.

But let us, before we proceed further, consider the question, What is idolatry? We apprehend that it will be a correct definition to say, that idolatry is the rendering to any thing whatever, whether create or uncreate, that homage, and worship, and service, which are due to God alone. Thus far we shall doubtless all agree. But then comes the further very important question, what is the amount of the homage, and what is the nature of the service which God has a right to expect, and does, in his holy word, demand, from his creatures? We answer at once *All the worship, and all the homage, and all the service, which the creature can possibly pay Him*. We say that a perfect Christian would be one, who should offer to God in three Persons, to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the "freewill offering" of his entire and undivided allegiance; who should allow nothing, whether natural or spiritual, to detract one jot or one tittle from the worship which is due to God only; and that if he offers to any thing one particle of that service to which God is entitled; whether with the heathen he bows down to the stock and the stone; or whether he *sets up his idol in his heart*, and worships honour, riches, and power; or whether, as the Romanist, he bends before the image of the saint; so far forth as he gives to some thing, no matter what, the worship which God claims, so far forth is that man an IDOLATER. Doubtless there is a difference between the worship

* Dodsworth's Anglicanism, pp. 99, 100.

of the heathen to his idol, and that of the Romanist to the image of a saint. The one, in ignorance of the Being whom he ought to worship, bows down before the idol who is to him in the place of God. The other, while he acknowledges the true God, gives to another that worship which God claims. But then it must be remembered that there is this difference also; the one worships the idol, not knowing what service God claims, not having had God's will *revealed* to him; while the other runs counter, wilfully, to the plain and positive command, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him ONLY shalt thou serve*. And it is no counter argument to all this to say that Romanists do not pay the same *kind* of worship to the image which they pay to God. It is useless to talk about the distinction between *λατρεία*, *δουλεία*, and *ὑπερδουλεία*, because the objection is not to the *degree*, but to the *principle*. Until it can be plainly proved that one Divine command is abrogated and superseded by another;—until it can be shown that Christians are permitted to do that which was forbidden to the Jews, viz., to worship graven images;—until it can be shown that the command of the old dispensation, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him ONLY shalt thou serve*, is superseded by an equally plain and equally positive command of our LORD and his Apostles;—until then, the man who pays to any thing except, or besides, God, any worship or service whatever, is, practically, no matter what may be his intention, an IDOLATER—the system which allows that worship is an IDOLATROUS system—and the Church which sanctions that system, must be an IDOLATROUS CHURCH.

But Mr. Dodsworth brings forward another argument in support of the Romish system, a *reductio ad absurdum*.

"I confess," he says, "when I reflect upon the great saints which have lived in the Catholic Church, and that even since her existing system has been developed, it seems to me a thing most extravagant to charge her with idolatry. What! did SS. Bernard, Charles, Francis, Ignatius, and a hundred more, live in an idolatrous system, and never detect or repudiate the idolatry? Surely the very thought is beyond all reason monstrous, and needs but to be mentioned to be rejected¹."

The argument is ingenious, but it is fallacious. 1st, Because it is no answer to a charge against a system to say that individuals have lived above it; 2ndly, Because we are discussing the question of Modern Romanism, and we firmly believe that neither St. Bernard, nor St. Charles Borromeo, would have done that which is now done every year in the Romish Church. *If they would*, then, doubtless, they, if our argument be sound, would be involved in the like condemnation.

¹ Dodsworth's Anglicanism, p. 100.

And now then let us see what worship and what service the modern Church of Rome does actually pay to other objects besides Almighty God. Let us take Mr. Seymour's account of the ADORATION OF THE CROSS, which takes place on Good Friday.

"A cross made of wood stands upon the altar. It is enveloped in a black veil. The deacon hands it to the officiating cardinal. He, standing with his back to the altar and his face to the people, holds the cross before the eyes of the congregation. Then loosening the black veil which envelopes it, he uncovers one arm of the cross—pauses—holds it conspicuously before the congregation, and exclaims with a loud voice:—

"Behold the wood of the cross!"

"And the response bursts from the choir—

"Come, let us adore it!"

"And immediately the pope, the cardinals, and all present, kneel and adore it, and then resume their seats.

"Again the officiating cardinal uncovers the second arm of the cross—pauses—exclaims as before:—

"Behold the wood of the cross!"

"And the response again bursts from the choir—

"Come, let us adore it!"

"And, as before, the pope, the cardinals, and all present, kneel and adore it, and then resume their seats.

"Again the officiating cardinal uncovers the whole cross—pauses—and exclaims as before:—

"Behold the wood of the cross!"

"And the response again bursts from the choir—

"Come, let us adore it!"

"And immediately the pope, the cardinals, and all present, kneel and adore it a third time."

But the ceremony was not yet ended. The cardinals next proceeded to divest the pope of his robes, mitre, &c. For what follows we must refer to Mr. Seymour.

"Having conducted the pope to the end of the chapel, they turned and faced the cross, which lay on the floor near the step of the altar. There they made him kneel and adore it. They raised him, and, conducting him some two or three paces nearer, they again made him kneel a second time and adore the cross. Then again they raised him, and leading him nearer still, they again the third time made him kneel and adore the cross. Here at the cross they raised him, and then again he knelt, then rose again and then knelt again. Prostrate before it—on knees and hands, he kissed it, and, according to custom, left an hundred scudi of gold as an offering beside it. He was afterwards conducted to his throne and robed, while the most exquisite music from the choir accompanied the whole ceremony.

"When this is completed by the pope, the same act is performed by each of the cardinals, all without shoes, adoring and kissing the cross.

* Seymour's Pilgrimage to Rome, pp. 299, 300.

These are followed by the bishops, heads of orders, &c., all adoring it in like manner, and all making to it an offer of money.

"The deacons then spread the cloth on the altar, light the candles, and reverently place the cross, no longer on the floor, but on the altar, amidst the candlesticks.

"Such is—THE ADORATION OF THE CROSS: an act of worship that moved me intensely; infinitely more than any thing I had witnessed at Rome. It was an act the most solemn and impressive, that bore every characteristic of IDOLATRY.

"A few considerations will justify this statement.

"1. The cross that was thus solemnly adored, was not adored as being the symbol of a crucified Saviour. It was not the sign or symbol of a doctrine. There was special care taken that it should not be so regarded. The words were not *ecce crucem*, but *ecce lignum crucis*. And this is the distinction always used among theologians, between the *doctrine* of the cross and the *wood* of the cross. This was an adoration of the wood.

"2. Neither was this adoration paid to the cross as a relic, as a supposed fragment of the true or original cross. The rubrical directions, if that term may be applied, require that this shall *not* be such relic or fragment: and it is not till the act of adoration to this mere wood of the cross has been performed, that the relic or fragment of the true cross is produced and exhibited. They accordingly have two crosses for Good Friday; one, an ordinary cross of ebony, and this is the one adored—the other, composed out of the relics of the true cross, is subsequently exhibited, and the first removed.

"3. The word is—adoration. It is not *veneration*, the term usually applied to relics: *not* is it *invocation*, the term applied to the saints: nor is it *worship*, a term of more general use: but it is *adoration*, which implies *divine worship*—the worship that belongs to God.

"4. That it was the highest species of worship, is apparent in the manner of the act. The shoes were removed; the robes were laid aside; and greater solemnity was given to the act than I have seen in the adoration of the host. It is remarkable, too, that there was then no host on the altar; it was in the sepulchre in the Pauline chapel. And when afterwards the pope and cardinals brought in the host, and paid adoration to it, in the same place where they had adored the wood of the cross, they did not remove their shoes or lay aside their robes, but adored it with far less of solemnity than they had already shewn to the wood of the cross¹."

But let us see what worship is paid to the Virgin Mary by the modern Church of Rome. We will give the account of the "crowning" of the Virgin, by the late Pope Gregory XVI., taken, says Mr. Seymour, from the "Dizionario di erudizione storica-ecclesiastica," by Moroni, 1842.

"Then the pope turned to his seat, placed the incense in the censer,

¹ Seymour's Pilgrimage to Rome, pp. 301—303.

and after blessing it, arose, sprinkled the crowns with holy water, and incensed them. Afterwards he descends from the throne and kneels before the altar at the kneeling-stool, chanting the Antiphona, 'Queen of Heaven!' which the singers follow out with modulated voices. The chant being ended, the crowns were committed to the prelates, Pentini and Macioti, canons of the Church, robed in the cotta and rochetta, and acting as deacon and sub-deacon to the pope. Then the pontiff, rising, took his mitre, and, preceded by the two canons, and accompanied by two cardinal deacons assisting in *cappe rosse*, and by two auditors of the rota, also in cappa, ascends by the stairs at the epistle side to the upper level, where the sacred picture was placed. They remove the mitre, and then the pope, taking the crown which was designed for the head of the picture of Jesus, said, in the act of placing it there :—

“ ‘As by our hands Thou art crowned on earth, so may we deserve to be crowned by Thee with glory and honour in the heavens.’

“ ‘Having then taken the other crown, he placed it on the head of the picture of the Blessed Virgin, and said :—

“ ‘As by our hands Thou art crowned on earth, so may we deserve to be crowned through Thee, by Jesus Christ thy Son, with glory and honour in the heavens.’

“ ‘After the solemn crowning of the sacred images, amidst the rejoicing and universal commotion of the immense assemblage, the pope descends the other stairs at the side of the gospel, lays aside the mitre, blesses the incense, places it in the censer, and, incensing three times the sacred picture, said :—

“ ‘Pope—A golden crown upon her head.

“ ‘Response—The express sign of sanctity, the glory of honour, and the work of might.

“ ‘Pope—Thou hast crowned her, O Lord.

“ ‘Response—And made her have dominion over the works of thine hands.

“ ‘Let us pray.

“ ‘Grant, O merciful Lord, by the crowning of the mother, &c.’

“ Such is the official and authorized account of this ceremony, in which the pope himself took the most conspicuous part. And it is impossible to read it without remembering the similar ceremonies among the ancient Romans, when crowning the images of their heathen gods. There was the same mighty multitude—the same Pontifex Maximus—the same sacerdotal display—the same accumulation of pomps—and it is not too much to add, the same priestcraft on the part of the priests, and the same idolatry on the part of the people ‘.

We have not space to insert the very graphic accounts which both our authors give of the worship offered to the Bambino, or wooden image of the Infant Saviour, said to be carved by a Franciscan from wood which grew on the Mount of Olives, painted by St. Luke, and, of course, miraculously brought to

* Seymour's Pilgrimage to Rome, pp. 269, 270.

Rome. We must, however, give Mr. Whiteside's comment on this gross exhibition.

"In the evening, I chanced to meet an Italian gentleman of my acquaintance, engaged in literary pursuits. He inquired 'how I had spent my day?' I replied, 'witnessing the benediction of the Bambino.' 'Ah!' said he, laughing, 'so you have seen the Bambino—our little doctor: and what do you think of him? He is a skilful physician!' and so on, manifestly scoffing at the absurdity of the popular belief. This was what might be expected from a man of education; but what must a Protestant think of the miraculous Bambino after such an avowal?

"There cannot be a greater mistake than the assertion that such exhibitions do no harm. The Italian Church cannot thus escape. It pretends indeed to infallibility. But when its educated followers condescend to argue and discourse upon ceremonies such as here described, and can give no more valid reason for their continuance than that they *do no harm*, they admit they are indefensible. *Those who add to the simplicity of truth are to be condemned, no less than those who take away from its integrity.* I must frankly confess it requires a strong exercise of faith to discover, in such a ceremony as the benediction of the Bambino, any vestige of the spiritual religion of the gospel¹."

But we feel that we should not complete our unpleasant task, if we finished here our account of Romish image worship. A Romanist would probably say, with respect to the cases we have quoted, that they have all at least a reference to the Saviour, and therefore cannot fairly be amenable to the charge of superstition and idolatry. How far the objection would be valid we leave our readers to determine; at all events, we will give one more extract from Mr. Seymour, and if that does not convict the Church of Rome of the most barefaced and palpable idolatry it is well-nigh possible to imagine, then are we at a loss to know what idolatry is—then is one at a loss to know why the Jewish people were deprived of their temple and carried away captive to Babylon; why *the high places* were rendered *desolate*; why *the sanctuaries of Israel were laid waste*; and why the Almighty *rose against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.* (Amos vii. 9.) We allude to the worship offered to the image of St. Peter, which stands in the church dedicated to that Apostle.

"The manner of its worship is by kneeling before it, praying to it, and kissing its foot; and this worship is paid to it by all orders and classes. We have witnessed the pope himself, the cardinals, the archbishops, bishops, priests, monks and friars, and all classes of ecclesiastical persons, bow, and worship, and kiss it. We have also witnessed kings, queens, princes, dukes, nobles, and all ranks and orders of society, bow, and worship before it, and kiss it. It is the universal practice of the

¹ Italy, &c. pp. 248, 249.

Romans. On one occasion, we went to St. Peter's to witness the pope himself, as the head of the Church, paying worship, or homage, or reverence, under whatever name men delight to call it, to this image of bronze. He came attended in full state, by the cardinals and all his court. He was surrounded by his guards, who kept sufficient space around the image. He approached reverently, while a chamberlain or other officer carefully wiped with a handkerchief the toe of the image. The pope bowed lowly before it, till his head was lower than the projecting foot of the image. He then raised his head very gently till it touched the sole of the foot. In this position, with the foot of the image on his head, he made his reverence, moving his lips as if in prayer, and remaining for a short time thus humbled, under a semblance of prayer, he concluded by changing the position, kissing the great toe of the image, then, touching it with his forehead, he passed away to kneel before the high altar. All the cardinals followed, bowing to the image, and kissing its foot. All the archbishops and bishops—all the priests and other officials of the court followed their example, and passed on in like manner.

"This scene, so formal and so public, set at rest all doubts as to the sanction of the Church of Rome given to this idolatry. It was the act, not of a simple, ignorant, or superstitious populace, giving way to feelings against the better teaching of their priesthood; but it was the formal and public act of the head of the Church of Rome, accompanied by all its authorities *."

But we alluded above to the excuse Romanists offer with respect to their *intention* in image worship. As we said before, the excuse, even though a real one, cannot avail, until they can prove that they have a right to offer worship of any sort or kind, to any thing whatever except the "invisible God." But in truth, is the excuse a real one? We firmly believe that it is not; certainly not with the people, even if it be with the priests. We firmly believe, that with the great bulk of the Roman people *who worship at all*, precisely the same kind and degree of worship is offered to the image of the Madonna and of the saints, as is offered to Almighty God; nay, more than this, that the worship of the one is well-nigh, not simply shared with, but superseded by, the worship of the other. It is a notorious fact, that the lower orders look to Mary for protection, for deliverance from temporal and eternal ill, far more than to that divine Redeemer, whom she was the humble, but ever-to-be-honoured instrument of bringing into the world—that they venerate the human mother at least far more frequently than the divine Son—that they, in very truth, *worship the creature more than the Creator*. We will give one more quotation from Mr. Seymour, who had good opportunities of judging as to the kind and degree of image worship, and then leave any further consideration of his interesting book, earnestly recom-

* Seymour's *Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 453—455.

mending it to those who wish to know what Modern Romanism really is, and especially to those who are disposed to undervalue the system of the Church of England.

“Religious worship, adoration, prayer, belong to the CREATOR; and it is a dishonouring of Him, who is a ‘jealous God, and will not give his glory to another,’ to render religious worship, adoration, or prayer, to the CREATURE. Even if we could suppose that these might, without idolatry, be rendered to the higher and holier of intelligent spirits, yet it would seem inconsistent with common sense—with natural as well as revealed religion—to render them to inanimate and mouldy bones, or rather to portions and splinters of bones, bits of skin, parings of nails, scraps of apparel, or fragments of stones. As such things are incapable of receiving worship, adoration, prayer, as they are incapable of perceiving the prostration of the body, the bending of the knee, the profound reverence, the religious veneration of men, so such honours ought not to be rendered to them, and indeed cannot be rendered to them, without superstition and idolatry on the part of those who offered them. And yet I have seen the very same prostration of the body, the very same bending of the knee, the very same profound obeisance, the very same look of devoted reverence, the very same posture of devotion, the very same movement of the lips in prayer, all rendered before a splinter of a bone, or a piece of wood, that I have seen the very same person exhibit before the host on the altar. I know not, and cannot know, what passes in the mind, or works in the intentions of others; and I, of all men, ought to be the last to judge. I judge not, lest I should myself be judged; and, therefore, I leave to Him who knoweth the secrets of all hearts, to judge of the minds and intentions of men; but in matters of fact, which are before my eyes, I may form an opinion. ‘I speak that I do know, and testify that I have seen,’ when I say that I witnessed the priests at Rome exhibit *the host*, and the people prostrate themselves before it; and exhibit *an image*, and the people prostrate themselves before it; and exhibit *a relic*, and the people prostrate themselves before it. And I never could discover the faintest shade of difference in the posture, in the manner, in the worship of the people; whether to the host, the image, or the relic. The outward act of worship was one and the same to all.”

And, be it observed, it is no answer to what has been said to urge the plea, which Romanists are so ready to urge, that they do, in fact, simply supplicate the saint to intercede with God on their behalf. We are not now discussing the lawfulness of the “invocation” of saints. That is a question wholly irrespective of our present subject, and one which must stand or fall by its own merits. We are objecting simply and solely to the worship, the actual bodily prostration, which is offered to the images of different saints, all of whom once were men like unto those by whom that worship is offered. The question of bowing before a crucifix

† Seymour's *Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 355, 356.

is a totally different question to this. One can perfectly *understand* the religious feeling which uses the crucifix as a help to devotion; but how, when we find, as if by the direct interposition of Divine Providence for the avoidance of a future error of a similar kind, when we find the great Apostle of the circumcision, whose *status* the Church of Rome worships, distinctly repudiating the worship which Cornelius wished to offer him; when we find St. Paul and St. Barnabas turning with horror from a similar act of worship on the distinct ground that they were *men of like passions* with those who desired to offer it; when, moreover, we consider the awful threatenings of Almighty God, in the Old Testament, against every sort and kind of image worship; when we know that the worship of images in the Romish Church is the grand stumbling-block of all others in the way of the conversion of the Jewish people, because they cannot but see that, instead of filling up the measure of the old dispensation, it runs altogether counter to one of its fundamental precepts;—when we take all these things into account, it does seem difficult to understand the infatuation which can so directly annul the teaching and the example of both Testaments, the acknowledged and undoubted tradition of primitive Christianity—it does seem strange how a Church which sanctions and which practices actual bodily prostration, no matter with what intention, before an image which man's hands have wrought, can, by any possibility, be exempted from the charge of IDOLATRY. God forbid, if haply any Romanist should read this paper, whose conscience tells him that the earnest desire of *his* heart is to worship his Creator *in spirit and in truth*, God forbid he should suppose that we deliberately wish to charge him, and others like him, with any *intention* of committing idolatry, with any *intention* of offering to the creature the worship due to God alone. We make no such charge—we bring no such accusation—but we entreat such an one to consider well what we have said; and unless our argument from the plain words of Holy Scripture be a fallacy from beginning to end, he will surely see that God, who declares Himself a *jealous God*, has a right to object to worship of any sort or kind being offered to any thing but Himself; and, therefore, that any such worship *must* be, practically, an act of IDOLATRY. Let him assure himself that we are not of those, to whom Dr. Newman alluded in his recent lecture at Birmingham, who wantonly indulge in “ridicule and scorn” of this, or any other part of the Romish faith, where it is conscientiously acted up to. We, in the Church of England, *commemorate* the Blessed Virgin and the saints, and desire that by imitating, at a humble distance, their “virtuous and godly living,” we may, in subordination to the merits of Christ, obtain the favour of God here, and the happiness of heaven hereafter; but we dare not, as men to

whom the will of God has been so plainly revealed, we dare not offer to them the smallest act of adoration and worship, when the *law and the testimony* do so manifestly declare that all our worship, and all our service, ay, and much more than we can by the homage of a whole life pay to Him, are due only to, and are distinctly demanded by, that Almighty Being, *whom we are and whom we serve.*

And are we met here by another favourite Romish argument, that it is plainly unfair to charge upon a whole system the acts of certain individuals, to involve all the members of the Romish Church in one sweeping condemnation? Are we told that individuals in the English communion have committed equally gross acts, and yet that we ourselves should object to the same rule being applied to ourselves? We answer that the analogy will not hold good—that you cannot apply the same rule indiscriminately to the two communions. We believe that there are thousands of good and pious men who live above the “abuses” of the Romish system; but, unless the Church, as a Church, not simply protests against, but endeavours to prevent them, or rather does in fact prevent them, she, as a Church, and her members as individuals, are all undoubtedly compromised. But this is not the case, to any thing like the same extent, with the Church of England, and for the very plain reason, that the relation, which the Church, as a body, bears to her individual members, is essentially distinct from the same relation in the Church of Rome. The Church of England does not profess to interfere with the consciences of her individual members, and therefore is not responsible for individual folly or wickedness. She sets before her children the way of salvation in the Bible and the Prayer Book. She tells them, “This is the way; walk ye in it.” She assists them to walk in that way by her ministry and sacraments, but she organizes no gigantic system of spiritual direction, by which to become responsible for the individual acts of those who live under it. But the case is far different with the Church of Rome. *She* professes to guide and direct individual practice in such a manner that she becomes directly responsible for every thing which she does not, we will not say prevent, but at any rate protest against, and visit with ecclesiastical censure. *Whatever the Church of Rome does not disavow, that she does virtually sanction, because she has the power, not simply of objecting to, but of preventing in many instances, and in all cases, of punishing any thing of which she disapproves.* She has, by virtue of her system, a tenfold degree of control over individuals, to that which the Church of England either asserts or possesses, and therefore is, in a tenfold degree, responsible for individual acts. For instance, let us suppose the most extreme case we can well by any possibility imagine. Let

us suppose that Dr. Newman, in his lectures at Birmingham, had carried his "faith," or "superstition," to a height too exalted even for modern Romanism! The authorities of the Church of Rome possess the power of at once stopping the publication of Dr. Newman's lectures, and would do so, if they thought proper, as they have shown clearly enough in the case of the Irish colleges. Therefore we say that the Church of Rome, collectively and individually, becomes at once responsible for all Dr. Newman asserts; *and we have a right to quote Dr. Newman as an exponent of the Romish system*, no matter how much individuals may object to what he brings forward. But the Church of England is not responsible, in any thing like the same degree, for individual acts, and therefore no argument, to any thing like the same extent, can be drawn *from* individual acts against the Church of England system. Now apply this argument to a recent very remarkable transaction. Romanists, who feel themselves to be honourable men, think it very hard indeed that any stigma whatever should attach to the Romish Church from the acts of that man, whose name is synonymous with infamy, Mr. Gawthorn. Their indignation is misplaced, and for this reason: *the authorities of the Romish Church could, in this instance, at any rate, have prevented the crime. They could have visited those concerned in it with ecclesiastical censure.* They have done neither the one thing, nor the other, and, therefore, the Church of Rome is responsible for the acts of Mr. Gawthorn, however he may have disgusted individual members of that Church. We say this on no insufficient grounds. We say it on the authority of the chief delinquent himself. What is the case in question? Mr. Gawthorn, a pervert to Romanism, writes a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury under an assumed name, representing himself as "a convert to dissent from the Established Church," with the object, as he exults in declaring, of eliciting an answer from the Archbishop which should disgust the High-Church party, and shake, thereby, their allegiance to the Anglican Church! The Archbishop fell into the trap laid for him. He sent an answer marked "private," which, as was of course intended, speedily found its way into the "Tablet."

But now it may be said, what in the world has this to do with the Church of Rome? How can that Church possibly be responsible, in the slightest degree, for this act of Mr. Gawthorn? We answer by quoting one passage from Mr. Gawthorn's second letter:—"If it is thought," he says, "that the course I pursued in this matter was unjustifiable, a 'doing evil that good may come,' I can only say that I did not think so, NOR DID OTHERS WHO ARE BETTER ABLE TO JUDGE."

* Morning Chronicle, Sept. 2.

Now, this wretched man plainly alludes here, as the "Chronicle" says, to "spiritual direction"—we commend this fact, by the way, to Mr. Gresley. It is plain that the diabolical plot was confided to Gawthorn's "confessor." Now, the Church of Rome possesses a twofold way of marking her disgust, *if she feels any*, at this base transaction. She had the power of excommunicating Mr. Gawthorn. She has not done so, possibly because she dared not. She might have at least publicly censured the "confessor," who was *particeps criminis* with Gawthorn himself. She has not done that either, and therefore is accessory, both before and after the act, in the crime which Gawthorn committed: before, because Gawthorn's "spiritual director" might have prevented the commission of it; after, because she has neither visited Gawthorn, *nor his confessor*, with the punishment they deserve. We say deliberately, and we say it with the deepest pain, that we can *now* believe that murders have been committed in Ireland with the cognizance, and therefore, as every honest man must allow, with the consent, of priests of the Romish Church! We watched, with the deepest interest, the course of events in reference to this most iniquitous transaction. We hoped even, from unhappy experience, "against hope," that the Church of Rome would publicly disown any share in it. We have been disappointed even of the little hope we had. First came the "Tablet," which openly and unblushingly scoffed at the notion of ecclesiastical censure; which extenuated Gawthorn's crime because he seemed to be "quite guiltless of *self-interested* fraud" (*sic*); which distinctly asserted, that the question lay solely between Mr. Gawthorn, "his God, and his confessor!" Then came "bishop" Ullathorne at Birmingham, who mildly deprecated the supposition that the "Catholic" Church is in any way responsible for the acts of Mr. Gawthorn, or of "editors of 'Catholic' newspapers!" And lastly, comes a writer in the "Chronicle," under the signature of "Ultramontane," who "pauses" at the idea of any ecclesiastical censure of Gawthorn—why, do our readers think? Because the Archbishop of Canterbury took no steps against Dr. M'Neile for the sentiment in his sermon at Liverpool with respect to confession! Dr. M'Neile himself having subsequently apologized for the use of that very expression! And this, forsooth, is the Church which professes to "direct" the consciences of all her members! This is the system in favour of which Anglicans are invited by Mr. Dodsworth to forsake the Church of England!

And now before we conclude this paper, we would make one or two remarks which seem naturally to arise from what we have said.

⁰ Tablet, Sept. 7.

¹ Times, Sept. 9.

In the first place, from even the cursory glance we have been able to take of "Modern Romanism," we may see how glaring is the infatuation of those persons who have been induced to forsake the pure faith of the Church of England for the manifold and gross corruptions of the Church of Rome. *We* have no desire to institute any comparison between the two Churches—the comparison is forced upon us whether we wish it or not. We are not blind to the practical deficiencies in the working of the Church of England system, but sure we are that he, who, in seeking to avoid them, takes refuge in the Church of Rome, fully verifies the sentiment of the poet, that "'Tis better to bear the evils that we have, than fly to others that we know not of." For ourselves, we experienced a strange feeling of *relief* in reading the accounts which Messrs. Seymour and Whiteside have given us, of Modern Romanism, not, of course, from any feeling of satisfaction, in the abstract, at the picture there presented to us, but simply because the facts they have recorded prove beyond question the vast superiority of the Anglican over the Romish communion; prove, beyond a doubt, that in whatever point of view we regard her, whether as an exponent of a system of religious belief, or as carrying that system into practice, the modern Church of Rome is, in fact, however we may admire the piety and zeal of very many of her individual members who live above her system, the modern Church of Rome is, in fact, an unscriptural, an uncatholic, an idolatrous Church: that, instead of preserving, as she boasts, the Christian faith in its purity, she has, in truth, grievously corrupted it; so grievously as, in many instances, well-nigh to obliterate it altogether: and, therefore, that she affords no safe asylum, under any circumstances, to those who, however they may feel discontented with their position as Anglicans, which they ought not to be, do yet feel the smallest reverence for primitive purity in faith and practice. We felt that, however much the Church of England in her practical working may have departed from the primitive standard, taking even the adversary's estimate, yet that at any rate the Church of Rome has no right, by every principle of justice, to cast one stone against our spiritual mother.

But with all this there is one thing with respect to which we of the Church of England must, at the present time, be especially careful, and that is, that we do not, in our dislike of Romanism, now, and justly, from recent events, more than ever evoked, degenerate into a mere naked and negative Protestantism. Let us never forget, that the primary duty of English Churchmen is, not to exult in trumpeting forth the errors of the Church of Rome, but to develope, in all its integrity, and all its fulness, the system, at once so scriptural and so catholic, of the Church of

England. Let it be distinctly understood, both by ourselves and by our people, that, whenever we *do* expose, and *do* protest against, the abuses of Romanism, it is not from any natural love of controversy, as such ; it is not, which God forbid ! from any desire to dwell, with a feeling of self-complacency, upon the demerits of a rival system ; but simply because we are compelled, *in our own defence*, to adopt a course which is, in itself, most displeasing to us. Any other course than this is, we are quite sure, most pernicious. If there is one thing which, more than another, we dislike—one thing which pre-eminently arouses at once our scorn and our indignation, it is to see men who, calling themselves English Churchmen, are in truth *Anti-Romanists, and nothing besides*. The Anglican priest, for instance, (we are drawing no ideal picture,) who declaims eloquently against “Transubstantiation,” and yet takes no pains to impress upon his people the value of the Holy Eucharist, as a means of grace, is neither more nor less than an impostor. He acts as foolishly as the man who should advise another to starve himself to avoid being poisoned ; he does no service whatever to his own communion ; he does in fact the greatest possible service to the “adversary.” The time is past when our people will be contented with “shams.” They want realities, and realities they will have, get them whence they may ; and we may rest perfectly assured that a mere bigoted and indiscriminate opposition to Rome will not, as they very soon begin to find out, supply those realities for which they yearn, will not advance one whit the interests of Christianity, nor the cause of the Church of England.

And, lastly, we would venture to add a very few words, by way of caution, to our younger brethren of the ministry, as well as to those who are about to become candidates for Holy Orders in the Anglican Church. We would earnestly and emphatically impress upon them, that there never was a time in the history of that Church when “patience and perseverance” were so much required on the part of all those who minister at her altars. It is useless to disguise the fact that they who have left us have done us, in one respect, incalculable mischief. They have caused suspicion to fall upon very many who are really only endeavouring to develop the true principles of the Church of England, without the slightest approximation to Romish error. They have in some sort cut the ground from under our feet, ground on which we trusted that we had a firm and secure footing. The upholders of Church of England principles have, to a certain extent, to do over again the work of the last ten years ; and the work has become the more difficult from the treachery of those who professed themselves our fellow-workers. And here lies the peculiar

danger to which the younger clergy will be exposed. Many things which years ago they might have done with perfect safety, they cannot do now, except with the greatest possible caution, without running great risk of *wounding the consciences of weaker brethren*. We cannot wonder, after recent events, at this feeling on the part of the English people; but it will be our own faults if we give them any *real* cause for suspecting ourselves: it will be our own most grievous sin, if, by any fretfulness or impatience, at what we know to be undeserved suspicion, our allegiance to our spiritual mother be in the smallest degree shaken. Through the treachery of some, through the rash and ill-advised conduct of others, the present is a day of peculiar trial to all those who wish neither to exceed nor to fall short of the principles of our Church as embodied in her Book of Common Prayer. Let us see to it, that we sink not under the trial, but rather let us *quit ourselves like men*, and *be strong*. Let us remember that as, in the moral world, God promises grace to resist those temptations only which come upon us in the course of duty, but no where promises to help those who run into peril wilfully, and with their eyes open; so may we safely depend upon God's support to carry us through all trials and all difficulties which befall us in the legitimate exercise of our duty as priests of the Anglican Church. If we choose wantonly to go beyond, or sophistically to strain her teaching, we do so at our own risk; we shall have only ourselves to thank for the consequences. Let it be carefully remembered, also, that he is no true-hearted son of the Church of England who will not, for her sake, bear up against and cheerfully submit to any amount of suffering and trial which the service of her sanctuary may, in the order of God's providence, entail upon him; who will not, in quietness and confidence, do her work in singleness of heart and steadfastness of purpose, trusting to God alone to *give the increase*; trusting to Him to *order all things according to the counsels of his own will*.

But we cannot do better than use on this subject the (we had almost said prophetic) language of one who has expressed, very much more forcibly than we can express, the sentiments we are desirous of conveying to our readers: language, alas! not less needed now than at the time when it was first uttered:—

"It is impossible," it was said eight years ago, "not to advert in a spirit of deep thankfulness to the prospects of the Church, and the progress of Christian principles and practice. Who shall say that much has not been done within the last ten years? And what may we not humbly expect from the blessing of God on patient, and humble, and persevering endeavours for personal and general improvement? A theology deepened and invigorated; a Church daily awakening more

and more to a sense of her privileges and responsibilities ; a clergy more zealous, more self-denying, more holy ; a laity more interested in the great concerns of time and eternity ; churches more fully attended ; sacraments and divine offices more frequently and fervently partaken ; unexampled efforts to evangelize the multitudinous population of our land, and to carry the word of God into the dark recesses of heathenism. In all this there is very much to awaken our hopes, and to stimulate to continued exertions. Lethargy and indifference, at least, are at an end. We are conscious of our deficiencies, and not ashamed to own them ; and God forbid that we should ever cease to be so, or that the effort and straining forward towards greater purity, and sanctity, and discipline, should ever lose one particle of its energy. No sincere friend of the Church, no zealous and faithful servant of Jesus Christ could wish to impose any restraint or check on the desire for improvement. He cannot but rejoice at the existence of such a spirit, and unite himself cordially to its praiseworthy efforts. He will be very careful not to damp the kindling fervour of devotion and self-denial ; or to restrain the efforts to restore ecclesiastical discipline. He will be careful, as far as in him lies, that weak and wavering minds shall not be alienated by any apparent want of zeal on his part ; any apparent indifference to spiritual things ; any forgetfulness or compromise of great Catholic principles. We have much to hope, should Divine Providence mercifully guide us in this course. It is thus that we shall best promote the cause of Catholic unity throughout the whole world. But we are undoubtedly surrounded with difficulties and dangers ; and *absolute ruin* may be brought on us by the exaggerations and mistakes of a few men. The bright prospects before us may be blotted out for ever, if there be any *reasonable* suspicion of Romish tendencies ; if there be not most frank, and honest, and open dealing on this subject. Let the public mind once be so deeply deceived as to suppose that the advocates of Church principles have any concealed designs in favour of Romanism ; any partiality for that evil system ; any wish to promote the revival of that system ; any desire whatever, beyond that of reinvigorating the Church in strict harmony with her own genuine principles, and according to the model of the pure and *primitive* ages : let mistakes on this subject be assiduously instilled by hostile malignity, and permitted to prevail through any weakness, timidity, or reserve on our part, and the result can be nothing but *ruin* ; ruin to sound principles ; destruction to all hopes of improvement ; annihilation to all possibility of ever restoring Catholic unity ; division, and remorse within the Church ; and, perhaps, the final triumph of the principles of anarchy in religion and politics²."

² Palmer's Narrative, pp. 87, 88.

ART. III.—*Poems and Notes to the People.* By ERNEST JONES, of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law, Author of "*The Wood Spirit*," "*Lord Lindsay*," "*My Life*," &c. London: R. Pavey. 1851.

CHARTISM? Is not chartism defunct? may many a reader cry. Where are the noisy meetings of two years ago? Where is the loud parade of forces physical and moral? Where are the million pikes with which we were then threatened? Where is the O'Connell of that formidable movement—the redoubtable Fergus O'Connor? Surely, politically and virtually, this movement is defunct. The hubbub of voices has ceased to rise, the clouds of dust have scattered, the waves have subsided into peace. The safety of Old England seems no longer endangered by our domestic foe. What has become of Carlyle's forebodings and awful mystic prophecies? Surely the event has disproved them all. Where are the turbulent leaders of sedition, and where are their besotted followers? Has not all passed like a fever-dream? like the unsubstantial fabric of a vision, leaving not a wrack behind? And may we not eat and sleep in safety now, and hug ourselves upon our calm security? Such is the notion, probably, of many of our readers, or something not far from it: they are disposed to say of these late formidable dangers, and of their own anticipations of insurrectionary violence,

"The earth hath bubbles as the water hath,
And these are of them!"

But is our political horizon really so cloudless? Is there no hand-writing on the wall? Is there no little cloud rising out of the sea that bodes a coming tempest? Is chartism or, in other words, is pure and unmixed democracy really defunct amongst us? It is our present duty to dispel this agreeable delusion. We believe, on the contrary, that it is making gigantic, though comparatively quiet and silent strides, and that our constitution is in the extremest danger, or will be at least, some few months hence. For chartism has made a most illustrious convert, well-nigh the most illustrious in this land, even the Prime Minister of the British Empire. Lord John Russell has now pledged himself, alas! to introduce a bill next session for a large increase of the suffrage, which must of necessity conduct, in our opinion, to universal suffrage, and so to unmitigated chartism and pure democracy; and

we fear that little reasonable hope can be entertained of successful opposition to it.

We shall return to this all-important theme anon ; to this engagement of the minister's, which sounds, we fear, the knell of ruin to our country : meanwhile, it may suffice to affirm, that within the last year democracy has made a number of converts. It has found a talented, an elegant, we might almost say an aristocratic exponent in the weekly paper called "The Leader," which goes beyond chartism far, in its advocacy of communism and equality : its earlier demagogues have made way for men possessed of a more liberal education, and pertaining to a higher sphere of social life : it has ceased to talk of blood and wounds, and therefore it has become the more intensely dangerous. For we have nothing to fear from democracy, the pike in its hand ; every thing from its gradual, and, if we may so say, "constitutional" demolition of our constitution in Church and State.

Before we enter further on this grave question, we purpose to introduce our readers to the chartist laureate, a gentleman by birth, by education, by social status, and an orator and poet, in our estimation of positively startling power. For the present, we propose to deal with him as a poet only ; because we feel, that as such, he has real claims upon our attention : it is not just that he should be passed by whilst many possessed of far less brilliant genius are commended and applauded to the skies. In our estimation he is a great, though undoubtedly a faulty poet ; and we believe that we shall have succeeded in conveying this impression to our readers long before we draw this article to a close ; in which it is our intention, first, to comment on several of the leading poems of Mr. Ernest Jones, as the exponent of chartism, and then, in conclusion, to consider the prospects and the dangers of democracy.

First, then, it deserves to be noted, as a fact of some literary importance, that Ernest Jones, though a poet of this Tennysonian era, has not the slightest affinities in thought, or style, or manner, with the famous Alfred Tennyson. This is, of course, enough to seal his condemnation with the majority of the critics of the day, and may serve to account, (not forgetting, however, the influence of that bitter envy which always *will* pique mediocrity against genius,) may serve to account, we say, for the tone of disparagement, and the almost comic airs of patronage, in which "The Leader," and other journals, have indulged with reference to Mr. Jones's poetry. Here and there, indeed, his poems have found enthusiastic and most warm-hearted admirers, as we see from the advertisements on the cover of his last publication, "Notes to the People ;" but he is too emphatically "*sui generis*," has too marked

a style of his own, and, above all, is too essentially distinct from the fashionable poets of the day,—in all respects, is too utterly devoid of Tennysonian mannerism, (with which all the secondary rhymesters, Mackay, Allingham, Westwood, &c. furnish us in such abundance—not forgetting the author of “Festus,” and the rubbish of Sydney Yednys.)—he is too devoid of participles past, serving the purposes of nouns proper, and of adjectives figuring as capitals, and of that word-beauty, bordering on the finical, for which “In Memoriam” is so conspicuous, and further, of that vague indefiniteness of meaning which is happily so “*suggestive*,” and has such a potent charm for most lovers of poetry in this generation, not to be well-nigh certain to be disregarded! Not that he needs richness of colouring, for in this he may be rather said to excel his contemporaries; and single lines of great power he is rather too fond, in our opinion, of indulging in—so that he does, in a measure, possess certain Tennysonian characteristics: yet he lacks the principal of these. For, first, he assuredly has not, or has not yet displayed, that exquisite tenderness of feeling, and that deep internal passion, which are the glory of Tennyson’s muse, as displayed in his “Love and Duty,” “The Gardener’s Daughter,” “Locksley Hall,” &c.; nor has he equalled the charming simplicity and pathetic grace of “The Lord of Burleigh,” “Lady Clare,” and “The May Queen.” But, on the other hand, Ernest Jones possesses a stern power and a majestic sweep of song which are emphatically his own. Lyrically he is more impulsive, though dramatically less so: at times he displays an almost barbaric splendour, so rich is his fancy, so brilliant is his imagery. In some respects his style may be said to approximate rather to that of Byron; but yet it differs essentially, being, we think, less passionate, but stronger and more sensible. Fancy of the most brilliant character is, perhaps, Ernest Jones’s marked characteristic; but then this fancy is sustained by great powers of thought and vigour of language. Against all these qualities we have to set a certain love of splendour, which we might almost stigmatize as gaudiness, and the occasional preference of sound to sense, and we fear we must add, a general seeking for effect, which will scarcely escape the observation of the reader.

Let us now pass from these general eulogiums and censures to the more particular notice of his various productions, the earlier of which we can only afford space to name. “The Wood Spirit” is a prose romance of a very fantastic character, which will remind the reader strongly of “Fouquet;” it is fraught with grand materials, and possesses magnificent passages, and further, it contains some really very charming lyrics, which Mr. Jones never has surpassed; yet is there little art in the whole. There is nothing of the chartist element to be found in this work, nor in our author’s

finest poem, which, we believe, followed next, "Lord Lindsay," a composition which portrays the evils attendant on doubt, suspicion, and uncertainty, with a force that has been rarely equalled. The sympathies of this work would rather seem to us eminently aristocratic than democratic, a proud and poor patrician being its hero. We would gladly dwell upon the beauties of "Lord Lindsay," but having resolved to confine our citations to his latest batch of poems, appearing in his "Notes to the People," we shall only say, that it possesses very much of self-sustained grandeur and of descriptive power, combined with a high amount of lyric beauty. "My Life," which came next in order, was an attempt to portray the fortunes of a supposed aristocrat, who becomes a demagogue upon conviction; it is only fragmentary, but is marked with more of sweetness and pathos than we generally find in Mr. Jones's productions, whilst its satire is keen and biting, and "reaches home."

Within the last few months this author has thought fit to institute a new organ of communication with his chartist friends; this is a weekly publication, entitled "Notes to the People," almost exclusively edited by Mr. Jones himself, containing, essays, tales, histories, songs, and sundries, all designed to promote the progress of pure democracy, or of popular rights: the first four numbers of this year were devoted, for the most part, to the publication of poems, which, it seems, had been composed by the author during his late political imprisonment. It imports us little as critics how or where these works were written; whether with red ink or with blood, as Mr. Jones suggests to us; their artistic power and beauty is our theme, not excluding, however, their essential truth or falsity; and now we address ourselves seriously to the task of making our readers acquainted with the laureate of democracy.

The first of these poems, then, is entitled "The New World." We had better give the title, perhaps, in full:—"The New World; a Democratic Poem, dedicated to the People of the United Queendom, and of the United States:" and the preface thus commences—"Let no one accuse me of presumption in seeking so large an audience; the poorest tribute may be offered to the richest treasury. The poet is a citizen of the world, and he is glad where the barrier of different languages no longer intercepts the travelling thought. Between the men of America and England should be eternal union, therefore I address them both. I write for the rising republic as well as for the decaying monarchy; but, alas! there is much of the Dead Sea apple on either shore of the Atlantic." Then follows an exposition of Mr. Jones's political creed: the decay of England's greatness is traced with only too much truth; as where he says, that though "it dazzles the world by its attitude of quiescent grandeur," yet "its commerce will die

because it is unsound at the core: foreign competition has been met by home competition, and both have been founded on the fall of wages and the land's desertion for the loom; thus home trade has been destroyed," (seriously impaired at the least,) "for with the working class it flourishes or fades. Food is the staple wealth, and England has been made a pensioner on other lands for daily bread: we can command it still, but the hour of weakness may come; then, when we ask the nations for a loaf, they may remember that we gave them cannon-balls, and pay us back in kind." There is much more with which we generally concur upon the subject of unrestricted competition, but we would not seek to solve such a question here: pass we to the poem—in-dubitably a grand political manifesto, a species of prophecy of the years to come, in which the fate of England is shadowed forth under the name of Hindostan. The poet conceives for his purposes our Eastern empire to be destroyed, and a native monarchy to arise in its stead, resembling the Europe of the middle ages; of this monarchy he traces the gradual decay, till it takes the form of a virtual dogeship with a ruling aristocracy: of course, Mr. Jones wishes us to look on this as an equivalent to our English constitution; then succeeds the fall of the aristocracy, to which he conceives that we are fast approaching, and the absolute reign of the middle classes, the party of a Bright and Cobden, whom this author obviously holds in great abhorrence, though they are the "avant-garde" and pioneers of democracy. Finally, he paints the downfall of the system of competition and of middle-class government, and the access of the masses to power, when, after a short period of strife, every thing of course rights itself, and a flowery Utopia is the result. The poet commences by an energetic eulogy of America, or rather of the United States, thus:—

"From freedom born to time, transcendent birth!
Colossus destined to bestride the earth,—
While heaved old empires with unwonted woes,
Man's sanctuary, America, arose.
Dull Europe, startled by thy first wild tones,
Propped up thy cradle with her crumbling thrones;
And France, sad nurse of thy rude infant days,
Lulled thy first slumber with her 'Marseillaise.'"

Then follows a fine descriptive passage, in the course of which our author says,

"No common guards before thy borders stand,
The elements themselves defend thy land;
Eternal frost thy northern frontiers meet;
Around thy south is rolled eternal heat."

This oratoric burst of eloquence will no doubt tell upon our transatlantic friends; and still more may they admire the picture of their country's future, in which the democrat shines so conspicuous.

"Young nation-Hercules, whose infant grasp
Kingcraft and churchcraft slew, the twin-born asp,
What glorious visions for thy manhood rise
When thy full stature swells upon our eyes!
A crown of northern light shall bind thy head,
The south pole at thy feet its billows spread,
With island gems thy flowing robe be graced,
And Tyrian cameos glitter at thy waist;
Warm as its skies and spotless as its snow
Thy mighty heart shall beat at Mexico;
And on that mystic site of unknown eld
Such city rise, as mortal ne'er beheld;
Till Europe sees thy sovereign flag unfurl'd
Where'er thy waters wash the western world."

These are certainly splendid lines; a little of the prize-poem order possibly,—but where is the prize-poem to match them? The poet does not, however, paint the future of America as undisturbed by disasters; on the contrary, he forebodes civil strife, war of the poor against the rich, of the many against the few, of the Black against the White; yet he concludes by prophesying a triumphant close to all, and the permanent reunion of the shattered states. Then, after this species of introduction, he enters on the main subject of his poem: the fortunes of Hindostan, as emblematic as those of England and the world. He paints powerfully our sinking Eastern empire (such as he believes it will be) and the efforts of our ministers at home to obtain new subsidies from Parliament, to resist the gathering forces of rebellion. Ironically he places these words on the minister's lips:

" 'Twere selfishness,' he chides, 'twere gross neglect
Their suit, and duty's service to reject;
To leave them lost in anarchy and night,
And, worse, *without the blessed Gospel light!*
Upbraided oft for India's conquering scheme,
You urged, 'We civilize, reform, redeem!'
In proof whereof'—a smile escaped his lips—
'You sent out bishops in your battle ships!' &c.

* * * * *

'Think of the souls entrusted to your care!
Think of the earthly hell awaits them there!
Of cursed Suttee—of Almeh's shameless trade—
And Venerable Heber's sainted shade!'

Rang down the senate hall responsive cheers,—
For senates judge too often by their ears."

Well, fresh succours are sent ; and a great leader, one of course who has risen from the ranks (this being so usual in our service), is found to rally the scattered forces of our empire : he is forcibly described, but we cannot find space for the portraiture. However, his subordinate generals, being aristocratic tent-loungers, will not second his endeavours, and the Company and President counteract them also ; so he is compelled, though most unwillingly, to retire before the Indian army, which waxes of course prodigiously from the presage of victory thus acquired. At last the struggle comes: it is long and bloody:—

" Here crashed the shot—there swept the Indian spear,
And death won grandeur from an English cheer.
Devotion vain ! vain science' deadliest pride !
God, hope, and history take the Hindoo's side :
Here but a host, in misused courage strong,—
A nation there with centuries of wrong.

Then carnage closed beneath its cloudy screen ;
Oft paused the guns—but terror shriek'd between ;
And grimly smiled, the sulphury curtain through,
The gleaming form of chivalrous Tippoo ! "

We break off here, though all is fine : the English are defeated. "Courageous died that white-haired general." Now comes the hour of bloody retribution. The poet assumes that our Indian authorities in Church and State are the foulest of oppressors ; the honest truth, that they are upon the whole beneficent rulers, not suiting his purposes. The final retreat of the English to the shore is graphically described. Then, for the last time, they rally "under some young chief," who has yet the power and spirit to lead them on to victory. We must again extract some noble lines:—

" The crest-fallen armies, scatter'd and hewn down,
Give one last rally for their old renown ;
And when the blue sea meets their longing eyes,
Turn yet again to face their enemies ;
Once more the famous flags parading see,
'Sobraon,'—'Aliwal,'—and 'Meeanee,'—
Poor war-worn banners 'mid sulphureous gloom,
*Like ghosts of victories round an empire's tomb*¹.
The thunder died to calm—the day was done—
And England conquer'd 'neath a setting sun !

¹ The italics are throughout our own.

At break of dawn the leader left his tent,
 And walked the mountain's craggy battlement.
 Far stretched the inland—not a foe seemed there—
 Lorn lay the Ghaut beneath the untroubled air,
 And, close in shore the strong obedient fleet
 Attend, alike for succour or retreat.
 The electric thought like lightning kindling came,
 'Renew the war, and dare the glorious game!
 Swoop on each straggling band, that singly hies
 To hoped-for havoc of a host that flies!
 Hark! thrilling cheers from rock to harbour run:
 Alas! they shout but for their safety won!

A mighty shadow, deep, and stern, and still,
 Threw o'er the fleet and flood each Indian hill;
 The encampment's flag just reached the rising light,
 Like lingering glory of the evening's fight:
 One hour, its last farewell majestic waved
 Old England's pride, unchallenged and unbraved:—
But a soft wind at sunrise, like God's hand,
Quietly bent it homeward from that land!
 Sad wound the weary numbers to the sea,
 The signal's up, and Hindostan is free!"

By this time we think our readers will be disposed to concur with us, that Ernest Jones is a poet, and a very eminent poet—one scarcely to be equalled indeed among his contemporaries in his own peculiar domain.—We should pass rapidly perhaps over the period that follows, and yet the poetry is so grand that we have not the heart to do so. We think our readers will pardon us for presenting them with certain passages, which will assuredly take their place among the standard "beauties" of our country's literature, and are not unlikely, some of them at least, to become "household words." The poet proceeds then to paint the era of mediæval chivalry and romance, under this Indian parallel: he says:

"Then chivalry his proudest flag outroll'd,
 And superstition crown'd her kings with gold;
 Then solemn priests through awful temples pass'd,
 Whose new god excommunicates the last:
 Then banner'd towers with wild romances rung,
 And bards their harps to love and glory strung;
 Like moonlight's magic upon sculptures rare,
 They show'd the true, but made it seem too fair."

But now also comes the era of decline, which is very forcibly portrayed. The following lines appear to us to be singularly

fine of their kind, applicable rather to the ancient Roman empire than to any modern monarchy; but thus fade the glories of this fabled Oriental realm :—

“Spread east and west their vast dominion wide,
From broad Amoo to Tigris’ arrowy tide:
But valour’s early impulse dies away
In easy, loitering, somnolent Cathay.
Most empires have their Capua :—bold endeavour
Retrieves a Cannæ, but a Capua never.
Through that huge frame the times their signs impart,
Inert extremities and fevered heart;
Diluted laws with weaken’d pulses act,
Through province nominal, but realm in fact;
The sword of state escapes a feeble hand,
Nor dares to punish those who may withstand.
Powers, reft of substance, make amends in show;
Courts fear their generals, generals fear the foe:
Around the expiring realm the vultures wait,
The North knocks loudly at its Alpine gate,
Siberian tribes and Tahta nations come,
The Goths and Huns of Oriental Rome,
And westward rising, like the unruly Frank,
Impatient Persia presses at its flank,
While in the capital, with dangerous heat,
Sedition’s flames against the palace beat,
And bold ambitious nobles, brooding ill,
Pass faction’s mutiny as people’s will.”

From this point onward our poet seems to have kept France in his mind’s eye throughout this portion of his poem, not that her nobles ever displayed such an excess of spirit, but certainly the fortunes of her royal line are narrated here. Four admirable lines express them—

“With crime’s hot ravage, time’s more dull decay,
A great, old line, far lingering, droops away,
And leaves its race, more fallen from age to age,
Departed grandeur’s mournful heritage.”

However, royal blood makes a stand, so to speak, in the veins of one monarch, “Louis le Grand,” we presume, whom Mr. Jones dismisses rather uncereemoniously in the lines—

“Till one long life exceeds in sin and years—
The palace laughs amid a land of tears,
As if that house, down hastening to the dust,
Took one last deepest draught of power and lust.”

In what follows, Louis Quatorze, and Louis Quinze, "Louis le Désiré," seem blended in one, where we read,

"A tearless funeral marks a regal death :
The chain is raised—the nations draw their breath,
As through the curious crowd's ungrieved array,
That cold black pomp rolls its slow weight away."

And now comes the unhappy Louis XVI. on the stage, so good and so mild; but one who had yielded too much, who was too little a representative of any principles, to be classed with our own martyr monarch; at least, in our estimation. Mr. Jones says very finely—we may say, beautifully:—

"From sickly, studious seclusion led,
Ere time could dry the tears that duty shed,—
In saddened youth, from childhood without joy,
Stepp'd to the throne a gentle-hearted boy.
Nature denied him health and strength, but gave
A generous spirit, and a patience brave.
Such is the mould of martyrs—and what more
Must meet to make one, fortune had in store.
Alas! for him, who's doomed to face her rage
With thoughts too large to fit a narrow age."

Such was certainly not precisely the character of Louis XVI.; but the resemblance is near enough to show that the poet's prophecy has been suggested by the past. Louis, also, was a liberal, at least to the extent of wishing to bestow a constitution, similar to our own, upon his people. Our author makes his visionary king sigh over the woes of his nation, and at last resolve to rend their fetters by one decree. He does so:

"Throughout the realm bids servile tenure cease,
In hope bestowing happiness and peace,
And as a rocket on a mine is hurl'd
Give's liberty's great watchword to the world.
Mistaken hope! for since the world began,
A law ne'er yet has made a slave a man.
No golden bridge expected freedom brings,
No Jordan flows along the lives of kings.
O earthly foretaste of celestial joy!
Kings cannot give thee—swords cannot destroy;
Gold cannot buy thee; prayers can never gain;
Cowards cannot win thee; sluggards not retain."

And so the people, being socially oppressed, continue to suffer, and think the king the cause; in which impression the nobles con-

firm them : the latter grasp more and more at all power as their lawful due : at last the monarch is constrained to take arms against them, if he would keep the very semblance of authority. Here follows one of the most beautiful passages in the poem, which seems to show that Ernest Jones's sympathies at the bottom may be aristocratic yet. In this distress of the monarch we find he is not all deserted : some faithful servants abide beside him :—

“ Then forms are seen, unknown in happier hour,
Great-hearted courtiers of a sinking power :
Who saved the sire, neglected or undone,
Stake all he left, their lives, to save the son.
Brave gentlemen, whose unavailing lance
Throws round his fall their gallantry's romance ;
Uncoronetted peers, who own, and claim
No title, but their old illustrious name,
Through swarming foes devotedly draw nigh,
And, highborn, come to claim a death as high.”

Nor less beautiful is what follows :—

“ Then, touched with grandeur in his lowlier state,
Rose the poor peasant to as proud a fate :
Less polished, yet as precious, honour's gem,
No history e'er shall set in gold for them !
Toil's chivalry, they sink by myriads down,
Victors unlauress'd, martyrs without crown :
They craved no grandeur, and they hoped no fame ;
Wrong triumph'd, duty call'd them, and they came.”

Is not this nobly conceived and grandly spoken ? Mr. Jones teaches us how to write ! We have the better cause, but we may not possess, alas ! as happy a genius. All that follows here is singularly fine. The monarch withdraws from the capital : after an interval of truce he and his rebel nobles meet for a last peaceful interview, the royal-hearted sovereign having refused to risk the lives of his faithful followers on one desperate cast. Myriads of the people witness this interview. The king, unhappily, being weak and ill, is brought in a litter to the field : a cry rises against him, of “ Base luxury ! ” the multitude imagine him a tyrant wrapped in sloth : the doom of the monarchy is sealed. The nobles mark the favourable moment : they avail themselves of the popular feeling ; they seize the king as prisoner, and his farewell sign commands his faithful followers to forbear. All is over. Only his mock trial and execution remain. Powerfully Mr. Jones says :—

“ Then Freedom pass'd her Jordan's parted flood :—
The cruel scaffold drank a hero's blood,—
While Justice' verdict, in the book of Time,
That found him king, records no other crime ;

And eager crowds their joyous clamours send
Above the ashes of their only friend."

Thus far we shall all sympathize: in what follows truth and error are strangely intermingled.

" But blame the people not—blame those instead,
Who rich and great, the poor and weak mislead¹;
To selfish ends their ready passions use—
Who, prompt the deed, and then the act accuse!
The murderer might as well with pleading vain,
His heart exculpate and his hand arraign.
And, from the event be this great moral traced:
Virtue on thrones is like a pearl misplaced.
Break, sceptres! break beneath the Almighty rod,
For every king's a rebel to his God.
Atonement for the sins of ages past,
The tarrying stream ran purest at its last;
Thus olden superstition's altars bring
The lamb, and not the wolf, as offering.
Still with the millions shall the right abide,
The living interest on the victim's side,—
Strange balance, that, 'twixt sympathy and fate,
Atones in pity what it wronged in hate!
The selfsame king, in different times of men,
Had been, their martyr now, their idol then;
And History, as the record sad she keeps,
Traces the mournful truth, and writing weeps.

Yet not in vain that gallant life has flown;
A glorious seed that gentle hand has sown:
Bread on those troubled waters, dark and dim,
Fruit for long years—tho' not returned to him."

From this point onward the narrative interest of the poem may be said to cease; the stream grows wider—it may be, more practically useful in its author's eyes, but indisputably less romantic: the rocks, the crags, the castled heights, have flown afar; the river broadens and broadens, and sandy wastes spread out on either shore; the individual gives way to the general.—The new constitution is next described. Soon the moneyocracy get a-head; the people's social state remains the same; nay, it rather grows worse and worse under the influence of competition: here, of course, the present state of England is shadowed forth. The chartist leaders find their antitypes also, in certain bold speakers, who are placed on their trial for sedition. Here Mr. Jones positively revels in his

¹ The Cromwells and the Cobdens.

poetical denunciations of the law officers of the crown, with whom, if we remember rightly, he maintained a wordy conflict—we think it was with the present Lord Chief Justice Jervis in particular. The portraiture is certainly not a flattering one; but we, who remember that gentleman's pertness in the Hampden case—(amongst other strange absurdities, he stated that he claimed a far more absolute supremacy for the Queen of England over the Church than had ever been exercised by the Pope of Rome)—we, who remember this pert audacity, are not inclined to feel as shocked as we otherwise might be, by Mr. Jones's violence.

“There brazen faction's never-blushing mask,
The public prosecutor plies his task;
For, when the pard has struck his murderous blow,
The jackal comes and tears his mangled foe.
In him is centred all that perfects knaves—
The heart of tyrants and the soul of slaves;
A bishop's sophistry, a bigot's fire,
A lawyer's conscience, and a brain for hire.”

“Bitter words, my masters!” but they break no bones, that is one comfort; and we can scarcely wonder at the wrath of him who was for months deprived of all commune with his friends, of almost all books, of paper and ink “in toto,” and was treated, in fine, as a criminal of the very lowest order. Accordingly, the judge also does not escape. The ensuing lines seem to us not capable of being easily rivalled for their bitter and biting power: they are founded, it seems, on fact.

“Yet come their blows so hard, so home their hits,
On cushioned seat the judge uneasy sits;
With ignorant glibness refutation tries,
(Like sin, that reasons with its guilt—he lies!)
From shallow premise inference false would wrench,
And spouts ‘Economy’ from solemn bench;
‘I drink champagne—that gives the poor man bread,
The grower takes our calico instead.
I keep my hunter—why that brow of gloom?
Does not my hunter also keep his groom?
I roll my carriage—well! that's good for trade!
Look at the fortunes coachmakers have made.’
Then his last argument, when others fail,
‘To JAIL! TO JAIL! *you wicked man!* to jail!’

“Now bring your fine blood-hunters to the plough,
And o'er the spade your liveried lacqueys bow!
If they must eat, 'tis right they should produce;
And, if you covet pomp, repay in use.

'Twere almost vain to these dark knaves to show,
 So many lands but so much food can grow ;
 That so much land but so much produce bears,
And that our wheat is better than their tares !
 That idle luxury turns, in evil hour,
 To unproductive toil productive power ;
 And coachmaker and lacquey, horse and groom,
 Impair production while they still consume.
 But deep the people drink the precious lore,
 And discontent speaks louder than before,
 While near and nearer yet, with every year,
 Claim the dread creditors their long arrear."

What political economists of ordinary stamp would answer to these arguments we know not ; we suspect that they could only take refuge in a supposed *necessity* ; but the real answer seems to us to be, that with wise care earth might be made to produce, first, enough for all, and then a superfluity for some. Beauty is, in a measure, a luxury certainly ; though the highest works of art should be the property of the world, yet there are many rare and costly things which all cannot possess, but which some may ; and if *I* do, no other man is wronged, *ipso facto*, by my possession. Yet this rests on the assumption that such article of luxury is either not convertible into an article of utility for the use of all, or that it is not needed for that purpose. As long as our working classes are wretchedly underpaid, so paid as not to enable them to possess themselves and their families of the necessaries, of the ordinary comforts of life, so long wealth will appear an anomaly ; so long it will be hard to justify unprofitable labour of any kind. This principle must not be pushed to an extreme—no principle can be without degenerating into wrong and error ; but we cannot but conceive that the first necessity of every state is to provide for the good of its working classes, high or low. If the bees be once in good condition, there can be no possible objection to drones swilling any superfluous honey. And, as a matter of fact, the upper classes are not drones in England, but workers also in their sphere, and their luxuries, kept within due bounds, will react upon the working classes to their benefit, and tend to bind all men together by ties of mutual need and brotherhood. In Britain, however, under existing circumstances, we fear that the judge's argument scarcely holds good ; under a wise system of mutual protection and association it certainly would do so. But let us return to the poem before us.

Our author next launches forth in a vigorous diatribe against emigration, as worse than needless, were a just policy resorted to ; then he stigmatizes our system of pauperism ; then, under the

figure of "Ceylon's neighbouring isle," he points attention to the woes of Ireland. Much of this he does, very mischievously and unjustifiably. Things are bad, but not so bad as it suits Mr. Jones to represent them, who is, we are compelled to say it, in our estimation, whether consciously or not, a thriver upon discontent and a trader in sedition.

We are not sorry, indeed, that such men should be found to represent the wrongs of the working classes, and we are ready to labour for the redress of these wrongs, fully as faithfully as they can, only not quite by their side. Mr. Jones, if he ever reads this, must pardon the frankness of our political criticism : let him know in us—an open, if not a worthy foe !

Now follows a grand section, describing the final outbreak of the people's wrath, and the overthrow of camps, courts, and councils. This is not what we dread most in this country, as we have already indicated, though after certain downward steps have once been taken, of which a large increase of the suffrage is by far the greatest, it is not impossible that the final downfall of the peerage and the throne may be accelerated by such an outbreak. But as yet, at all events, the country is not ripe for it : it would only re-awaken and rally all the sound conservative thought and feeling of the nation. For further extracts from this poem we lack space. Two fine episodes succeed : one describing a future rising "en masse" of the black man against the white ; another portraying the return of the Jews to Judea, but not, unhappily, in a Christian spirit. We must quote some few lines here.

"They leave, they leave, a God-collected band,
Their homeless houses in the stranger's land.
You scarce would deem that risen race the same—
Thus one great thought transfigures the frame :
Greed spurns its gold, affliction dries her tears,
Youth scorns its follies, age forgets its years.
The faint old man uprising in his bed,
Leans on his shrunken arms his silvery head ;
Around him stand, half-sandall'd to depart,
His stalwart sons, the pillars of his heart.
What splendours kindle in that faded sight !
He sees—he sees—Judea's far-off light :
Why bends he as one listening ? Hush ! he hears
The cedars whispering of their thousand years :
A sudden ardour nerves his frame—he cries
'My cloak and staff !—Hosannah ! . . . ' sinks and dies.
Low bend those mariners of life's fond wave
Around the barque safe anchor'd in the grave :
Though young, and strong, and eager for the way,
That old man won the promised land ere they."

Then follows a glowing description of a grand Australian empire, or rather republic, yet to rise ; all manner of wonders of steam and electricity find their place ; rain is drawn from the skies at will, as lightning has been ; heat is guided to distant and barren mountains ; life is prolonged almost unmeasureably, pain and discord having finally disappeared ; peace is perfect ; one language is spoken over all the earth ; there is no mine and thine, all property being in common ; the very volcanoes expire ; the very poles rebloom, since once, as geology tells us, they were inhabitable ; in fine, our author sets the most glowing picture of the Millennium before our eyes, omitting the indispensable groundwork — that sense of reverence, that hatred of sin, that love of duty, that conquest of self-indulgence—without which the very earth he paints would be a hell. Then he concludes audaciously—we may say, blasphemously—but certainly with no little power and beauty :

“ Then, as the waifs of sin are swept away ”—

The poet has not told us how ; has not even attempted to suggest ; but we resume,—

“ Then as the waifs of sin are swept away,
 Mayhap the world may meet its destined day ;
 A day of change and consummation bright,
 After its long Aurora, and old night.
 No millions shrieking in a fiery flood ;
 No blasphemies of vengeance and of blood—
 Making the end of God's great work of joy,
 And of Almighty wisdom—to destroy !
 No kindling comet, and no fading sun,
 But heaven and earth uniting melt in one.

* * * *

The voyage is o'er. The adventurous flag is furl'd,
 The pilot, Thought, has won the fair NEW WORLD.
 The sailor's task is done. The end remains.
 Must *he*, too, expiate his work in chains ?
 What though old prejudice the path opposed,
 Though weeds corrupt around the vessel closed,
 Though discord crept among the jealous crew,
 His heart's his compass—and it told him true !”

No, it told him not true : it painted him, if the heart was concerned at all, and not rather the fancy, an unreal and most delusive vision. The communism, the absolute equality, the absence of faith in a self-revealed and personal God here depicted, would be sufficient to blight the very fairest Eden ; so indeed would any one of these three vital errors, of which the last is of course the

most utterly destructive. A Millennium may be yet in store for man ; we hope it, and believe it ; a period of happiness and peace ; the era of the Church's glories ; but even then, evil will be lessened, not removed ; even then that fatal necessity which attaches pain and suffering to error, will be in full and inevitable operation : even then God's justice will punish sinners. Nothing can be weaker, vainer, more diametrically opposed to all the teaching of experience, to all the evidence of reality, than that specious benevolence, that indiscriminate charity, which would merge right and wrong on a kind of general happiness principle, and, attributing its own weakness to the Almighty, would either have Him annihilate that freedom of choice on which He has thought fit to rear the moral world, or would have Him act with supreme indifference to his own great law of compensation, and make the evil-hearted happy, despite their selfishness and sin. But more on this theme anon, when we come to Beldagon Church.

Let us now, ere we proceed to that poem, pause to ask our readers, whether we have or have not convinced them that Ernest Jones is a true, nay, and even a great poet ? Where, since the days of Pope and Dryden, will they find such grand sustained heroic verse ? And Mr. Jones's poetry has an element wanting to all the poetry of the seventeenth century, viz. the element of earnestness and passion. But how stately is the march of these lines, like the ocean tide majestically rolling in, wave after wave, in never-failing time and order, though now and then the billows be crested with some superfluous foam ! What a power of conception have we not witnessed ! What a grandeur of expression ! What real beauty ! Was this a poem to treat with an air of patronage, let us ask ; condescendingly patting the author on the back, like the conceited "Leader," and its fellows ? We repeat, that it is the total absence of any approximation to Tennysonianism which makes us value Mr. Jones's poetry as poetry so highly. It is high time for a literary reaction against a mannerism, which, however delightful, threatens to overflow us with its morbid sweetness ; and in this point of view Ernest Jones's muse may have a really important office to perform. Let small critics sneer to the utmost of their small ability, such genius as his must needs prove crushing to these wights ; and the time may not be far distant when they will scarcely know how to express their sense of that genius too extravagantly ; for mediocrity, being guided by fashion, not by instinct or true judgment, is ever in extremes of praise or blame. We shall now pass to a poem which has scarcely any thing political about it, because we wish to satisfy those who may yet be disposed to maintain, on the score of Ernest Jones's democracy, destructiveness, and demagoguery, that he can be no true poet.

This is a tale of Florence in the olden time, when, as the poet tells us, "Florence alone was bright;" to speak by the card, it is entitled, "The Painter of Florence: a domestic poem, being a story within a story." This last novelty of nomenclature the poem derives from the singular and somewhat inartistic length of its metrical introduction, which is English, while the story's self is Italian in its theme. The poet conceives himself, namely, to be paying a visit in a certain country-house, where he beholds a work of art, a beautiful picture, which he describes very glowingly, and which suggests to his imagination the tale of the Painter of Florence. The introduction, though spirited, must not detain us long; there we have a terse narrative of the ruin of the last scion of an ancient aristocratic line, mainly through the villany of his lawyer and agent, who prompts and plays upon his vices, and who finally, having "sucked the victim dry," turns him adrift, and takes possession of his fathers' halls. He is a busy, bustling, mean and cunning, vulgar and overbearing, representative of the moneyocracy, and is exceedingly well depicted; he, and his titled wife also, whom he marries for her title's sake. As a specimen of our author's powers in this peculiar line of biting satire, we shall extract the following passage: it is a little coarse, perhaps, but assuredly keen and graphic.

"The Lady Malice is tall and thin;
 Her skin is of a dusky tan,
 With black hairs dotting her pointed chin;
She's like a long, lean, lanky man!
Her virtue's positively fierce;
 Her sharp eyes every weakness pierce,
 Sure some inherent vice to find
 In every phase of human kind.
 The simplest mood, the weakest mien,
 She *speckles* with her venom'd spleen,
 Construing to some thought obscene;
 Shred by shred, and bit by bit,
 With lewd delight dissecting it;
Till sin's worst school is found to be
Near her polluting purity.

• • •
 Devilson's thick set, short, and red;
 Nine-tenths of the man are his paunch and head;
 His hair is tufty, dense, and dark;
 His small eyes flash with a cold grey spark,
 Whose fitful glimmer will oft reveal
 When a flinty thought strikes on his heart of steel.
 He's sensual lips and a bold hook-nose;
And he makes himself felt wherever he goes!"

For the rest of this amiable portraiture we refer our readers to the original; we mean to Mr. Ernest Jones's poem,—not to the original whom he draws, though it is more than possible that such an one might not be sought for vainly within the circle of the reader's own acquaintance. Well, the poet is on a visit to this respectable country squire and his lady; (by the bye he does not seem over grateful to his hosts;) after dinner, Devilson, the new lord of the manor, falls asleep, and the poet's eye wanders to a picture on the wall. This is a magnificent work of art, portraying the return of a Florentine army in triumph after a great victory just achieved. The poet gazes, until the image of the bygone painter wakes a kindred ardour in his soul; till this "work of buried genius," as he calls it, conveys its tale of the past to his imagining; and this tale he then proceeds to tell. It commences with these fine lines:—

" At Florence in the dark ages,
When Florence alone was bright,
*(She has left on her marble pages
Her testament of light;)*

" At Florence in the dark ages,
When Florence alone was free,
*(She rose, in the pride of her sages,
Like the sun on a troubled sea;)*

" *While yet as an ark she drifted
On the earth's barbarian flood,
And the wreck of the arts uplifted
From the deluge of human blood;*

" Where many a feat of glory
And deed of worth were done,—
From the links of her broken story
I have saved to the world this one."

There is a peculiar wildness, freshness, and originality in these lines, which will scarcely fail to be appreciated; a fancy rich in its excess, an easy power that sports with verse and melody. Nor less original of its kind is what follows:—

" Round Florence the tempests are clouding;
The mountains a deluge have hurl'd;
For the tyrants of nations are crowding
To blot that fair light from the world.

" Like vultures that sweep from the passes
To come to the feast of the dead,
*In black, heavy, motionless masses
Their mighty battalions are spread.*

- " 'Tis eve : and the soldiers of Florence
 To meet them are marching amain :
The foe stand like ocean awaiting
The streamlet that glides o'er the plain.
- " Then the blood of the best and the bravest
 Had poured like the rain on the sod,—
 But the spirit of night stood between them,
 Proclaiming the truce of their God.
- " It touches the heart of the tyrant—
 It gives him the time to repent :—
 The morn on the mountain has risen !
 The hour of salvation is spent !
- " The multitudes break into motion,
 The trumpets are stirring the flood :—
 An islet surrounded by ocean,
 The ranks of the citizens stood.
- " But the vanguard is Valour and Glory ;
 The phalanx is Freedom and Right ;
 The leaders are Honour and Duty :
 Are *they* soldiers to fail in the fight ?
- " Then hail to thee ! Florence the fearless !
 And hail to thee ! Florence the fair !
 Ere the mist from the mountain has faded,
 What a triumph of arms shall be there !"

So Florence wins the day, and its senators decree a mighty prize to the painter who in one work of genius shall commemorate the return from the field of battle of Florence' victor sons. Many embark in the glorious competition, for which a three years' term is granted ; amongst them, a student, " the Painter of Florence," whose name does not appear. He has long loved the daughter of an artisan, and has been loved again, but her father discourages his suit, esteeming the youth a dreamer ; and so he appears indeed, for as yet he has accomplished nothing great, and even now, with such a prize before him, it is long ere he can commence to realize his ideal. The poet thus defends him :—

- " Men counted him a dreamer. Dreams
 Are but the light of clearer skies,
 Too dazzling for our naked eyes :
 And, when we catch their flashing beams,
 We turn aside, and call them, *dreams*.
 O, trust me, every truth that yet
 In greatness rose and sorrow set,
 That time to ripening glory nursed,
 Was called an idle dream at first.

"And so he passed through want and ill,
And lived neglected and unknown :
Courage he lacked not, neither skill,
But that fixed impulse of the will,
That guides to fame, and guides alone.
And opportunity ne'er smiled,
Without which, genius' royal child,
Is but a king without a throne."

His feverish efforts to achieve the sighed-for work of art are happily described : at last, after two years have flown, he seems to pass the Rubicon, he has fairly started on his high endeavour ; but alack ! meanwhile, fever is eating his very life away. He begins to fear he shall die young. Here occur these fine lines :—

"'Twas on an eve of autumn pale
That first he felt his strength to fail.
The sun o'er Spain had shone its last ;
The leaves around were falling fast ;
The western clouds were turning grey ;
And Earth and Heaven seem'd to say,
'Passing away ! Passing away !' "

However hope revives under the influence of love, and meanwhile the picture grows beneath his airy brush : its progress is finely shadowed forth. But the hour of decision comes at last. On the fated morn the young student is waiting the decree in his chamber, too weak and ill to leave it, flushed with fever's pangs : there he is visited by the maiden of his love and by her father. From this point forward we must let the poet speak for himself, merely premising that we scarcely know a passage more graphic and exciting in the whole range of narrative poetry ; neither Byron nor Scott, we think, has surpassed it :—reader ! be not captious !

"A gentle hand tapp'd on his chamber door,
And a soft voice call'd ;—'tis the voice of Lenore !—
Spirit of light, before passing the grave,
Angel of life ! art thou come to save ?
She knew the hours were hard to bear ;
That the heart will fail and the spirit break
When life and more than life's at stake—
And had won on her father to bring her there :
But *he* sat him down,
With a silent frown,
Half anger'd to deem he had been so weak.
The painter's face with a smile is bright
As he reads his hope in the maiden's eyes ;
But *her* cheek turns pale as the lustre dies,

Till it hangs on his lip like the mournful light
 Of a wreck that may sink ere the proud sun rise.
 And his fancy was busy again within
 To think how much better his work might have been,
 With a light brought there, and a shade thrown here :
*'Twas well that he had not the canvas near,
 For the painters, then, were Despair and Fear.*

" But hark ! a sound in the distance steals :
 'Tis a shout—a shout in the distance peals :
 It gathers—it deepens—it rolls this way—
 ' Lenora, haste to the casement—say !'
 'Tis finished ! but *who* has won the day ?

" Near and more near
 Is the loud acclaim ;
 You could almost hear
 The victorious name :
 ' They come,—by the beat
 Of their flooding feet ;
 Now, now, they are reaching the end of the street !'

" The maiden's heart is fluttering wild—
 And even the father arose from his seat
 And stood by his child,—
 But incredulous smiled,—
 ' There's a way to the left : they will turn to the square—
 No ! onward ! right onward ! they pause not there !
 And the senators pass
 Through the multitude's mass !
 Scarce three doors off—they come ! they come !'

" The maiden has sunk from the window side :—
 'Tis past a fear ! 'tis past a doubt !
 There's a stir within, there's a rush without,
 They mount the stairs, the door flies wide—
 O joy to the Lover, and joy to the Bride.
 The eldest of the train advances ;
 In his hand the garland glances ;
 Gold—precious, glittering to the sight ;
 Pledge of hopes that are still more bright,
 For love is wreathed in its leaves of light !

" They call him. Is their voice unheard ?
 He rose not, as in duty bound ;
 He bowed not, as they gather'd round ;
 They placed the garland on his head :
 He gave no thanks, he spoke no word,
 But slowly sunk like a drooping flower
 Beneath the weight of too full a shower—
 The Painter of Florence was dead !"

We need not subjoin the close of this sad story ; nor the final burst of invective in which the author indulges at the expense of the picture-galleries of the great ; the more unjust, since our noblemen display so liberal a spirit in exhibiting their treasures to the public gaze. But how much lyric energy and passion do we not find in this poem, glowing and rich with radiant colours, and exulting in rhythmical freedom and poetic power. We cannot pause to dilate upon its excellencies, though these are assuredly many, for our article has already extended itself to an alarming length. And, on this same account, we cannot afford to comment long upon "Beldagon Church," another poem in this same series, imbued with the most destructive and antichristian tendencies, in which the worship of nature is contrasted with the worship of God, to the supposed advantage of the former. Thus we are told that—

" The blossom-loving bee,
Neglectful of her Maker
Though 'tis Sunday-morn,
Little Sabbath-breaker,
Winds her humming horn."

Beldagon's cathedral fane is then described, with "stately pews in rival rows," "cushioned seats," "oaken screen," &c. But first, the poet leads us forth to admire the ritual of nature. Much of this gospel of rationalism is, as might be expected, dreamy, indistinct, and moonshiny, in the highest degree ; but it is impossible not to recognise the grace and lightness of these lines :—

" Mistily, dreamily, steals a faint glimmer ;
Hill-tops grow lighter, tho' stars become dimmer :
First, a streak of grey ;
Then a line of green ;
Then a sea of roses,
With golden isles between.
All along the dawnlit prairies
Stand the flowers, like tip-toe fairies
Waiting for the early dew :
Listening,
Glistening,
As the morning
Walks their airy muster thro',
All the new-born blossoms christening
With a sacrament of dew.
And from them, a flower with wings,
Their angel that watch'd through the night,
The beautiful butterfly springs
To the light."

This is poetry ; but much which follows is forced and unnatural,

with a poor and too transparent aim after "naïveté" and innocence; and almost sickening, in our estimation, is the "Io Pæan" sung to the rationalist's deity of his own creation,—a deity—shall we dare to say it?—of very milk and water. Having pronounced a verdict of condemnation on these pretended raptures, we pass to the service of Beldagon Church, the delineation of which possesses at least some spirit. The ascent of the bishop to the pulpit is cleverly pourtrayed:—

"Then like the flutter of a full pit
 When a favourite passage comes,
 As the bishop mounts the pulpit,
 Sink the whispers, coughs, and hums :
 And here and there a scattered sinner,
 Winking in the house of God,
 Shows he
 Knows the
 Rosy,
 Cosy,
 Dosy,
 Prosy,
 Bishop with a smile and nod."

Then comes an onslaught on the fatness of the clergy, commencing—

"The prelate bows his cushion'd knee,
 Oh, the prelate's fat to see!"

And ending—

"From mitre tall to gold-laced hat,
 Fat's the place—and all are fat!"

which we are inclined to pronounce a fair hit enough: and then follows from this "cosy, dosy, bishop," one of the most powerful rhymed sermons that it would be possible for the mind of man to conceive, contrasting indeed most favourably in its straightforward truthfulness and keen severity, with the fantastic and artificial raptures of the poet over "nature's ritual." Of course the intention is to make the bishop the prophet and advocate of slavery and woe: but his discourse establishes that self-evident fact from which we derive the need for a revelation,—the fact that this is a fallen world, a world subject to a curse. Setting aside a certain amount of exaggeration and of one-sided vindictiveness of purpose, and the total absence of the doctrine of earth's redemption by the Saviour of mankind (a vital deficiency this, of course)—still, setting these things for the moment on one side, or making allowance for them, the sermon of the Bishop of Beldagon remains unanswerable on deistical principles, ay, or on

atheistical either. We cannot express our admiration too highly of this most powerful composition, the author of which has thought to condemn Christianity, while he has really sealed the condemnation of his own weak and morbid "natural religion," with his faith in a rose-water Providence, that would have made this earth a heaven were it not for the vices of nobles and of kings. Some part of this striking discourse we must at least cite, and we know not where to begin save with the beginning. Here then follows the opening of the Bishop of Beldagon's sermon :—

"Sink and tremble, wretched sinners ! The Almighty Lord has hurl'd
His curse for everlasting on a lost and guilty world :
Upon the ground beneath your feet, upon the sky above your head,
Upon the womb that brings you forth, upon the toil that gives you
bread,
On all that lives and breathes and moves, in earth and air and wave,
On all that feels and dreams and thinks, on cradle, house, and grave,
For Adam murder'd innocence—and since the world became its hearse,
Throughout the living sphere extending breeds and spreads the dreadful
curse.

—The seasons through Creation bear our globe continually
To show its shame to every star that frowns from the recoiling sky :
And savage comets come and gaze, and fly in horror from the sight,
To tell it through unfathomed distance to each undiscover'd light.
Sin, its ghastly wound inflicting, damns us to eternal pain—
And from the heart of human nature, flows an ever-bleeding vein.
You may blame your institutions, blame your masters, rulers, kings :
This is idle : 'tis the curse eternal, festering as it clings.
Change them—sweep them to destruction, as the billow sweeps the
shore !

Misery, pain, and death, the curse, the curse will rankle but the more.—
If it were not thus, in nature you would surely witness joy—
Gaze around you, and behold the never-ceasing curse destroy :
Flower and leaf and blade and blossom languish in a slow decay :
Fish on fish, and bird on bird, and beast on beast, unceasing prey—
Take the smallest drop of water—see, with microscopic view,
Thousand creatures ravin, slaughter, mangle, cripple, maim, pursue.
Breathe the air—where million beings in unending conflict dwell,
Every tiny bosom raging with the raging fires of hell !
And the curse eternal gives them weapons kindred to their hearts,
Claw, and tusk, and venom'd fang, and web, and coil, and poisoned
Nature is one scene of murder, misery, malice, pain, and sin, [darts.
And earth and air and fire and water grudge the little peace you win ;
Blight and mildew, hail and tempest, drought and flood your harvests
spoil,

Disputing inch by inch the conquests of your heart-subduing toil."

Now, it is true that the exaggeration of all this is self-evident ;

but not less evident is its partial truth. Manifest it is, we affirm, manifest and indisputable, that a curse has fallen on the world of nature, as well as on the world of mind. If you will not admit this, only one of two alternatives remains : either you must contend that the Deity is indifferent to the happiness of his creatures, or, plainly, not beneficent,—or if you reject this supposition with horror, you can only take refuge in a yet darker as well as utterly irrational creed, the creed of atheism : you must deny God altogether ; you must deny Design and Providence ; you must ascribe all you behold to an inexorable chance, a blind necessity. Against this the instincts of the human heart rebel, which teach it that “something holy lives above the skies ;” the very organs of reverence, awe, and wonder demand a fitting object, and can find one only in the Godhead. Design, we affirm, whatever the Newmans and the Froudes may tell us, is self-evident throughout the world-mechanism of creation : all things proclaim, “There is a God !” But those facts which the chartist poet has placed before us remain indisputable : life itself, is maintained by death ; evil is interwoven with all things which we behold. How is this ? How can this be ? One answer only is possible. Evil is the consequence of sin : and sin itself was the free choice of those creatures whom the Almighty had created supremely happy and supremely good, but capable of fall, because free agents. This is the *only* possible answer that imagination or reason could devise, and it is the answer of Revelation ; that Revelation which proves its Divine origin by its perfect solution of all the enigmas of existence ; that Revelation, which has been borne witness to by the wisest, holiest, purest, greatest of mankind ; by a series of prophets, all claiming supernatural powers, all evincing amazing genius, boundless courage, perfect self-devotion, meekness, purity, the very ideal of all moral virtues, and who, nevertheless, if not really gifted with that supernatural power which they professed to exercise—a power to which a Mahomet dared to lay no claim,—must have been the very vilest of impostors ;—a Revelation borne witness to by the mightiest of all poets, by the gravest of all seers, by the most stubborn and stiffnecked of all nations, a nation scattered over the face of all the globe, a standing record of Almighty vengeance ;—borne witness to by saints and martyrs the meekest and the bravest ; by Apostles, twelve poor and ignorant men, who by their preaching regenerated a world, who, exhibiting in their lives the highest pattern of morality, laid them down at last for the truths which they had witnessed,—or, if you think it were reasonable to believe so, for the fictions they had concocted ;—a Revelation, finally, proclaimed by Him, who was promised from the beginning, who was hoped for by all the patriarchs,

who was heralded by all the prophets, who appeared at last in the light of day to declare Himself the Son of the Living God : *Such a Revelation* stands on a basis that never can be shaken ; that may well disdain all the rebellious waves that dash against its rock, whether the puny frettings of a philosophic Newman, or the bolder dash of a Froude, or the angry foam of an Ernest Jones.

It is needless to enlarge upon this subject here. But we repeat, the Bishop of Beldagon's sermon is perfectly unanswerable : sin has entered into the world, that world which issued happy and glorious from its Maker's hands ; and by sin has entered woe. Yet, though on the animal creation and on nature's self the curse has fallen, let it not for an instant be conceived that the life of the creatures is not happy on the whole. True it is that creation groaneth and travelleth ; yet the mere gift of existence is a boon and a blessing. By God's mercy life itself remains a joy to all the creatures, and the moment of death or of destruction is comparatively a moment only. It is the inevitable tribute paid by all creatures and things to the reign of death and sin. Yet even the insects, of which our anti-christian poet speaks, are blithesome and happy ; as far as they are concerned, as far as the animal world generally is concerned, pain remains the exception, not the rule. The amount of evil which exists in creation proves that sin, resulting from the free will of the creature, whether man or angel, has entered into the world, and has infected it, drawing down the just punishment of the Almighty : yet does beneficence remain the rule which governs nature's laws, so that it is abundantly manifest that the Almighty must have willed originally the happiness of all his creatures. And if so, what remains to justify the course of Providence ? Even the great mystery of REDEMPTION ; that Divine, awful, and ever-glorious sacrifice, that stupendous work of love, the contemplation of which must fill our mortal hearts with joy and wonder. This it is which heals the breach, which solders the rent, which reconciles the creature and Creator.

Rightly Ernest Jones proceeds to show, through the medium of his episcopal sermon, that in the world of mind as well as in the world of matter, evil has gained a lodgement ; that man cannot rely upon his brother-man ; that selfishness, and not love, has become the master-motive of society. But utterly do we repudiate, as Christian Churchmen, that conclusion, which he places on his bishop's lips, that nothing can be done for either rich or poor ; that all must writhe for ever under the incurable curse ; for this fictitious bishop simply ignores the blessings of Redemption ! We demand, on the contrary, the amelioration of the existing

state of humanity, by the simple application of the principles of the Gospel to the government of states, by the protection of the weak against the strong. This work of "Beldagon Church" has great merit as a poem and as a work of intellect; but, unhappily for the author, it tells entirely against himself and his own views and principles. Though he travesties the Christian doctrines of retribution and self-devotion so adroitly, he will find it difficult, nay, he will find it utterly impossible to persuade the people of England that the Church of this country is their inveterate enemy, and is resolved to crush the poor. Their experience assures them, on the contrary, that the clergy, with all their faults (which we would be the last to hide), are, after all, the truest friends, the best defenders of the working classes,—not their flatterers indeed, but their *friends*, their counsellors in distress, their aiders in the hour of need, the advocates of their rights, in every parish, at every work-house board, as well as in every organ of the Church's mind: no, we are *not* absolutists; we are *not* pessimists: we do *not* bid the people prepare their minds for inevitable and ceaseless earthly misery: while their wrongs must endure we teach them indeed to bear those wrongs with patience, but we are the first to seek to right them by all lawful means within our power. But it is true, we do not consider it our mission to foment civil strife, to set man against man, and class against class, to call forth all the worst and bitterest passions of humanity, to prompt hate and scorn and vengeful fury, to work the work of Cain!

And now pass we from the consideration of "Beldagon Church," purposing to add some very few lines on the series of poems, entitled "Westminster Prison," before we wind up by an appeal to the sense and reason, to the wisdom and honesty, to the patriotism and religion of Englishmen against the encroaching ocean of democracy. It is vain not to see that ocean, it is vain to close our eyes to those onpouring floods; they must be met, they must be opposed, they must be hurled back again,—yes, even to the frothy waste of nothingness from which they sprang, for they are grounded on essential error and unreason.

In "Westminster Prison" then, this author presents us with a series of lyrics, the result of his prison musings; they exhibit power no doubt, and energy, and daring; but, on the whole, we should not call them happy. Some of them are mildly sentimental, and others are almost weakly fanciful, whilst the rest are fierce and passionate, but scarcely, we think, calculated to win adherents to the cause of chartism; there is too much self-consciousness in them, and too little magnanimity—at least, it seems so to us—and they lack sympathy and pathos. "The Easter Hymn"

(so called) is the most powerful of these lyrics, being a daring and blasphemous application of the Scriptural narrative to the wrongs of the working classes,—commencing thus :

“ Crucified, crucified, every morn ;
Beaten, and scourged, and crowned with thorn ;
Scourged and spat on, and drenched with gall ;
Brothers ! how long shall we bear their thrall ?

Chorus—Mary and Magdalen, Peter and John,
Hear ye the question—and bear it on ! ”

And the so-called “ Hymn for Lammas-Day ” breathes an equally or a still more turbulent and incendiary spirit. We are willing to hope that these war-cries were only drawn from our poet by a sense of his immediate wrongs, and do not express his deliberate conviction. The dangers of popular sedition, we repeat, are not what we have most to dread ; but rather those of the legal and constitutional betrayal of our common weal. Mr. Jones must be well aware, that utterances made in the spirit of a Marat and a Robespierre can only retard the advance of a cause in this country, and reflect no honour on him who gives them to the world.

Without dwelling longer, then, on this unfortunate collection or series of lyrics, which on the whole has but slight poetic merit, let us add a few words on the general qualities of Mr. Jones’s poetry. Certainly, we shall not find in it the deep and earnest pathos, the calm and almost sacred beauty, the oftentimes ineffable grace of a Tennyson : nor shall we find the quiet truthful feeling, and the solemn sweetness (if we may so express ourselves), of a Longfellow, America’s only poet who is worthy of a second perusal ; nor will the intense dramatic power of Robert Browning, or the passion of his lady-wife, be discovered in the bold and ringing rhymes of Ernest Jones : but his fancy is freer and bolder than that of any of these bards ; his power of expression is, we think, in some respects, greater ; his sense of rhythm is decidedly stronger ; his style glows more richly with types and metaphors of fantastic beauty ; and, when he chooses, he has a higher faculty of *concentration*. Despite the merit of many of the extracts which we have given, we doubt not whether we might have discovered still more striking passages in “ Lord Lindsay,” as well as amongst the charming lyrics of the “ Wood Spirit ; ” but, in any case, Mr. Jones must take his place as one of the more powerful of our living poets, and the best of his works, the least destructive and revolutionary, such as “ Lord Lindsay,” “ The Painter of Florence,” and, we may add, the lyrics of “ The Wood Spirit,” only require to be republished in an attractive form, to secure a large circulation among the better-educated classes of this country.

And let it not be thought that in thus saying we are indirectly promoting the progress of democracy ; for it is not Mr. Ernest Jones, the demagogue, we have to fear, but rather Lord John Russell, the reforming prime minister. The common sense of the English nation will induce them to resist the onset of open and avowed democracy ; they know well that there is no tyranny so absolute or so hateful as that of the one despotic majority ; they know well that the great glory of our constitution has been, that it guarded against this tyranny, whilst it supplied a medium for the representation of every class ; the working classes who have not the suffrage, making their wishes known by means of public meetings, petitions, and, above all, by the press ; while the House of Commons represents (speaking broadly) the middle ; and the House of Lords, the upper classes. The great principle which lies at the root of our British Constitution may be said to be the necessity for the division of power : it is right indeed, it is essential, that, in the long run, in the end, the common sense of the majority should rule ; but then this majority must not be that of the moment, but that of years ; it must not be a bare numerical majority, but that of the real knowledge, and wisdom, and science of the country, which, after all, at the best, are liable to err : but what would be more terrible, let us ask, than the absolute reign of a single body, elected by the one majority, against whose decisions there could be no appeal ?

We do not now purpose to argue this matter at any length at the fag end of our article ; we are sure that the common sense of most Englishmen will revolt against the reign of such a majority as this, and will infinitely prefer our ancient government by Queen, Lords, and Commons, under which no sudden changes of importance can be effected, though the voice of the nation will always make itself heard in the end. We do not want an all-powerful, irresistible House of Commons ; we are disposed to admit, indeed, that if any measure be sent up from that house repeatedly with vast and increasing majorities, the peers, generally speaking, will do well to yield ; but we need a barrier against popular error and the mere love of novelty, and this is supplied by the existence of the two higher branches of the legislature. Now we believe that if the House of Commons directly represented the one majority of the nation, instead of the majority of the middle classes, as at present, it would be perfectly irresistible, and that the House of Lords would of necessity become a nullity. And therefore it is that we are so strongly opposed to any measure tending even in this direction. As it is, the Commons are only too powerful ; yet they do not directly represent the masses, and indirectly the masses are equally represented by the Peers ; but the opposition of three

hundred men to a body chosen by the one majority of the nation, whether under household or universal suffrage, would, we are persuaded, be weak, and almost nominal. Therefore does Lord John Russell's bill for a large increase in the suffrage appear so exceedingly dangerous to us. Any increase is to be dreaded, as tending to establish the supreme authority of the one tyrannical majority; in fact, the very existence of the constitution, with its fundamental principle of division of power, is assuredly here at stake.

Lord John Russell must know this; he has shown by his speeches in the house that he knows it: how can he then be instrumental to the ruin of his country?

But we may be told, the working classes will never rest satisfied without the suffrage, whatever be the consequence. We do not believe it: we do not think the majority would care one straw for the suffrage, were their social rights secured to them: the suffrage, we consider, should be within the reach of an honest and intelligent artisan who would make some sacrifices to secure it (and so it is at present); but it should be a privilege, and not the common right of all: and this last, a right, it cannot be without erecting the despotism of one tyrant majority, and whelming Queen, Lords, and Commons in one common ruin.

What would be the immediate effect of a large increase of the suffrage, such as Lord John Russell proposes? The return of a very democratic House of Commons, who would assuredly aspire to grasp all power—who would scarcely know how to refuse consistently that universal suffrage which would then be loudly clamoured for. And in any case, the days of the House of Lords would then, we fear, be numbered: it might linger for a few years as the shadow of its former self, until it gradually melted away; or if the thinking and more highly educated classes of this country were not disposed to submit without a struggle to the triumph of democracy, to the despotism of the one tyrant majority, then a civil war might be the issue. What then is most to be dreaded, in our opinion, is *the gradual extension of the suffrage*, whereby more and more of the governing power must be absorbed into a single branch of the legislature, rendering the others comparatively valueless; and if Lord John Russell's bill should prove half as comprehensive as we are credibly informed it will be, it alone will suffice to destroy the equilibrium of our commonweal.

Some may suppose we are indulging in too melancholy anticipations, that our fears are, at all events, exceedingly exaggerated, but this is not the case; for the balance of the British Constitution, it is essential that the House of Commons should not directly represent the majority of the population, or any thing approximating

to it ; the danger is very near and very great, and it can scarcely be exaggerated. We apprehend no perils from open democracy, or from demagogism, least of all, from physical force chartism ; but we *do* fear the gradual sapping of the very basis of our social state. In this point of view it seems to us expedient to give publicity to the sentiments and opinions of such thinkers as Mr. Ernest Jones, that men may know whither Lord John Russell is endeavouring constitutionally to conduct them. The barefaced monopoly of power by one majority England would not tolerate ; but the gradual increase of the suffrage, however inevitably tending to that fatal goal, may be acceded to almost without a struggle. Lord John Russell will certainly not thank us for the compliment, but we must think him a far more dangerous enemy of the constitution, whether consciously or unconsciously, not only than Mr. Ernest Jones, the chartist laureate, but also than all the chartist orators throughout the country, and the whole of the scattered forces of democracy.

ART. IV.—*Memoir of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, late Rector of Watton, Herts. By the Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts.* 2 vols. London: Seeleys.

THERE are very many persons in the present day who find it all but impossible to persuade themselves that eminent piety can coexist with mistaken opinions on religious subjects, and who are accordingly inclined either to deny sincerity and purity to those who may differ from them in opinion, or are willing to sacrifice truth itself in deference to the errors of saintliness. There are persons to be found in every communion who are unable to realize to themselves the fact that sanctity of life and earnestness of Christian devotion can be found, except amongst those who are associated in the professions of the same tenets with themselves. It is true that such persons will frequently disclaim so narrow and so unreasonable a principle, if it be brought directly before them; but they will *act* habitually on it; and the Evangelical, the High-Churchman, the Dissenter (not to speak of the Romanist), will too frequently be found to judge of the piety of men of different views, not by the actual tenor of their lives, but by the shibboleth which distinguishes them. "He followeth not with us," is too often held to be a sufficient reason for disregarding and denying actually existing good; and it is conceived that a dangerous Latitudinarianism is involved in conceding the possibility of goodness when in any degree tinged with error. Grace is supposed, in fact, virtually to confer infallibility on the individual who exhibits its higher workings; and hence arises the extraordinary influence over opinion which has ever been exercised by pre-eminent piety. It has been held by those who came within the sphere of its influence that no material error can exist where the heart is under the powerful influence of the Divine guidance; and thousands of intelligent and of earnest men have before now taken their opinions on trust from some eminent individual—have read the word of God with his eyes—have sat at his feet as if he were another Apostle,—and have, at his bidding, renounced their old faiths, and gathered themselves around some symbol of human invention.

In the present day, and under the existing circumstances of the Church, it is of especial importance to bear in mind the undoubted truth, that piety and earnestness afford no absolute

security for the soundness of religious views in all respects. We have seen some men whose religious characters were without reproach, and who even held the highest place in the admiration of considerable classes of persons—men whose writings evinced a deep insight into spiritual and practical piety (amidst many speculations of a less profitable description)—yet eventually misled on the most important points, and exchanging the plain truths of God's word, for the erroneous inventions of men. Under these circumstances it has been peculiarly instructive to observe how men of equal piety and earnestness have been, at the same time, raised up, whose views on religious subjects were removed to the very opposite extreme—to mark the energetic sincerity and piety of an Arnold or a Stanley—to trace the devotion and Christian zeal of a Shirley, a Simeon, or a Wilberforce—and to dwell on the high and edifying example of Christian love and faithfulness which is presented by the subject of the Memoir now before us.

We can indeed happily point to examples of piety and faith in connexion with views of a different complexion from those of Simeon on the one hand, or Arnold on the other. We have seen many instances in which the highest devotion has been combined with what we deem safer or more well-founded principles; but it were vain, indeed, to deny the evidence which the lives of some men of different opinions have afforded, of being under the guidance of Divine grace in a remarkable and extraordinary degree.

It is scarcely possible to open the volumes before us without finding evidence in rich abundance of many of the highest graces of the Christian character. If "out of abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," there is here indeed a noble testimony of the state of that heart; for every word is instinct with a spirit of love, and faith, and humbleness of mind, and zeal for God, which cannot be misunderstood. Here is no mere cant and shibboleth of party; but a something which, amidst the difficulties of party associations, rises above them all, in the earnest tendencies of Christian love towards God and man—a something which fails indeed through infirmity of human judgment, but sanctifies even its very failures.

There is one peculiarly pleasing feature in the biography of this good man: it exhibits a character which, trained in the ways of godliness by pious and affectionate parents, appears to have gradually advanced to higher degrees of excellence, without any of those fearful declensions to habits of gross sinfulness which have been sometimes exhibited in the case of those who have afterwards been remarkable for high Christian graces. The early life of Bickersteth proves that he had been brought up in habits of devotion, and in the practice of many of its methods. Born at

Kirkby Lonsdale in 1786, he was, we are informed, blessed with "wise and judicious parents," and "a happy well-ordered home;" and though, we are told, both parents were ignorant at that time of "those deep truths of the Gospel which their own children were afterwards the means of bringing before them," *i. e.* (we presume) were old-fashioned Church people, "still according to the light she [his mother] had, she desired to train them in the fear of God, and the way of his commandments. Her admonitions made so strong an impression on the mind of her son, that 'religious parents and a religious home' are blessings several times alluded to in his journal. She laid a good foundation for the higher principle of the fear of God, in the deep filial reverence toward earthly parents which she inculcated."

At the early age of fourteen he was appointed to a place in the General Post-office, London, where his elder brother, who was already engaged there, "was both able and willing to guide him in the paths of virtue," and where, amidst the temptations, and the mingled society of the metropolis, he was to gain that intimate knowledge of human nature which gave so much reality to his writings in after life. For some years but few circumstances are recorded illustrative of more than a steady application to his duties, and a due regard to the lessons of morality and prudence early instilled into his mind; and yet even in those years there were indications of more than common earnestness in religious duties. For instance, we find the following amongst his rules of conduct, written at sixteen years of age:—

"To attend divine service twice, if possible, every Sunday; and whilst in church to behave properly and religiously. To say the Lord's Prayer regularly every morning and evening. To read a chapter in the Bible every evening, and nothing but what tends to encourage religious thoughts on a Sunday; and to receive the most comfortable Sacrament of our Lord, at least four times a year. Also to devote half an hour every day to religious duties."—p. 13.

Shortly after we find the following passage in his journal:—

"Sunday, March 4th (Lent). Some parts of my conduct I can look at with satisfaction in the last week; but though I have been more submissive to my superiors, I have not had my Great Redeemer sufficiently in my thoughts. I have committed many sins, and have much to repent of at this holy season. I have not restrained my appetite as I ought to do now; I have not been humble enough at this time."—p. 15.

Other passages of the same kind might be referred to in illustration of the serious impressions of this youth of sixteen years of age; but we learn that soon after his religion gradually died away

for a time, and became absorbed in worldly cares and anxieties. His general conduct, however, appears to have been unexceptionable; and his industry and exertion to improve himself, and to gain his livelihood by honest industry, appear to have been unremitting; and we read of him in 1806 when he was nineteen years of age:—

“Before this time a great change had come over the tone of his mind. His religious impressions had been revived. ‘I do not recollect,’ he writes, ‘what first gave me more serious impressions of religion. I think that it was Hervey’s *Dialogues* (Theron and Aspasio): at least, I have reason to bless God for them, as they much opened my mind on the nature of religion. However, whatever were the means, God, my God, was the cause, and to Him be the praise. I read much of the Scriptures, at least three or four chapters in a day. At this time I was more earnest in prayer, and more strict in religion, perhaps (though with much ignorance), than I have been since. I enjoyed much of the comfort of religion. I had many delightful thoughts in lying down, that I might awaken in heaven, and many comfortable Sacraments.’”—Vol. i. pp. 20, 21.

He had now left the Post-office and became articled to an attorney, and in the view of this change in his circumstances, we have the following extract from his journal:—

“‘November 17th, 1806. It being probable I shall soon change my situation in life, and have better temporal prospects (though attended with present disadvantages), which the kindness of my friends (and I thank my Heavenly Father for this!) enables me to accept, it becomes prudent in me to lay down a plan and some rules for myself; by keeping which, through God’s assistance, I may justify their kindness, preserve the Christian life, be useful to man, and give glory to God. These are objects that cannot be attained without labour, care, and diligence. I propose then thus to live, recollecting that without God I can do nothing:—In summer, from the 5th of April to the 5th of October, to rise at five every morning, and to spend one hour wholly in devotion and in reading the Bible. From six to eight I intend to study nothing but law—never beginning to read without begging God’s blessing on my studies, and beseeching the Fountain of wisdom to give me knowledge. From eight to nine will be the hour for dressing and breakfast: let me recollect never to eat without giving thanks.

“‘From nine to three I shall be engaged in business. This will require particular watchfulness and care: let me labour, as serving God, as the appointed means of pleasing Him, and of honouring my vocation by diligence, attention, and usefulness. (See further directions under the head, *Business*.) From three to five I shall be allowed time for myself, and I would employ it in this way. Let me go to my room, and employ half an hour in devotion and self-examination, and, if I have time for it, read half an hour any book that comes in my way.

Another half hour take exercise, and the remaining half hour for dinner. If there is a great deal of business, I intend to give up the exercise and the reading, and return to business immediately after devotion and dinner. At eight o'clock business will be over; let me then retire to my supper, which dispatch as soon as I can, that I may have time for reading. Let this be law for one hour—half an hour a devotional book, the remaining three quarters of an hour in reading the Bible, and in prayer, and then retire to bed, committing myself to an approving Father and a sweet sleep.

“ ‘In winter I propose to rise at six, and only read law one hour in the morning, but an hour and a half in the evening. On Sundays I would devote myself wholly to devotion, and attending public ordinances, unless charity, or great necessity, and perhaps admiring the works of God in creation, prevented me. After having done all, I shall be still, and must acknowledge myself, an unprofitable servant.

“ ‘BUSINESS.—(With respect to God, Mr. Bleasdale, and myself.)

“ ‘GOD.—Strive to do all as appointed by God, as the means of pleasing Him, and showing my obedience to Him, as serving Him and not man.

“ ‘MR. BLEASDALE.—I owe him great gratitude as an instrument of good to me; let me then, as part of my duty to God, endeavour in every lawful thing, to be pleasing and useful to him, to consider his interest as my own, to be attentive and diligent, studying to adorn my heavenly calling.

“ ‘MYSELF.—Endeavour to keep myself unspotted from the world, to preserve spiritual-mindedness, to walk by faith, and study to approve myself in the sight of God as a zealous and faithful servant. Beware of labouring for any other end than a religious one; for in this, as in other respects, whatever is not of faith is sin.”—Vol. i. pp. 23—25.

These were the *private* resolutions of a young man of nineteen. It is not of course intended to adduce them as evidences of the most exalted piety: we trust that there are many instances of similar earnestness to be found amongst our youth even at present. But surely it is impossible to mistake the tone of sincerity and of practical religion and faithfulness which characterizes the above extracts; or to fail in recognising its connexion with the influence of these parental instructions and that religious home with which this writer had been blessed.

The resolutions of this young man, then engaged in an attorney's office, and his habits of life are described by his daughter in the following passage. Here is Bickersteth at twenty years of age:—

“ ‘The spirit of prayer and holy resolution seems to have been afresh awakened in his mind, soon after he took possession of his new abode; for another plan of life bears date—‘ August 16th, 1807.’ It is similar

to that already given, only it is more aspiring in its character: not only holiness, but eminent holiness was his aim.

“First. I will sincerely endeavour, and I also believe it to be my best interest, and a sure evidence of my salvation, and, through the merits of Christ, pleasing to God, to obtain the greatest possible height of piety, and never to stop short, or to think I have attained, till death crowns me with victory. To reach this, I must be the best Christian, the best friend, the best servant, the best master, the best housekeeper, the best son, the best brother, the best labourer, in short, I must strive to be perfect in my state of life, as my Heavenly Father is perfect. Here then is a work fitted for an immortal soul. It would indeed be vain to attempt to be this by my own strength. But here is my hope: I have a promise of a better strength, and this very night I will implore the aid, not of man, but of God; and He is able to work all this in me. That I may implore this aid the more ardently, recollect, I am running the race, and the prize is immortal. I am fighting a battle: I am on a journey. I am seeking a jewel and a crown. All these are but images; my dangers and also my rewards are, and so will be, infinitely greater.’

“The spirit of earnest aspiration which these extracts breathe, marks the whole of his private papers. He often, very often, fell short of his resolutions, with regard to early rising, the time devoted to the study of his profession, and many other duties; but his desire was, not to lower his standard to his attainments, but patiently, painfully, and laboriously, to raise his conduct to the high standard of God’s word. His mind was naturally practical and methodical; and these qualities, which would have ensured a great measure of success in any worldly calling in which he had been engaged, were now turned to a yet holier purpose,—the working out his own salvation with fear and trembling. He knew indeed that his spiritual life must depend only on the free inbreathings of the Spirit of God, but he also knew that God works by means; that those means were as much in his own power, as those which he employed to advance himself in his worldly profession, and called for as much diligence, self-denial, and regularity in the use of them. His journal bears frequent marks of the earnestness with which he devised plans for attaining more and more of his Saviour’s image.

“Sunday, August 3, 1806. Having hitherto kept a very imperfect account of my sins against God, man, and myself; I resolve, by God’s grace, on daily examination, on the following questions:—

1. Do I love God above all things?
2. Do I love my neighbour as myself, by doing him all the good in my power?
1. Am I anxious after
 1. Riches and temporal possessions?
 2. Worldly and sensual pleasures?
 3. Worldly honour or reputation?
2. Am I more anxious for
 1. The favour of God by doing all for his glory?

2. The good of man ?

3. The salvation of my soul ?

“ ‘ November 9, 1806. Perhaps the following rule, with God's blessing, may assist me to grow in grace. On the first day of the week, let me, after strict examination, write down every sin of the day. The next morning look them over, resolve, and pray against them, and then at night examine how I have avoided them, and if I have committed others, put them down. What I have avoided, put in the list of mercies ; wherein I have sinned, be doubly sorry and humbled, and pray more heartily to be delivered from them ; and so proceed every day in that work, writing a summary of the whole on Sunday morning. Thus let me fight against my sins, till I am more than conqueror.’ ”

“ He appears at this time to have had an opportunity, every week, of drawing near to the table of the Lord, and he was anxious to derive a full blessing when he partook of this holy ordinance, that it might indeed prove to be for the strengthening and refreshing of his soul.”—Vol. i. pp. 31—34.

Whatever may be the impressions on our minds with regard to the disparagement of sacraments and means of grace in some quarters, certainly the man who at twenty years of age was in the habit of, “ *every week*, drawing near to the table of the Lord,” and the writer who can record without disapprobation that fact, and his frequent allusions to fasting as a duty practised by himself, are scarcely likely to be amongst those who would disparage the sacraments. At this time he drew up the following form of self-dedication to God, which we cannot withhold from the reader ; and we would here especially call attention to the sense of obligation evinced by the writer in reference to the baptismal vow :—

“ In December of this year he drew up the following solemn form of self-dedication :—

“ ‘ December 28, 1806. As it is advised by the excellent Doddridge, as I may hope it will have some effect on my soul in making me ashamed of sin, and as it may be an additional tie to a life of holiness ; as it will also become evidence when I am departed this world, to my surviving friends, that I trusted alone in the name of Jesús and his Gospel for life and happiness, salvation and immortality beyond the grave ; I presume to draw up the following. If one who has never seriously thought on religion should read it, may he through the grace of God make it his own act ;—for the care of the soul, so sadly (surely enough to make one weep tears of blood) neglected by the world, is indeed the one thing needful, all other things are perishing, and endure but for a moment ; but this will repay us in everlasting ages, and we labour in vain, if we make it not the chief object of our thoughts, desires, studies, words, and labours.

“ ‘ Eternal and blessed God, King of kings, Lord of lords, who art greatly to be feared, I confess that I was conceived and born in sin. I

bewail that my life has been hitherto little else but a continual course of sin and impiety, except where thy merciful goodness has prevented me. More particularly I acknowledge that I have, 'woe is me,' been guilty of the heinous sins of lying, hypocrisy, obstinacy, violations of the Sabbath, disobedience to parents, and covetousness; living days, months, and years in these sins, and as without Thee in the world. Thus sinful, thus miserable, I prostrate myself at thy footstool, in deep humiliation, contrition, and self-abhorrence, saying, 'Be merciful to me a sinner!' 'I have sinned, and am not worthy to be called thy son.' 'Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin.'

" 'This being my case, I gladly close with thy gracious covenant of redemption, thankfully and joyfully accepting Jesus for my Saviour, believing in Him and his Gospel, and trusting in his righteousness alone for acceptance with Thee. Receive, O Lord, thy revolted servant, who earnestly desires to become one of thy people, to be included in thy covenant.

" 'Fear and trembling might justly take hold of me in thus addressing Thee; and I durst not so appear before Thee, were it not for thy gracious promises, and my great necessity.

" 'This day, then, I devote myself to Thee, I renounce every other lord, the world, the flesh, and the devil; and, sincerely renewing my baptismal vow, I consecrate to Thee all that I have and am; my body and my mind, my thoughts, possessions, time, influence, words, and actions, and every means of every kind I possess, to be all used to thy glory, and in resolute obedience to Thee.

" 'This I am bound to do, and by thy help so I will; and I declare at this time, in this solemn season and manner, on this sacred day, after returning from thy table, my hearty and entire surrender to Thee. I humbly, yet ardently, beseech Thee to accept it, to enable me to fulfil it, and to preserve me from again departing from Thee.

" 'I resign myself to thy direction, to be disposed of by Thee as most subservient to thy glory, saying with reverence, 'Thy will be done,' and rejoicing in thine unlimited government.

" 'And may the blood of thy dear Son wash me from my wickedness, his merits plead for me, his death atone for my sins. Let me be clothed with his righteousness: sanctified by his Spirit. May I always behold Thee as my Father, live under thy influence, love Thee more and more as myself, and grow in grace, and in every good word and work.

" 'And when the solemn hour of death comes, when nothing worldly can afford assistance, when my years are at an end, and I must shortly appear naked before Thee, do Thou remember me, O my God. Be then, I pray Thee, especially present, shining brightly around me; let my faith in Thee be strong and vigorous. Oh may I then have the consolation, through thy free Spirit, of having glorified Thee on earth, and finished the work thou gavest me to do; may I depart hence with such peace as will show to others the power of thy religion, and glorify Thee, and be received into the mansions prepared for those that love

Thee, there to dwell evermore with the spirits of just men made perfect, and with Thee, my God, for ever and ever, through Jesus the Great Mediator of thy covenant, my Lord and my only Saviour.

“ ‘EDWARD BICKERSTETH.’

“How fully these closing petitions were answered, those can bear witness, who heard his dying words, ‘I have finished my work, I long for my rest,’ and who witnessed the hallowed peace that breathed around him at the moment of his departure to join the spirits of the just.”—Vol. i. pp. 35—37.

It is impossible to peruse passages like this without acknowledging the evidences they afford of Christian graces of the highest character. There are many other proofs of a similar description; and so deeply was the stamp of devotion impressed on the letters which he now addressed to his parents, that they began to fear lest religious enthusiasm should carry him too far, and he should leave the communion of the Church. He wrote to reassure them on this point, testifying his conviction that “the Church of England is in such entire concordance with the Scriptures, that while we reverence them we can never forsake it;” but that he considers it a duty to attend the ministrations of those ministers of the Church who preach its doctrines and those of the Scriptures. He subsequently remarked, in 1808, that “there seem to me in the Church of England three classes of ministers:—Those who are for a sober religion, *i.e.* a religion without Christianity, which the heathen discovered before us; those who partake in some degree of enthusiasm, and, I fear, encourage pride in their hearers, as if they were a people set apart, and all others were reprobates; and the truly Christian ministers, who make faith the foundation of holiness, but who make holiness an essential evidence of faith; who deny the least merit in holiness, and ascribe our salvation altogether to a Redeemer.”—p. 44.

We believe that this description was not altogether inaccurate; and we trust that the principles here rightly described as “truly Christian,” continued at all times to be substantially those of Bickersteth, and of very many of that part of the Church with whom he was more immediately connected; while we would add the expression of a firm conviction that the same great fundamental truth has regulated the teaching of still *more*, who were *not* of that connexion; and we feel assured that many of those who have been, to a certain degree, separated by mutual misunderstandings or misconceptions on this very point, will be, in the end, found to have been building on the same foundation, and promoting the same great objects.

The spirit of Bickersteth was pre-eminently charitable: we never see in his productions the harsh and violent zeal, the stern

and unforgiving denunciations, and the imputations of unworthy motives to adversaries, which have, unfortunately, distinguished the style of some of his contemporaries. His was no narrow and bigoted spirit which could recognise no truth or piety save within the circle of his own party; and in the repugnance which he thus early manifested to an exclusive, arrogant, and uncharitable religionism, we see the germ of a more generous and large-minded charity, which at times, indeed, was permitted to go to greater lengths than a sounder judgment would have recommended.

With such dispositions this excellent young man could not fail to be a blessing to all with whom he came in contact. In his new sphere he found companions of a widely different stamp, and he applied himself to benefit them. This and his general course are alluded to in the following passage:—

“ His disapproval of vice, and the steady rebuke administered by his example, were probably one cause of the improvement he notices in a letter to his parents, April 30th. ‘ Having given you but poor characters of my companions before, in justice I ought to add, I think them much improved. H—— is very much improved, and seems now to have a due sense of the immense importance of religion. It is rather presumptuous in me to judge others in this way, when, considering my advantages, I must think myself much the unworthiest of them all.’

“ While compelled to associate daily with society so uncongenial, Edward Bickersteth was preserved from its corrupting influence, for his conversation was in heaven, and the highest and most ennobling fellowship, even communion with his God and Father, was his constant privilege. His sabbaths were peculiarly precious to him. The early morning hours were spent in private devotion and study; he attended divine worship morning and evening; esteeming the faithful ministry he enjoyed one of the greatest of his blessings. The friends, with whom he so long resided, still wished him to join their family at a late dinner; but between this and the close of the morning service were many quiet hours, which were specially consecrated to devotional exercises. It was then that he usually wrote his Sabbath journal, in which he humbled himself for the sins of the past week, praised God for its mercies, or strove to urge upon his own spirit every motive that could lead to more exalted holiness.”—Vol. i. pp. 46, 47.

Two years afterwards, in 1810, we find him still looking towards the spiritual welfare of his companions. At this time he was about twenty-three years of age; and although he was now rapidly advancing in his profession, and had gained the fullest confidence of his employer, his mind was turning away from the prospects of earthly gains and success to higher things; he was secretly longing to be admitted to the ministry of the Gospel, but had little hope or expectation of being enabled to realize his wish. The

following passage will show his sentiments and conduct at this period :—

“One or two extracts will show how zealously he watched his conduct towards his companions ; striving to stir himself up to seek their salvation.

“ ‘ I must strive to banish levity in my conversation, and especially with worldly characters. Let me be as cheerful as possible ; but let it be a sober cheerfulness, from which I could in a moment retire to serious conversation and prayer. I am very subject to this levity of behaviour ; but this is not a world to trifle in. Whilst we are beating about in the storm, and uncertain of reaching the shore, is this a time for levity ? Whilst we are daily sinning against God, and live in a sinful world, is this a time for folly ? One would think the carelessness and indifference of my companions ought rather to make me tremble and fear for them, and earnestly and anxiously seek their eternal good ’

“ ‘ I am very selfish ; I seek not the good of others with that enlarged charity Christianity requires : thus I am impatient under interruptions of my study and quiet, though called to be useful to others. I am ready to give a hasty answer to questions put to me when I am engaged ; where is meekness and gentleness and forbearance in this ? I hope the Spirit of my God has done something for me here ; but O how backward I am to self-denial ! ’

“ ‘ I trust there is some alteration for the better among my companions ; if there be, it is thy work, O my God. May Thy grace begin, may Thy grace carry on a good work, not only amongst my companions, kindred, acquaintance, friends, and countrymen, but through the whole world, for Christ's sake ! O that it might please God to open the way for me to become his minister ! I consider it of little importance what becomes of me here, so that I might be the means of spreading the glad tidings of great joy, throughout the world if possible. In the ministry, I should have greater opportunities for this. I want not riches, honours, or pleasures : I want to be wise to win souls. I want to proclaim the joyful sound, if it be the will of my God. Yet in this I would say with the utmost sincerity and resignation, ‘ Thy will, not mine, be done. ’ ”—Vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

The journal of this excellent man records the earnest longings with which he at this time contemplated the notion of entering on the sacred ministry, and his meditations and self-examination as to the duties and responsibilities of the office, and his notions in desiring it ; but after much earnest prayer, and consultation with religious friends, he resolved to wait for clearer indications of God's will, and for several years longer applied himself to the duties of his profession. At length, after five years had elapsed, and at a time when he had attained to a lucrative business, and was also become a husband and a parent, he received an invitation from the Church Missionary Society, of which his friend

and former pastor, Mr. Pratt, was at that time secretary, to take charge of the Institution for the Education of Missionaries, in connexion with the Secretaryship of the Society, and to commence his labours by visiting the Missions on the coast of Africa, at Sierra Leone, and in its vicinity. He immediately resigned his lucrative profession, and accepted a laborious office with a small income; and having been admitted at length to holy orders, sailed for Africa, where he felt himself so momentarily in peril in that deadly climate, that he always kept with him a letter addressed to his wife, to be transmitted to her in case of his death, and comprising his sentiments in the immediate prospect of it.

It would be impossible to follow out all the details of Bickersteth's life from this time. It becomes identified with the history of the Church Missionary Society, and with the general history of religion in England. His exertions in Africa were crowned with singular success. His zeal inspired new animation into the cause of missions. The missionaries, who had been discouraged, resumed their work, and instead of employing themselves merely in the instruction of children, gathered around them congregations of adults, and soon were able to number their communicants by hundreds and thousands. The devoted man, who had thus aroused the African Missions from a state of lethargy, returned to England to undertake the immense labours of his office—the care of students in preparation for the missionary work—the correspondence and committee-work connected with the multifarious operations of the Church Missionary Society over the world—the advocacy of the missionary cause at public meetings, and in the pulpit, throughout a large part of the year, in Great Britain and Ireland—the engagements of a chapel in London—and the occasional publication of works on religious and spiritual subjects, composed in the intervals of business, and founded on his pulpit ministrations. In this overwhelming labour, with scarcely any relaxation, fifteen years were employed; and during that lengthened period, abounding with much that was calculated to impair the spirituality of the character, we find throughout evidences of an unfailing zeal in the cause of Christ—of unbounded charity—of most entire submission to the will of God—and of a willingness to relinquish privileges, which many persons might have coveted, for the sake of gaining additional time for the cure of souls in the congregation more particularly entrusted to him. Observing that his congregation appeared to suffer from his repeated absence on the business of the Church Missionary Society, he succeeded in effecting an arrangement by which he should not be required to absent himself for more than twelve Sundays in the year; and he subsequently came to the resolution, that if he were called on to

be absent from his church more than six Sundays in the year, he would relinquish his office of secretary with all its emoluments and influence.

"He had not only to contend with the general difficulties of the Society: he felt much embarrassment with respect to his own position and duties. 'O the pressure of daily work which comes upon me!' he exclaimed. 'I feel that I cannot continue it much longer, for every duty suffers by my being responsible for too many.' He felt that his frequent absence from home was a serious hindrance to the fulfilment of his duties to his own family; that his congregation suffered and was scattered when he left them, and that he could not efficiently fulfil his duties at the Church Missionary House, while he was so frequently hindered from being present at the Committee-meetings. He therefore seriously doubted, whether it were not his duty to resign his Secretaryship, especially as at this time he had confidence in his fellow-labourers, and believed that his place might be supplied. On the other hand God had much blessed him in his labours for the Society, it was a scene of great usefulness to the Church. He knew, that in every situation there is a conflict of duties, and that changes are always evil, unless God directly leads to them. The income from Wheler Chapel was also very small, and his family were partly dependant on his salary as Secretary to the Society. After weighing the matter carefully, writing down, as he was wont, the reasons on either side, he laid before Mr. Pratt, Mr. Woodroffe, and Mr. Coates, previously to submitting it to the Committee, a proposal for a modified arrangement, by which only six Sundays in the year should be required from him. If this was declined, he felt it would lead to his resignation."—Vol. i. pp. 440, 441.

Having been licensed to the incumbency of the chapel at which he had ministered for many years, he devoted himself with increased energy to the duties of his office. Now that he found himself surrounded by so large a number of devout communicants, he resolved to endeavour to act on the congregation generally through them. He expected to find amongst them Sunday-school teachers, and visitors for benevolent and district societies. He requested a list of their names, that he might pray individually for them, and appointed meetings of communicants, at which he addressed them on the subject of aiding him by visiting the poor; pointed out their duties as heads of families, parents, masters, servants; and exhorted them to other good works.

"February 6th, 1830. I am prevented by a cold from attending the Saturday evening meeting, and have thence a little time for retirement. The Lord bless it for my soul's good.

"My mind has been less turned by studies from active duties in my ministry and Society, and I feel most comfortable within, when thus not contemplatively in study, but actively in work, serving God.

“‘It has been a trying and conflicting time in the Society, especially about the Institution. I trust that the Lord has guided us to that issue which is most for his glory; but my only comfort is in casting the whole on Him.

“‘As to myself, I see so much evil and defect that my mouth is shut as to complaining of others;—evil and defect in every part of duty and obligation. I do desire before God now deeply to humble myself for every neglected and omitted duty, and for every misapplied labour.

“‘It is not sufficient to the Christian that he is active in good works unless they be appointed good works,—the good works ‘which God has before ordained (*προηρομασεν*) that we should walk in them.’ May I ever bear this in mind, and not be carried away by inclination or sympathy, or appearance of good, or reality of good, from immediate, appointed, and stated duties! I feel that here I have often greatly erred. In such a metropolis as this,—in such a public station as mine, without firmness, I shall easily be led astray by excellent things, from prior excellent things which are positive duties. Lord, give me grace to discern things that differ, and to follow the more excellent way. I feel that there is far too much of man’s work, and too little of God’s work, in my own experience, in my ministry, and in all my labours. The Saviour, with all his blessings, is not duly prominent, but self, in its varied forms, thrusts out privileges and principles. O for more of the Spirit of Christ, without which there cannot be the grace of Christ! Intercessory prayer for my congregation is not kept up with regularity and constancy. Lord, lead me to pray more for all, specially the communicants.’”—Vol. i. pp. 456, 457.

While this excellent man was thus engaged in labours above his strength, and at the same time growing in humility, he was awaiting the decision of the Church Missionary Society on the request he had placed before them for relief from the amount of travelling duties which so frequently removed him from his Church. He awaited it with a fixed resolution, that were the decision adverse, he would relinquish his Secretaryship with its income. The decision *was* adverse: it was considered that the interests of the Society would suffer materially if he were not to be absent for more than six Sundays in the year; and he immediately resigned his office of secretary in the following terms:—

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I regret to have to communicate to the Committee my determination, after much painful inward conflict, to resign my situation as Secretary, in a Society which has ever been, and I trust ever will be, very dear to me. . . . Deeply sensible of many imperfections in fulfilling the duties of the post which I have so long occupied, I would earnestly pray, that a larger portion of the Divine Spirit may rest on my successors, and on all the plans of a Society which God has largely used for the advancement of his kingdom in the world.

"I cannot also but notice the many mercies which I have received in this situation ; and though it has been to me one of peculiar toil, and of many trials, yet I shall ever have reason to bless God that I have been permitted, for so lengthened a period, to labour in a service so directly connected with the most important of all objects that can occupy the human mind. . . ."—Vol. i. pp. 458, 459.

His journal contains the following entry at this time.—"I am brought, encompassed with many mercies, to the day of my birth, and thick clouds are round about me, yet mercies also abound on every side. I know not the way before me, but my Father does, and I hope to keep close to Him, and then I need fear no evil. Never did I seem more encompassed with straits and doubts : but all shall clear up." The next day but one, the patron of the rectory of Watton, having been present at his chapel, came into the vestry after the service, and offered to him that valuable preferment.

The latter twenty years of Mr. Bickersteth's life, after his retirement from the office of Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, were engaged in incessant labours of body and mind in the service of religion. Few, if any, of the societies or religious movements of the day were not, more or less, influenced by his untiring energies. His aid and advice appear to have been sought to an enormous extent, by all who were engaged in promoting evangelical religion ; and he may be said to have sacrificed his life in the cause ; for the "wear and tear" of such a life as his was such as the strongest constitution must have severely felt. His labours were, indeed, wonderful ; and the incessant turmoil, exertion, and publicity in which he was involved, without the power of extrication, could scarcely fail to be injurious in some of its tendencies, to his own mind ; nor do we recollect a more remarkable evidence of the stedfastness of religious principle than arises from the fact, that amidst the many temptations incidental to his position, he appears to have preserved throughout the same Christian graces ; and even amidst the anxieties and trials of controversy, to have preserved a meek, humble, and charitable spirit. Notwithstanding his strong objections to certain views on religious subjects, he could still speak with forbearance of those who did not in all respects hold with him. For instance, on one occasion, he thus replies to some objections which had been made to the Church of England :—

"The Evangelical Clergy are not an insignificant fraction of the Church ; and *even the errors in other pulpits* are much oftener defect than positive falsehood. The preaching has commonly a higher standard than the preacher, and with the Lessons and Liturgy, a nearly full sys-

tem of truth is before the eyes of the people. This cannot make up for the want of heart and power; but still it is a libel to describe it as, in the vast majority of cases, the constant inculcation of deadly error. The spirit of Christ, which rejoices in truth, wherever it finds it, is wanting in such statements."—Vol. ii. p. 313.

In 1847, only three years before his death, Bickersteth could write in the following terms of a section of the Church to which he was very strongly opposed:—

"For above thirty years I have been a minister of this Church, and I may say, without condemning other denominations which hold the Head, it is the Church of my deepest conscientious convictions and affections, as being truly scriptural, evangelical, and catholic towards other Churches.

"For fifteen years after I was in the ministry, I travelled, in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, over every part of our country; and since that time, from my connexion with different religious societies, I am well acquainted with its situation. I deny not many humbling and fearful inconsistencies. Throughout the Protestant Churches much of the spirit of the Reformation has decayed, and hence the door has been opened to many evils. I deny not our participation in this decay. . . .

"There are fifteen or sixteen thousand clergymen in our Church. The chief proportion are in country parishes,—the great stay, support, and comfort, of the retired villages of our country, from their conscientiousness, intelligence, and benevolence; and this in many cases where there is not the fulness that might be wished, of enlightened, deep, and experimental religion.

"There are, it must be admitted, to the grief of every true Christian, unconverted, worldly, and formal ministers, and perhaps at the same time exclusive and extreme in their notions of Church authority. But faithful rulers and ministers in our Church have again and again testified against these evils. A fervent and zealous spirit may also greatly mistake as to the proportion of evil-doers. Elijah thought that he only was left a true worshipper of God, when there were seven thousand such in Israel. I mourn that there should be any such in a Church where the most eminent holiness and devotedness are required by her principles and ordination-services. But the tares will grow with the wheat; and while it is our duty to testify against that which is evil, let us remember also the solemn admonition, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.' We may exaggerate the extent of the evil, and are incompetent judges of others.

"As to Tractarianism, the general voice of the bishops and clergy has been against it, and the middle and lower classes of Churchmen strengthen faithful brethren in firmly withstanding it. Its character has been manifested by some open secessions to the Apostasy of Rome, and this shipwreck of faith has not been in vain. Others, yet with us, in

my view, overvalue their own notions, as to the visible Church, its sacraments and ministry, and episcopacy; but are there no contrasted errors in other denominations? And where there are these errors, there is often much conscientiousness, seriousness, real devotedness, enlarged bounty, and self-denial,—though mingled with statements erroneous in themselves, and leading to still more dangerous errors.'"—Vol. ii. pp. 375, 376.

The spirit of Christianity which dictated these expressions was the great characteristic of Bickersteth's life. Its benign influence was felt in his family and his parish, where he appears to have been surrounded by universal love. There is a very pleasing description of his daily life at home (vol. ii. p. 193, &c.), which will be pursued with interest and edification; but which we cannot extract at length. To his children religion was never exhibited as a system of arbitrary restraint: they were taught to regard it as a fountain of domestic happiness and love. Worldly amusements were discouraged; but enjoyment, amusement, and varied instruction were assiduously promoted. As his children grew up, he delighted in employing them in works of religion and charity. He made them his companions in all his labours for promoting the kingdom of God.

"It was his own principle, through life, to have for his main object the glory of God in the salvation of men. This he sought also to impress in every way on their minds. A great work was to be done; and each one, according to his ability, was to take part in it. Self-denial was to be expected as a needful means; but the end was glorious, and worthy of every sacrifice. Life, they were thus taught to feel, was solemn and earnest, full of interest, full of hope; and though beset with many dangers, and exposed to many trials, full also to a Christian of the richest blessings. A variety of quiet amusements were at hand, to fill up every hour not occupied with active and pressing duties; and the only complaint often heard at the rectory, was, that the day was not long enough for its numerous and interesting occupations."—Vol. ii. p. 197.

He was an early riser, and his morning private devotions were offered in his study, after which he used to retire to "a quiet walk in a field above the rectory," where his devotions were continued; and it reminds us of the habits of some of the ancient worthies of the Church, when we read that, "not far from one end of this private walk there were two or three cottages, and, unknown to himself, his voice was sometimes overheard by the simple cottagers, as he poured out his earnest supplications before God."

The closing scenes of this holy life were what might have been

anticipated. We refrain from touching on a subject so solemn and so triumphant, and would only refer the reader to the description of a death-bed scene, which set its seal on the faith, and exalted piety of this eminent servant of Christ.

The very imperfect sketch we have endeavoured to present will at least have conveyed to the reader some notion of the high spirituality and saintliness of Bickersteth. For ourselves, we must acknowledge that we shall find it difficult to point to many living examples of equal excellence. We know not the man in the present day to whom we should look upon as a more faultless model of Christian excellence. His virtues and piety were far above the ordinary attainments of Christian men, and approached those of the saints of old. The list of names of men most honoured in the Church for their saintliness would not be dishonoured by the addition of the name of Edward Bickersteth to the number.

But, most assuredly, the life of this admirable man furnishes a clear and indisputable evidence that correctness of judgment, soundness of principle, and correctness of doctrine, even on important points, are no essential conditions or results of Christian piety, and zeal, and sanctity. Bickersteth was not merely a warm supporter of the Bible Society, in which persons of all sects, and even Socinians, met on common ground, and were recognised as equally engaged in promoting God's work on earth; but he supported Mr. Drummond and other seceders in Scotland: he held that it was right and proper to attend Dissenting ministrations in England; he stood forward almost alone (even amongst the Evangelical Clergy) in founding and maintaining the Evangelical Alliance, thus recognising all denominations as on a perfect footing of equality with the Church; and, in fine, he held that Regeneration was not connected with Baptism. To many Churchmen the mention of such facts would be sufficient to convict him of grave—nay, of vital error. And, nevertheless, it is impossible to dispute the evidences of his exalted sanctity of life. There may be some, to whom his strong opposition to Romanism—his condemnation of the Maynooth Bill—and his successful efforts to set on foot the Irish Church Missions for the conversion of Romanists—may furnish conclusive evidence of heterodoxy; but the fact still remains, that his whole life and spirit was that of a man of God; and if we are to be guided in religious sentiments by mere saintliness of life, we would ask what reason can possibly be alleged for rejecting the authority of Bickersteth against Romanism and other tenets, and accepting the testimony of some other man of a sanctity perhaps inferior, certainly not superior, to his, in proof of the truth of the contrary doctrine?

If Bickersteth, notwithstanding his pre-eminent holiness, could

compromise Christian truths in the Bible Society and the Evangelical Alliance; in the effort after the union of Christians of all denominations; is it not equally possible that men of earnest and exalted piety in another direction may have been compromising in some degree the truths of the Gospel, in the effort to promote an union between the Church of England and the unreformed part of the Church? Does sanctity of life imply soundness of judgment, and practical wisdom, and the Divine guidance in the one case only?

We are far from wishing to see holiness of life, and zeal, and other Christian graces less highly appreciated than they are; but we have seen various instances in which danger has arisen from the virtual ascription of infallibility in doctrine to good men. We have seen it carried to such a length as to lead to the deliberate avowal that the choice of one creed or another would be contingent on the course adopted by some individual of eminent piety or ability; and thus, in fact, the example and sentiments of man have been made the standard, to the exclusion of any inquiry into the revealed will of God. Pre-eminent holiness is a blessing to some of those who are under its influence in the present day; but to others it becomes a peril and a trial: it is too often a snare to the weak, enchainning their opinions in the web of human inventions, and exciting only party zeal, where it is erroneously conceived that there is a contest for some essential principle or truth.

ART. V.—*The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations ; an Essay towards the Natural History of the Soul, as the True Basis of Theology.* By FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN, formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. London : Chappmans.

ALMOST every day, it may now be fairly said, or at least every moon, brings forth some fresh assailant on the bulwarks of Christianity ; discloses some insidious plot to undermine, or some daring and open attempt to escalate, or some weak intention to surrender, those really impregnable walls which guard the city of God, the fortress of Divine revelation. Now a Coleridge—eloquent, spiritually-minded, devotional, reverential even, but unhappily mystical, and partially unreal, comes before us with the avowal and assertion that the inspiration of Holy Scripture can no longer be defended as of old. Now an Arnold—bold, vigorous, ardent, earnest-hearted, steps forward to denounce, in the name of the Christian faith, the very fundamental conditions of a Church polity. Now a Carlyle—passionate, picturesque, impulsive, mighty in words, possessing a singular power of fascination for his contemporaries, revels in a stormy mysticism, half German, half his own, suggestive of most weighty truths, unknown, but yet assuredly in store for us ; which, once revealed, cannot fail to convert all our present possessions into bare shadows of reality, types and images of the coming glory. Now a Newman—keen, searching, subtle, bitterly sarcastic, Oriel's Newman of olden time, denounces our whole social and political being, as a Church and nation, as reared upon the, in his eyes, false assumption, that the state should be a Christian power. Now a Froude—imaginative, eloquent, and audacious ;—now an Emerson—arrogant and paradoxical ;—now a Foxton—pretentious and malapert, denounces old and orthodox Christianity as something antiquated, and altogether out of date, or even adverse to the progress of humanity. Last, yet not least, another Newman, seemingly calm, and cautious, and gravely philosophic, with vast pretensions to spirituality, he of Balliol and of London's University, strives to substitute a false ideal for positive truth, a composite, artificial, unreal eclecticism, for genuine Christianity ; and so endeavours to convince the world that they will know God best who renounce all external revelation of Him ; that they will love Him with most ardour and endurance who recognise his Being as a possibility.

We purpose to devote some pages, on the present occasion, to the examination of this last author's recent publication on "The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations," which he has been pleased to designate "an Essay towards the Natural History of the Soul, as the Basis of Theology."

And first, we venture to remark, at starting, that there is something strange, if not grotesque, in this prominent and formal announcement of the author's purpose to establish a true "basis of theology" on a composition so singularly shadowy, so peculiarly cloud-like and unreal, as that before us; a work which is most remarkably deficient in any approach to logical self-consistency, or approximation to a reasonable unity of purpose.

To speak with all tenderness towards the author, it were surely an intellectually herculean undertaking to arrive at any positive conclusion respecting Mr. Newman's creed from this his exposition of it; an undertaking from which we at least must be allowed to shrink. May we venture, however, to inquire, by way of index to the general result of our investigations, whether Mr. Newman believes in God at all? And by God, we mean, not some mysterious primary cause, which the avowed pantheist, or atheist even, might well acknowledge, but a Deity, conscious of self, and capable of will? Does Mr. Newman believe in a special providence? in a Governor of the universe, capable of hearing and answering human prayers? Further, does he believe in life beyond the grave, or retribution of any kind whatever? We do not know; and, we may add, with some degree of confidence, he cannot himself be very certain. This professing teacher seems to us to be void of any definite belief on one and all of these fundamental questions. Yes, even the very being of the Almighty, in the sense in which Christians understand the word, in the sense in which the world understands it, is confessedly a problem for him. He denounces pantheism, it is true; yet one form of unbelief or disbelief is so naturally allied to another, that he finds himself constrained to admit, (p. 39,) "I believe that some are called pantheists, merely because they are hyper-philosophic theists;" and, in effect, he casts great doubt upon the existence of that special providence, without which there would, practically speaking, be no God for us.

Yet it must be understood that the avowed design of Professor Newman is to deduce the personal existence of the Almighty from certain "a priori" reasonings; partly from the presence of the instincts of awe, wonder, and reverence in the human heart, all aspirations towards an infinite reality; partly from the familiar argument of design. And yet we are compelled, however unwillingly, to repeat, despite this, that Mr. Newman's belief in God is nothing more than a belief in his probable or possible

existence. His whole scheme is based upon a likelihood. Personally, in his own feelings and convictions, he may have advanced beyond this point—thanks, if so, to positive Christianity; for Christianity has made faith in the personal being of the Almighty a species of universal heir-loom; an instinct, probably, which is never wholly discarded by those who assume the tenets of pantheism, or espouse the cause of absolute atheistic negation.

It is not unworthy of observation, that it is only the moral consequence of atheism, not atheism itself, which shocks Professor Newman: he tells us, on page 30, "It is enough here to say, that the question of theism is not one of speculative acuteness: atheists, in fact, are generally acute men, and on their own ground it would be wrong to dogmatize against them." But as the grand object of Mr. Newman's work is to persuade us that revelation, or an historical faith, as he calls it, is no requisite for the very highest, surest, and best religion, he is bound to assert, and does assert, the existence of a God, and this with no little hardihood of manner; yet he goes on to say, almost in the same breath, that we can have no intellectual assurance of the fact: and *we* must be allowed to doubt his being very thoroughly persuaded of it; at least, not on his own principles. Certainly he could not communicate his bare personal convictions, his sentiments, to other men; and his reasonings on the subject do not seem to us peculiarly profound. Perhaps it may not be amiss to remind our eclectic philosopher, that pure reason and transcendental instincts combined have led to a very different conclusion in the case of Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson, whose intellectual faculties (at least the lady's) would appear to be of a somewhat tougher texture than his own.

Every thing in this book, to tell the honest truth, is abstract, vague, and shadowy. Thus a life beyond the grave, that fundamental lever of religion, is represented only as an aspiration and a desire, possibly, and only possibly, capable of realization; for Mr. Newman is by no means "sure, that eternity is not as much an incommunicable prerogative of God as omnipotence or omnipresence." (See p. 237.) Then, as for sin, that most fearful of realities; this, too, is treated as something barely negative and unsubstantial—the absence only of good—no definite conditions are held to be attached to it: and, what is still more serious, the idea of retribution, as its inevitable consequence, is either passed by altogether, or alluded to with a species of contemptuous condescension.

Indeed, upon no one point is Professor Newman more positively *abusive* of orthodox Christianity than upon that of future punishment, which seems to him—as to that laborious and yet most shadowy thinker, Sir James Stephen—an anomaly, a decided

error, if not an absolute monstrosity, at utter variance with the goodness of the Creator and Sustainer. To all reasoners of this order, the emphatic and conclusive reply, of course, is felt to be, that, if the existence of evil in this world be consistent with the being and with the goodness of the Almighty, (which must be admitted by every "theist,") it may be equally consistent in the world to come; and, indeed, we are not aware that Mr. Newman and his compeers have ever attempted an argumentative rejoinder to this observation.

True, we might be asked, "Why, then, did God create, if the power of choice rendered inevitable the possibility of evil?" And, if we were asked this, we should certainly have to fall back upon our ignorance of divine things. But still the fact remains, that evil does bring forth evil; that sin is ever punished in this world by the laws of God; experience and reason seem to teach, therefore, that it will be in the next world also. But, in considering this subject, we cannot consent to forget or lay on one side that revelation which Mr. Newman would so contemptuously discard from practical employment. Its historical truth, to use one of his favourite phrases, is, to our apprehensions, a positive fact; a fact which is perfectly independent of our approval or disapproval, our ignorance or understanding, of the system developed in that revelation. Now we think we may affirm that Mr. Newman has virtually ignored this *fact* in the work before us; unless some very weak but blasphemous objections to the Incarnation, which are put forward with an air of great triumph, though they seem to us to be singularly bald and futile, be meant for conclusive "à priori" evidence of the fictitious nature of the Christian revelation. Professor Newman does not burden himself, in this work at least, with the usual labours of English Socinianism, or of German rationalism, in order to get rid of the Christian evidences; nor does he take refuge, we say this to his credit, in what we must call (however unceremoniously) the equally monstrous and absurd theory of a Strauss, the mythical, which seems to us to require only to be known in order to cease to be dreaded by all sensible persons: Mr. Newman takes a bolder stand than would be implied by the resource to any of these offensive weapons, and modestly invites us, or rather calls upon us, in the last chapter of this book, to substitute his "spiritual theism" for orthodox Christianity, on the simple ground of the former's intrinsic and obvious superiority¹.

¹ Since this article was penned, however, we have met with this same writer's yet more recent publication, entitled "Phases of Faith:" wherein he does labour after the approved fashion of German theologians to cast doubt upon the historical accuracy of various scriptural passages, more especially in the Old Testament. The quality for which this last work is mainly remarkable, is the singular simplicity and

There would be something, if we may employ the expression, richly comic in this bold assumption, were it not so inexpressibly mournful; we might laugh were we not constrained to deplore this most melancholy aberration of an originally noble heart (as we conceive)—mainly induced, so at least it seems to us, by the unhappy notion that each individual should be his own exclusive judge in matters of faith, laying aside all assistance from authority; and were it further, not too probable, we may add, that this delusive and unholy system may succeed in imposing itself on no small number of minds of a secondary order, which might otherwise prove highly serviceable in their sphere.

The open lack of self-consistency with regard to the claims of Holy Scripture upon our reverence, manifested in the work before us, ought to be enough in itself, we should say, to seal its condemnation in the understandings of all thinking men. To take a single example. Mr. Newman is an enthusiastic admirer of "Paul the Apostle." He thus speaks of him, in allusion to that Apostle's views of a future life: "Paul indeed may have had more of direct insight into this deepest of subjects than the passage last quoted denotes. God forbid that I should presumptuously limit the insight enjoyed by his most favoured servants" (p. 226). And yet he has the strange effrontery (we cannot use a milder term) to pass by, to leave out of sight altogether all the direct and pointed testimonies borne by St. Paul to the historical truth of Chris-

candour with which its author confesses to certain difficulties having for the first time occurred to his mind after the continuous meditation of many years, which difficulties, we should say, from our own experience as well as from our knowledge of others' minds, are suggested of necessity to almost all young men before they have left their teens behind them, and are either solved satisfactorily, or overruled and outweighed by considerations of a higher character. Mr. Francis William Newman is—we are compelled to state the truth!—one of those slow, painful, and confused thinkers who rarely see a yard beyond their noses; who decry objects for the first time when others have surveyed them in their breadth, depth, and height, and left them far behind; and who, eyeing these objects through a magnifying mist of dimness and uncertainty, seem unable to remove their gaze from them, and are apt to convert every harmless windmill into a most formidable giant. To announce as a very remarkable discovery, disclosed by him in this work and fatal to the cause of historical Christianity, that there is an apparent discrepancy in the genealogies contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, at the same time ignoring the self-evident solution,—this is childish; we may say, pitiable. Conceive, to what shifts infidelity must be reduced when it can hail such an effort as this with a trumpet-blast of triumph, and taunt Christian periodicals for not replying to these puerile absurdities. The old and silly objection to the Days of Creation, as though these for a moment could be conceived to be our ordinary days, resulting from the mutual aspects of the earth and sun, when the first three of those days preceded the sun's creation, or, at all events, its being made to give light upon the earth,—and a number of kindred stereotyped—shall we say "mare's nests"—put forward as astonishing and novel discoveries,—do these call for any serious refutation on our part? We have surely something better to do than to waste time and paper on such "niaiserie," which are only weak echoes of the utterances of Thomas Paine.

tianity; even his first miraculous call;—that call which plainly admitted of no explanation on the score of self-deception or of wild enthusiasm,—that call which by his own express and frequently repeated declaration, converted the zealous, the vehement, the learned Pharisee into a humble follower of Jesus of Galilee. Nay, our author has the exceeding audacity to make this declaration, whilst avowedly rejecting historical Christianity. “It is clear that Paul regarded himself to have adequate grounds for believing the resurrection of Christ quite independent of human witness, and that he in a certain sense prided himself on that independency.” Now, the cool effrontery of this, all things considered, (we are sorry to seem rude, but truth constrains our speech,) is really marvellous:—if the Apostle conceived himself to have adequate grounds, why should he not have them? unless indeed he were a mad enthusiast, instead of that man of lofty intellect and noble heart for which Mr. Newman rates him:—what shadow of a ground have we for suspecting the possibility of self-delusion in such a case? Our author goes on to say in the next sentence:—“It seems evident that to doubt the resurrection of Messiah was to him an intrinsic absurdity; he believed in it from prophecy, and from its own propriety, or from personal revelations” (p. 224). We must repeat, that the excessive coolness of all this is startling. “Or from personal revelations!” Mr. Newman obviously fails to perceive that this is a question of life or death to his own negative creed, if creed we may at all call it; he is so wrapt up in his thick mantle of “*à priori*” assumption respecting the improbability of Divine interposition, that he is quite ready to admit that St. Paul, one of the most sensible and keenly intellectual of men, and one of the most sternly prejudiced against Christianity, became a sudden yet permanent convert to it in consequence of a supposed miraculous visitation, a visitation not capable of any natural explanation,—and he does not even feel the necessity of supplying any theory to account for that wonderful event. But as our minds are of a somewhat less visionary cast, this plain question will force itself upon us, simple Christians—Had St. Paul personal revelations, and that of the most conclusive character, or had he not? If he had not, then surely he said what was false, and did so designedly and consciously; and therefore his whole Christian life must have been based upon a fiction and a falsehood. We need not even refer to the “Acts of the Apostles” to prove this: it is sufficient that we should confine ourselves to his own Epistle, where he declares, “He rose again the third day:—after that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve,—of above five hundred brethren at once,—of James, of

all the Apostles,—last of all, he was seen of me also !” Yet, with reference to this very passage, Mr. Newman remarks, in the course of his endeavour to prove that St. Paul’s hope of immortality did not depend upon the resurrection,—“If he had looked on the resurrection of Christ, as Paley or Priestley did, as a miracle to be proved only by testimony, he would have anxiously gathered up and collated that testimony in an authentic form ; he would have given the names of the five hundred brethren who witnessed it ; in short, his first business must have been to fix, at their earliest source, the fluctuating notions, before they became diluted and worthless.” Now, is not the self-willed blindness which can arrive at such conclusions from such a testimony astounding ? Surely, it must be self-evident to every thinking man, that St. Paul would have scorned to establish by formal legal evidence a fact which was so universally received amongst Christians as that of the resurrection of our Lord. If the direct testimonies to this fact, first of the twelve Apostles, and next of himself, if these were not to be credited by their brethren, if the evidence of such men as these could be rejected as proceeding from mere enthusiasts and dreamers, how much more boldly (does this need to be pointed out ?) might an unbeliever have set aside the testimonies of those five hundred who beheld our Lord upon the mountain ! It scarcely seems necessary or reverent to argue this point ; but if we must do so,—how far more easily might a crowd, a confused assembly, have been deceived on any one occasion by an impostor who should have personated the risen Saviour, than his own most favoured disciples could be, who had been so intimately acquainted with Him for years, and who had not only seen and heard Him after his resurrection, but had actually “handled” Him in that his risen and glorified state, and bore plain and undoubted witness to the fact ! But once more,—surely the testimony of St. Paul alone, obstinate Pharisee as he had been, would go far to convince any man who was not cased in triple mail of prejudice and weakness, that the crucified Jesus of Galilee had really appeared to him after his resurrection, and announced Himself to be the Lord from heaven.

Perhaps some excuse may be found for those pagan sages and philosophers, who would not lightly abandon their “*à priori*” assumptions, which had been cherished throughout their lives, and who would not square their notions with the truth of the Christian revelation : but what shall be said, *must* be said, of one who, having been born, nurtured, and educated as a Christian, yet, either from perversity of will or from most unhappy feebleness of intellect, throws himself into the very same position with these heathens,

and endeavours to shut out the light of universal day by building up a narrow stifling turret of human assumptions round about him?

The two walls behind which Mr. Newman would wish to entrench himself, are "*à priori*" negations of the possibility of two great facts revealed in Scripture, the first of which is the Incarnation, and the second, future punishment. For the latter, it might have been supposed, as we have already suggested, that the existence of evil, on so vast a scale within us and around us, would have prevented any man's dogmatizing over-rashly on such a theme. The existence of this evil, as a fact, is surely incontestable, and the inevitable alliance of sin and misery seems equally undoubted. In fact, it is generally admitted, that evil is misery. What then—we must urge this question upon such unhappy persons—what ground can be found for affirming that God will interfere to change the otherwise inevitable course of things? that He will thus make evil good, by a bare act of his supreme volition? Would this—let us ask such thinkers—be consistent either with his whole scheme of providence, such as we behold it in creation, or with the free will of man? Professor Newman and Mr. Froude, and indeed almost all, if not all, of the modern (English) assailants of Christianity, rely on this argument against eternal punishment as absolutely destructive of the claims of Revelation to be considered as the very and eternal truth. We reply to them, and are satisfied that this reply is conclusive, that this punishment of which they complain is a logical consequence of the law of choice, or freedom. And further, we must avow, that it is not easy to us, whatever it may be to Professor Newman, to conceive such tremendous evils, as sin and sorrow actually are, employed only as means to an end; as passing agencies in time: it seems to us to be more philosophical at least, to regard evil, with the great Butler, as a fatal necessity, an awful and a permanent reality: doubtless, a mystery, but a mystery consistent with the Creator's justice and goodness, inasmuch as He is infinite love to those that love Him, but infinite abhorrence towards all those who worship self, and are thus bond-slaves to sin and Satan. So much for the intellectual and moral aspect of the doctrine of eternal punishment; we are not now concerned to prove its utility, but are only dealing with its truth.

But if Professor Newman and those who think with him shrink from this sternly logical conclusion; if they choose rather to imagine that punishment must be finite, that there must be some end, some term, to evil; still their negation of Holy Writ itself, on the score of this their inability to reconcile one of its presumed doctrines with their own private notions, must remain unreason-

able in the extreme, and utterly unjustifiable. Could we for a moment conceive ourselves to stand in their position, we are well assured that we should rather feel disposed to say within ourselves, "This is truly a mysterious theme: Scripture plainly tells me that the wicked will be miserable hereafter, and so much I certainly must believe: there then let me rest! As for the doctrine of the eternity of punishment, I cannot fathom it: let me therefore leave it to the Almighty, persuaded that He orders all things for the best." This language we, at all events, could *understand*. But when a difficulty, arising from the attempt to fathom a certain mystery, confessed by these very thinkers to be soundless, namely, the origin, nature, and duration of evil,—when this difficulty, we say, is made a ground for the total and unqualified rejection of Christianity, as a revelation from above, we can only feel and can only express the most unbounded wonder at such reckless audacity of negation, such pitiable rashness, and such melancholy fatuity. And yet we believe that Mr. Newman is not so far wrong in assigning this "difficulty" as one of the main sources of modern unbelief.

The other great stumbling-block, already named, is of a yet more fatal character. It is the "*a priori*" objection to the possibility of the Incarnation; it is a renewal of the old heathen battle-cry. "It is foolishness!" But, as the Apostle says, he who knew and saw and therefore believed, "The foolishness of God is wiser than man."

The Incarnation is doubtless a mystery, before which the reason of man must sink prostrate in the dust; yet it is simply above reason, it is not contrary to it. The vulgar objections which are urged by Professor Newman, weak reproductions, we are sorry to say, of the blasphemies of Thomas Paine, scarcely appear worthy of refutation, or of notice. The present assailant of our creed is chiefly anxious to establish, that orthodox Christianity is self-contradictory, and he thinks to deduce this conclusion from our belief that our Lord was at once infinite and finite; thus far arguing with most of the heretics of old. Having, however, a consciousness that the very simplest formulas of Christianity, at least professedly solve this enigma, he goes on to remark (p. 116): "When people say that they believe He³ is at once God and man, they deceive themselves. What they really believe is this, that He was once man, and is now God." The effrontery of this passage, attributing a twofold heresy to all Christians, as believing that our Lord was once man only, and is now God only, were it

³ We have taken the liberty of placing capitals where Mr. Newman employs small letters, to modify, in some degree, the offensive nature of the writer's expressions, with which we do not like to contaminate our pages.

not so exceedingly painful, could only raise a smile. Imagine this unhappy philosopher's taking upon himself to inform us, ignorant Christians, not only what he disbelieves, but also what we ourselves believe ! He is better acquainted with the Christian faith, it seems, than the Christian Church herself. As for the assertion he has here made, we may safely dismiss it to its well-merited obscurity. Observe that Mr. Newman is not contented with denying our "major," if we may so express ourselves, the incarnation of God the Son : he is quite certain that we do not hold it either ! Well, he is welcome to his exceedingly reasonable convictions. We cannot treat such weak presumption seriously. Mr. Newman being himself a slow and weary and confused thinker, we must be all, it seems, as dull as he !

For ourselves, we admit the Incarnation to be a most amazing mystery ; we proclaim unhesitatingly that Christianity is fraught with mysteries. And what then ? We see no antecedent grounds for the assumption that divine things must be patent to our human understandings (least of all, to the understandings of Francis William Newman and his like) : the very nature of a revelation, as it seems at least to our limited apprehensions, requires, that it should attest truths which we could never have discovered of ourselves ; which are above our "searching out." No doubt, such a revelation needs strong, and we may say even overwhelming, external evidence ; and that evidence we can and do produce. But how is it dealt with ? It is set aside with the utmost coolness by our enlightened adversaries, on the score of those "*à priori*" doubts and difficulties which occasion the need for a revelation ! And then we are expected to combat such adversaries *seriatim*. To speak as seriously then as we can, what preposterous folly does this conduct exhibit ! unless the moving agent be something worse,—pitiful and perverse pride !

To say more here on the great mystery of the Incarnation, "God manifest in the flesh," might almost appear unnecessary : yet let us be permitted some few remarks concerning this great basis of the faith. The essential nature of the Godhead, in its Trinal Unity, must remain in a great measure hidden from our eyes in this state of existence ; and thus we have no means of measuring the antecedent "difficulty," if we may so express ourselves, of the everlasting Son of God's taking man's nature upon Him. Here our understanding is plainly at a fault : we should be equally unable to demonstrate how this could, or how this could not be : we can simply preserve a discreet and reverential silence. But the motive for this act of amazing condescension is revealed to us ; and that motive has been more or less distinctly recognised, we may add, by the whole race of man, from the

period of the fall ; for, from the first, a need has been felt and borne witness to, of some infinite atonement for sin. The doctrine of atonement is itself mysterious and unsearchable ; but the instincts of human kind have always and every where asserted its validity. Fallen man has been ever conscious of sin, and consequently conscious of the need for reconciliation with his God. A dim perception of eternal justice and its claims has from the first convinced humanity that the debt of evil must be paid ; that that evil is no bare shadow, no abstract negation of good, but a fearful and a most deadly substance, which must be cleansed away, to render man susceptible of pardon. And always has it been felt that this cleansing could and would not be the bare result of the Almighty fiat ; that God acted by fixed rules, and could not contradict Himself ; that divine justice must be *satisfied* : that there must be atonement !

This great fact had been shadowed forth, though only shadowed, in the very language of the curse ; but the heart of man instinctively responded to that mysterious intimation, and received for a certain truth that there must be "sacrifice for sin : " thence the offerings of Cain and Abel, and those of all the patriarchs ; thence the heathen sacrifices to their false gods ; thence even the monstrous self-immolation beneath the chariot-wheels of Juggernaut. In its wildest perversion the original idea remains intact, that there must be "sacrifice for sin." To sound this deep of wonder is, we need not say, beyond the scope of mortal ; yet so much we may perceive. Freedom was constituted the law of the moral universe ; whether by divine necessity, or no, concerns us not to ask. "The creature," that is, first, the very angels of God, and next man, employed this freedom for the purpose of rebellion ; and, being thus separated from God, the source and centre of good, became, as of necessity, corrupt or evil, more or less absolutely. These facts being predicated (as predicated they reasonably may and must be, having first assumed the existence of a God), we hold it only rational to conclude that the Almighty could not, consistently with his own divine nature, revoke that law of freedom which He had established by supreme decree. And if so, it follows that evil must necessarily bear its penalty ; it follows that God could not (humanly speaking, that is,) interfere to change the very nature of things ; to make his creatures either good or happy against their wills, against their own free choice. And if all this be so, and we confess that we cannot discern a failing link in the argument, then we contend, that we have arrived at the moral necessity for the atonement ; for a reconciliation of Almighty justice and Almighty mercy : and, for our own part, we can but conceive of one atonement in such a case (no doubt,

the existence of the wonderful fact may have suggested the conception): it is, if we dare employ such language, even the mysterious and ineffable self-sacrifice of the Deity! Further than this human reason cannot penetrate; nor could it have advanced so far (this we frankly admit and distinctly aver), without the assistance of revelation. We have discerned, however, though dimly and imperfectly, as creatures necessarily must discern, the motive for this infinite sacrifice of Christ our Lord, or, in other words, for the Incarnation.

We scarcely need insist upon that lower, though, perhaps, almost equally valuable, line of argument, to be derived from the manifest expediency which must exist for such a revelation of the Supreme, in order to enable man to conform himself to his image. For such an abstract God, as Mr. Newman professes his belief in, seems at the best an infinite shadow, a majestic void, a boundless unreality. We are told that this God cannot be strictly said to love or hate, see or hear, reward or punish, know or govern. Now if it be true that none of these things can be predicated of the Godhead, how more than expedient, how almost indispensable, would it appear, that the Almighty should be manifested to us under some such conditions as should bring Him within our human mark and ken, and enable us to contemplate and follow Him as an ideal of positive perfection, instead of entertaining a vague belief in an infinite abstraction, a mere negation of all distinctive human qualities! For man, as Mr. Newman himself confesses, becomes like to that he worships; emulates his ideal; wherefore it is advisable that he should worship God only: but how should he heartily worship an abstraction? much less emulate? Manifestly, he requires a goal and an object for his higher affections and aspirations, his faculties of religious love and duty. This object it is which is so wonderfully and perfectly provided through the medium of the Incarnation. God, from the first, revealed Himself to man, before He expected man to believe in Him; and He revealed Himself more especially in the person of the Word. For "no man," we know, "hath seen God" the Father "at any time; the only begotten Son, he hath declared him:" the everlasting Son it was, therefore, as the Church catholic has ever held, and as this saying of Scripture emphatically instructs us, who was seen by Adam and Eve in the garden, by Abraham on the plains of Mamre, by Moses in the fiery bush, and on Mount Sinai.

As for the form which was assumed on these and other the like occasions by Him, "whose goings forth had been from of old, from everlasting," "the angel of the covenant," that is not clearly revealed to us; it may have been, and probably was,

merely human in semblance : but we venture to protest here by anticipation, (may this digression be pardoned us !) against a certain heresy which we expect Rome to develope sooner or later, if she have not already done so, the heresy, namely, that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, from everlasting, or at least in the very beginning of time—a dogma which would of course be peculiarly acceptable to Rome's infatuated mariolaters. The application of certain language in the Book of Wisdom to the Blessed Virgin, but more especially the invariable reference to her of the well-known vision in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse, tend, (as it seems to us,) almost necessarily, to this great ulterior development ; monstrous, as it may seem, at first sight : nay, we must even aver that much of the writing of Alphonsus di Liguori, and still more, perhaps, that of the unhappy brother of the writer we are now dealing with, would bear this interpretation without much, if any, straining. We do not think that we are over-imaginative in descrying this vision of future heresy emerging from the dark abyss, and looming in the distance on our view ; and accordingly we venture to denounce it, ere it has assumed its full proportions, and has challenged the admiration and homage of mankind.

But, to resume our argument, whatever was the form under which the Lord Jehovah deigned to reveal Himself under the older covenant, He did reveal Himself to man as a personal God, loving justice and hating iniquity ; and, indeed, as an actual model of perfection : this latter branch of the economy of revelation received, however, its full development only in the great fact of the Incarnation, which supplied man with a living, breathing image of all goodness, an ideal at once human and divine. And this Christian ideal has been so wrought into the heart and mind of the civilized world, despite its selfishness and sin, by the contemplation, for eighteen hundred years, of the incarnate Son of God, that it is now impossible for deist, for pantheist, for atheist even, to divest himself altogether of the consciousness of this ideal, or to free himself from its influence, however much he may be inclined to do so. Mr. Newman fights "historical" Christianity with weapons derived exclusively from its own great armoury ! Thus we find him dwell with no little satisfaction on the stoicism of the second and third centuries of the Christian era ; more particularly on what he calls "the noble hymn of Cleanthes : " but can he be ignorant that this very "improved" stoicism, which he admires so highly, was partially the reflection of "historical" Christianity ? He says himself, "In Rome, side by side with rising Christianity, stoicism improved still more." There can be no doubt that the pagans of the later ages of paganism endeavoured to engraft the living beauties of Christianity upon their own barren

and fast-decaying stock : hence the growth of the so-called Alexandrian philosophy ; hence that dangerous counterfeit of "the truth," which seduced the Emperor Julian, and which probably led many originally high and noble minds astray.

And now let us be permitted an inquiry, which concerns our transcendental religionists, who scorn the need of an external revelation, and attribute all knowledge of divine things to the sublimer instincts of humanity. Why, if religion be indeed a matter of individual aspiration, as they say, and not of supernatural revelation ; if Jewish prophets were only under the same influences with Gentile sages—why, then, have these sublimest aspirations been confined, almost exclusively, to a certain peculiar channel, which channel was commensurate with the knowledge of revelation, or what is so called by us ? Whence arises the indisputable superiority of the sacred books of the Jews over those of all other nations ? Mr. Newman must be well aware that there was nothing in the Jewish national character to account for this : he must be acquainted with the puerilities of the Talmud, and of almost all the Jewish Rabbinical traditions. How comes it then, we demand, that the ideal knowledge of the one "personal God" was confined to the Jews only ? Why were there not inspired poets and seers of other lands, from whose glowing compositions the devotional "theist" should be able to derive as much consolation and enjoyment as from the sacred writings of the Jews ? And how comes it further, we beg to ask, that this exclusive and ardent recognition of "the personal God" is so inextricably interwoven, as it is, with ten thousandfold repeated, ceaseless, historical assertions of his immediate and supernatural interposition, as the pledge and earnest both of his being, and of his will and nature ? Were all these testimonies of professed eye-witnesses false ? And yet, were the authors of these fictions the only men who could discern clearly, and express with glowing enthusiasm, and the highest poetic beauty, the sublimest of all truths—the existence of the one true God ? We pause for a reply, though it is manifest, indeed, that reply is here impossible.

But let us deal briefly with a certain favourite supposition of writers of this visionary and transcendental school.

They assume, then, that the great Hebrew lawgiver, Moses, derived his conviction of the oneness of the Godhead from his Egyptian lore. We ask them, if this was so, whence it came that this conviction was so much deeper and stronger, so much more practical and demonstrative in him, than in one and all of his fellow sages ? Why did he alone proclaim this great truth to the world ? How came it that this truth did not force its way to light elsewhere, and at some other time ? Why was no learned and

enthusiastic Egyptian ever inspired with the desire to communicate this vastest of truths to debased and idolatrous humanity? We will answer this question for our adversaries. Plainly, then, because these sages, if they held the truth at all, which is more than doubtful, held it much after the same fashion in which Professor Newman may be supposed to hold it, or perhaps not quite so definitely, as a mighty possibility, a not improbable solution of the mystery of all the ages. Thus they remained silent; because men are not irresistibly prompted to speak by mere philosophic assumptions and guesses of this order. But Moses, on the contrary, we find, did speak; and speak most boldly and distinctly. Why? Is it not reasonable to answer—because he believed himself to know, or rather because he knew, indeed, the actual positive truth, the certainty, of what he spoke? Moses, as our Bibles instruct us, had certain evidence whereon to ground his revelation of the truth to other men. Was he, confessedly, one of the noblest of patriots, the most cunning of impostors also? Did he combine a divine enthusiasm, an intimate perception of the personal being of the Godhead, a manifestly rapt communion with Him, as evidenced by his songs of praise; did he combine all this with systematic jugglery and falsehood? Does not the common sense of thinking men reject this odious supposition, when it is once impartially considered? How paltry, how grossly self-contradictory is that infidel view of the mission of Moses, which has ever been a favourite topic of the enemies of revelation; which Schiller stated with such singular German coolness and “consummate self-satisfaction;” which Miss Martineau has restated recently with no little triumph amongst ourselves; and which Professor Newman, with his usual inanity, (this severity is not uncalled for!) assumes quietly to be incontrovertible! But why, we repeat,—we especially wish our self-satisfied opponents not to lose sight of this question,—why, assuming for the purpose of argument, that the supernatural revelation of God in the Old Testament was an imposture,—why was spiritual religion confined, yes, and exclusively confined, to the people who were led captive by this imposture? Why, if the human mind and heart can discover God for themselves in his loftiest ideal, as Professor Newman declares that they can do,—why did they never attain this end until the Christian revelation had sounded the very depths and heights of God’s providence and nature, and had made them patent to the intellect of man?

It is quite true that the transcendental “theist” can attain at present to something resembling an ideal of divine goodness and greatness, though he is not likely long to retain it; but, in as far as he does this, he is indebted, we maintain, to Christianity for

his every definite idea upon the subject. Without the firm basis of a substantive faith, from which he has derived his notions, this, his reflected ideal, on which he so much prides himself, would never have existed at all. Professor Newman conceives he should have believed in God if he had never been a Christian; but what possible warrant can he have for thus conceiving? Why should he suppose himself wiser than all those pagan sages, who, devoid of the assistance of revelation, arrived at no definite results; held, that is, even their conclusions as bare probabilities? If such an image be not unworthy of our theme, we would venture to say,—the ladder of Christianity ascends the sky and reaches even to the gate of heaven, having been first let down from heaven to earth; our modern transcendental unbelievers ascend this ladder midway, and then, after balancing for awhile on its edge, they fling themselves off into open space, holding the ladder by one hand; even, when they finally lose their hold, they may be upborne for some little while, either by a happy self-inflation, of the balloon order, or possibly by a miraculous virtue derived from their recent contact with the ladder; but, sooner or later, they sink, and that irremediably, into the gulf of doubt, and universal ignorance below.

There is one peculiarity in Mr. Newman's eclecticism, which needs yet to be dealt with more attentively, as it is exceedingly significant. He throws himself mainly into the current of what most men would call ultra-evangelical sentiment and feeling; he appropriates to himself and to his own system of "theism" not only the higher and purer raptures of Christianity, but also the transports of fanaticism. And we cannot deny that these latter adapt themselves, naturally enough, to this transcendental system, and especially to the Professor's view of sin, as something unreal, temporary, bounded in itself, and therefore involving no evil consequences. For Mr. Newman expresses his belief in the instantaneous and total forgiveness of sins, past, present, and future, upon the first repentance of the sinner; he declares this to be the practical acmè, the very "*summum bonum*" of spiritual religion. We might have expected this "easy-going" doctrine in such a quarter, and yet it seemed a little startling at first sight. The meeting of extremes, though not novel, but rather confirmed by the experience of ages, is always calculated to stir the imagination with temporary wonder. Yet Mr. Newman, doubtless, approaches nearly to a truth, when he affirms the possibility of such instantaneous forgiveness: we believe, at least as firmly as he can do, or rather probably far more so, that there have been and are such things as sudden and yet lasting "*conversions*." But we must contest,—and here is the vital point

of difference betwixt Mr. Newman and ourselves,—the possibility of the surrender of the whole man, body and soul, to an abstraction, to an only possible God, to an infinite all, which may be nothing. There must be, we affirm,—and this is the conclusion to which we wish to lead the reader,—a more substantial basis than instinct, aspiration, and desire, to render such a surrender permanent or real. We can scarcely conceive that Mr. Newman can be altogether ignorant of this, self-deceived as he may be partially, by the convictions derived from his former Christian faith. Let us venture to put a plain question to his conscience. Now that he has discarded historical faith and revelation, and trusts to instinct only, is his notion of God, and of God's providence, as distinct as it once was? Has his faith nothing visionary, shadowy, and cloud-like about it? Does it not change almost from hour to hour, being virtually dependent on his varying moods of mind? Nay, is he quite sure that he does more than believe that he believes? Is his faith practical and permanent like that of the simple Christian, the mere "historical believer," whom he professes to look down upon? Mr. Newman is not sure—he tells us so—that his God makes any direct response to prayer, or that He ever hears prayer; according to him devotion is an instinct, a rapturous aspiration, and is its own sufficient reward: he is not certain that there is a life beyond the grave; he is certain of nothing indeed, unless it be of his own existence; and yet he would take to himself, he claims as the natural property of transcendental "theism," all that unhesitating and deep reliance, that firm and pious confidence, that personal affection, with which the humble Christian may regard his God and Saviour. Throughout this work, Mr. Newman assumes, as it were, a common standing for himself and his followers with the most earnest and devout of Christians, and seems to be constantly saying in effect (we do not exaggerate):—"We, who are religious men—we, who know God and are known of Him—we feel so and so, and arrive at such and such conclusions." It may be gratifying to Mr. Newman to judge thus favourably of himself and his devotion; but we must tell him, at the risk of whatsoever charge of dogmatic intolerance and harsh unkindness, that, in our estimation, that same confidence which is reasonable in the Christian is likely to be utterly illusory in the deist. The Christian knows in whom he has believed; the transcendental philosopher knows that he knows nothing, though he may sincerely "feel after" his God: in so far his condition resembles that of the ancient heathen; but really he is far more unhappily situated, because he has rejected that Truth which to them was never offered; he has sought out his own inventions; he has turned himself from the light of God, and has wandered into a mazy world of darkness by his own free act and choice.

And now let us inquire in conclusion, and that briefly, what may be the main origin, the spring and motive, of this spiritual declension, which we mourn over in Mr. Newman, and those who think with him? of this loss of all objective truth? of this virtual nihilism, if we may use the term? To this important question we should return this answer: This declension proceeds mainly from a vague desire for unlimited liberty of thought and action, from the indulgence of unchecked self-will. We hope that we do not take too great a liberty in conceiving Professor Newman—or say, Mr. Froude, Mr. Thom, Mr. Mackay, or any other gentleman of this school (for though their cases differ in certain respects, they have many points in common)—as setting forth upon the pilgrimage of life, in early youth, with a more or less religious, perhaps a devotional, temperament, possibly an affectionate heart, and an intellect rather above the common than otherwise, though usually more sharp than deep; but, unhappily, at the same time, devoid of a strong sense of duty, and possessed of a most unfortunate tendency to self-indulgence in all things, religion included; a tendency, for instance, to fix almost exclusively upon those sacred truths which happen to respond more immediately to the imagined needs and positive cravings of his disposition, instead of striving rather, by self-control and discipline, to bring his moral being into unison with the revealed will of God. Let us follow in imagination the mental and moral development of such a youth: how many are there not now in our universities, and elsewhere, who are exposed to the self-same snares! This ultra-protestant spirit, then (if we may so call it), of self-seeking, begins, ere long, to push forth branches to the east and to the west. This or that novelty in thought or creed captivates the fancy, and becomes acceptable. Too soon, the reins of discipline being more and more relaxed, sin gets to appear a less serious, a less awful thing, than it seemed of old; moral evil is held to be rather a misfortune than a crime. Then, in such a state of heart and mind, the influence of reverence and authority being slight, how naturally may the dogma of retribution, of future punishment, appear uncharitable, as well as not a little unpleasant and distressing. At first it is doubted; gradually it is discarded. Then other articles of the Creed come in question, one by one; the authority of both the Church and Scripture being lightly esteemed, the mysteries of religion are likely to be regarded with no great favour: the young philosopher holds them for a while in a kind of dubious way; that is, he does not altogether discard: but by and bye he thinks it as well to lighten his ship of faith, and divest it of needless ballast: so he rejects now this miracle, now that, till the central miracle of the Incarnation comes in question, and is probably disposed of, summarily enough, when

the inquirer has advanced thus far upon his journey: he does not look the difficulties of infidelity in the face, but proceeds on "à priori" notions and assumptions, deluding himself into a belief that he remains a Christian all the while, because the essence of Christianity is love. At last the work of demolition is completed: the faith in the inspiration of Scripture is held to be mere bibliolatry; the Incarnation is ignored or denied; the whole of the miraculous and supernatural providence of God is either disbelieved in, or comfortably forgotten, and so stands forth the pure and transcendental "theist,"³ to assure us, with the utmost quietude and perfect self-satisfaction, that in his "theism" he still has retained "the root of the matter;" that he believes in God, as having pardoned all his sins, and loves Him accordingly with fervent gratitude; and so, finally, this self-deceived, and perhaps well-meaning man, counsels us to abandon our mere historical Christianity, as altogether useless, and even undertakes that we shall be able to regenerate and convert the world through the medium of pure reason and instinctive adoration. Such is, at least, the result of the "unbiassed and unprejudiced" inquiries of Professor Newman and his school of transcendentalists. Others, doubtless—we should presume the majority—arrive at very different conclusions. Modern infidel philosophers, we find, differ most widely: rejecting all external aids, and the assistance of that divine revelation with which God has provided us, they were scarcely likely to agree. Thus Mr. Carlyle instructs his fellow-men generally to prostrate themselves before energy and success, wheresoever and howsoever exhibited, as the nearest approach to the divine which our human faculties are capable of conceiving; he is incessantly calling for some one visible teacher and master, of whom we all ought, according to him, to constitute ourselves the slaves. Mr. Emerson, the American transcendentalist, bids us take care, on the other hand, that we worship nothing but ourselves, and admonishes us to eschew all prayer as "dualism," that is, as if there were a God above and beyond man, whilst man should be a god unto himself. Mr. Froude wanders blindly, accusing an inexorable Fate, and denying the responsibility of humanity. Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson agree with Mr. Emerson, that man should be his own god, and that there is no other; and express this idea in a more plain and downright way, as becomes their sturdy Anglo-Saxon temperaments. Irrational as their arguments are, yet we suspect that Professor Newman and his transcendentalists would fare but ill in a controversy with

³ All this is realized, we may say, to the letter, in Mr. Newman's "Phases of Faith," alluded to in a former note, a kind of autobiography, perused by the writer of this article since the above was written.

them : for we are convinced that the alternative lies betwixt either atheism or absolute ignorance, and positive Christianity. No school of thought is so weak and so unreal as that which would patronise God's word, and seek a refuge from all positive results in a barren and unmeaning eclecticism.

And now, finally, in answer to all Professor Newman's counsels and entreaties, we must assure him as Christians (if that be needful), him and his school of thinkers, that we cannot leave our land of Christian possession to set forth in their frailest of barks on the wide ocean of doubt—the bark of a probable instinctive “theism :” the waves that roll upon that ocean are terrible, and there are unfathomed gulfs beneath. Rather do we implore them most earnestly to change their course, and steer, nay, row, back sturdily, to firm dry land. This they will only find, they may depend on it, in historical Christianity ! Let them fairly consider the arguments here adduced, not novel arguments indeed, but not the less valuable or unanswerable on that account : let them consider how they can consistently reject the sacred Scriptures, without branding their authors, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, nay, and Him also, who claimed to be the Son of God, with conscious fraud and deliberate falsehood : let them contemplate the perfect self-consistency of the Christian scheme of redemption ; how it, and it alone, explains the origin and the nature of evil ; let them remember the witness borne by all lands and ages to the central doctrine of atonement : and then, casting false pride and angry prejudice aside, let them kneel down alone in their closets, and implore God to enlighten their hearts and understandings. Surely they will not pray in vain. Faith and reason will prevail over the spirit of self-will and doubt ; and, oh ! how gladly will we hail them, returning to our Christian altars, only the dearer for their temporary aberration ! Let them not cling to by-gone philosophic “theism !” We cannot bring back the past. There is now no alternative, let them be assured, save that betwixt atheism and Christianity. The faith of the Church of Christ cannot decay ; it is ever fresh and young : whatever tempests may assail that Church, she is founded on the Rock, and cannot fall ; rather do her bulwarks broaden from age to age, and ever a fresh host of lofty intellects and noble hearts rises up, when least expected, to man her glorious battlements. We trust that they may be recruited from among our present adversaries. For the sacred morning of Gospel light and love has risen above the mountains, and further and further shall it spread over the whole face of earth ; clouds may for awhile obscure the orb of light, but even a temporary eclipse could not alarm us : we know that the Sun of Righteousness is ever shining, and look forward to the triumph of “the full and perfect day.”

ART. VI.—1. *A Pastoral Letter.* By the BISHOP OF EXETER.
 2. *Acts of the Diocesan Synod held in the Cathedral Church of Exeter.*

“EVERY kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.” Surely, therefore, it is the duty of those who aim at directing public opinion to sound the alarm of that solemn warning at a time when disunion, that *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, is rearing its portentous head over the Church of England to distract and to dissever it. It is no longer that undercurrent of dissension, which ever since the Reformation has occasionally risen to the surface to ruffle the fair aspect of our National Church, and to trouble its serenity; but yet, was not without its use; since the agitation effected an improvement in the temperature of the whole mass, by commingling the higher and lower strata which composed it. The catastrophe, with which we are now threatened, is a breach no less than that of the river Jordan, when the waters that came down toward the sea of the plain were cut off from the waters from above which stood on an heap¹. It is true that, on that occasion, the people of God passed through in safety; but that was a miracle, which we have no right to expect, when the disruption is produced, not by the command of God, but by human art and evil passions, by inordinate pugnacity of disposition and unreasonable antipathies. The doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is undoubtedly a Scriptural doctrine, transmitted to us by the Apostles themselves through an innumerable succession of pious and orthodox writers, inferior to none as laborious students of the word of God. There is a passage in the Bishop of Exeter’s Letter on this subject, which we have much satisfaction in transcribing, as a valuable answer to some oft-refuted objections: “How much of the tempter’s power in the evil heart of unbelief may not be traced to the practical neglect or misgiving of God’s sacramental blessing in Christ upon childhood! If the child be trained in the assurance of the covenant, will there be found in after life that deadness, so often complained of in the popular piety of the day, in realizing the rich promises of God as too gracious, and above the experience of the

¹ Josh. iii. 13.

world? It may be, that the child thus faithfully trained in the full assurance of being regenerate, and made the child of God by adoption and grace, may grieve instead of being daily renewed by the Holy Spirit, and may wander into the far country of sin and death, and, wasting his substance of baptismal grace, may serve the powers of darkness, and try to feed his famished spirit upon the husks of this world; but will he be less likely to come to himself, because his memory is stored with truths of the nurture and admonition of the Lord, the sure and certain blessedness of his Father's house¹? Perhaps the argument here is not pushed quite so far as it might be: for it is quite clear, that unless the prodigal has been accustomed to consider himself as adopted into the family of God by grace, it will never occur to him, that he has a home to which he may return, that he has a reconciled Father in Christ Jesus, from whom his contrition is sure to obtain forgiveness: he would never say, "I will go to my Father."

In reference to the Bishop's remarks upon the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, we would premise, that we too are greatly dissatisfied with the constitution of that court, and consider it a grievance which demands redress; but we are unable to concur in all that has been said against its legal jurisdiction. The whole question of the royal supremacy has, indeed, we think, been lately placed in an incorrect point of view by some writers. The Bishop of Exeter himself, after quoting the 37th Article, proceeds to say: "Now this is no less than an express exclusion of the Crown from all authority in controversies of faith, leaving to its control only the civil results in all causes ecclesiastical, and the coercive power *in foro exteriori*²." This seems not strictly accurate; for there can be no "express exclusion," unless the exclusion is expressed. Now, the only power which the article distinctly says, we give not to princes, is that of ministering of God's word, or of the sacraments; beyond that, all is left to a somewhat uncertain inference.

The Bishop of Exeter maintains, that the Crown has only a coercive power, and according to him the 37th Article affirms, that spiritual causes ought to receive their final decision from spiritual authority only. But we may here cite the opinions of two other Bishops. Bishop Tomline observes on the 37th Article, that the precepts of Christianity "give equal power to the civil magistrate over the clergy, as well as the laity, in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters. Indeed ecclesiastical and civil matters are so closely connected together, that it would often be difficult,

¹ P. 81.² P. 96.

if not impossible, to separate and discriminate them⁴." This Bishop makes no distinction between the results of causes, and the causes themselves, and excludes nothing from the power of the civil magistrate, but what is *expressly* excluded by the Article itself. But Bishop Burnet speaks still more strongly to the same purpose, he says: "It is evident that both according to Scripture and the practice of all ages and countries, the princes of Christendom have an authority over their subjects in matters ecclesiastical; and if any sort of causes, spiritual ones in particular, were put out of their authority, it were an easy thing to reduce almost every thing to such a relation to spirituals, that if this principle were once received, their authority would be very precarious and feeble⁵." The Bishop of Exeter seems to argue, as if there were a broad line of demarcation between civil questions and spiritual questions, which must never be passed; whereas they are so intimately mixed, especially in an established Church, that no instrument is sharp enough to separate them in all cases; no chemical analysis can isolate them. The only undisputed field of action reserved absolutely and entirely to the spirituality is, as the Article expresses it, "the ministering of God's word, and of the sacraments." All other questions fall, more or less, under the rule of that "prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself;" and therefore Tomline says, that "under the Mosaic dispensation the kings exercised the chief power in *all matters which appertained to religion*." It will not be denied that under the Mosaic dispensation, religion was so closely interwoven with the civil law, that to separate the one from the other would have been like the separation of the web from the warp; a total dissolution of the fabric; and therefore, when Jehoshaphat, who was one of those godly princes, appointed some of the priests and of the chief of the fathers of Israel for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies, he charged them, whatever cause might come to them of their brethren, between blood and blood, between law and commandment, statutes and judgments, to warn them that they trespassed not against the Lord; and yet, though the Chief Priest was set over them in all matters of the Lord, that is, in all that related to divine worship and the service of the temple, the Ruler of the house of Judah was appointed for all the king's matters, that is, all in which the civil magistrate was called on to interfere between man and man, as in the Gorham case, to see that no man suffered wrong; and so far he was intrusted with the interpretation of God's law⁶. The Bishop relies on the second canon

⁴ Theology, vol. ii. p. 549.

⁵ Burnet, on the Articles, 385.

⁶ 2 Chron. xix. 8—11.

of 1604, which excommunicates those who "affirm that the King's Majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors in the Primitive Church;" and on Bramhall, who in the same page from which a citation is made, writes thus: "This power the Christian emperors of old assumed unto themselves: to convocate synods, to preside in synods, to confirm synods, to establish ecclesiastical laws, *to receive appeals*, to nominate bishops, *to suppress heresies*, *to compose ecclesiastical differences*, in councils, out of councils, by themselves, *by their delegates*; all which is as clear in the history of the Church, as if it were written with a beam of the sun⁷." It is no objection, in Bramhall's view, to the prince's interference, that the question involves a doctrine of the faith. He even says: "Our law provides that nothing shall be adjudged heresy with us 'de novo,' but by the high court of Parliament, wherein our bishops did always bear a part, with the assent (that is more than advice) of the clergy in their convocation⁸." The Parliament here is made more the judge of heresy than convocation, and its decision on those subjects is considered indispensable. It is true, that Parliament is now no longer what it was; Church-membership is no longer an indispensable qualification for a representative; and this is the grievance of which we have to complain: not only that our judges in Church matters are not impartial, but that some of them are necessarily inimical to us, and would be glad in any way to diminish the power and the efficiency of the Church. But with respect to the royal supremacy, another author cited by the bishop, namely, Bishop Andrewes, goes so far as to say, that "where consciences are not well instructed, kings must labour to rectify them, and if they be obstinate, and will not yield to religion, they must compel them."

And this would be in perfect conformity with his approbation of David's act, in appointing Hebronite officers, who did not belong to the Aaronic priesthood, to rule over the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, "for every matter pertaining to God and the affairs of the king⁹." And now having seen what was the authority in such causes of the godly kings among the Jews, we next proceed to see what it was in the Christian emperors¹. Bramhall's opinion has been already shown; but as this is a question of fact rather than of opinion, let us see what was the practice. The first Christian emperor, Constantine, wrote thus to Arius: "Come to me; come, I say, to a man of God: believe that by my interrogations I will scrutinize the inmost recesses of your heart; and if any thing unsound

⁷ Vol. i. p. 30.

⁹ 1 Chron. xxvi. 32.

⁸ Vol. i. p. 272.

¹ P. 107.

seems to reside there, invoking Divine grace, I will cure you of your doctrine: but if you appear to be sound in your mind, recognising the light of truth, I will return thanks on your account to God, and congratulate myself for the sake of unity." It is evident that the emperor thought himself more competent to refute the heretic than the Council of Nicæa; and to the church of Nicomedia he writes thus: "You are not ignorant that I am your fellow-servant, though with the guardianship of your salvation, the care of which I have fully undertaken, through which we have not only defeated the arms of our enemies, but also compelled them while living to profess the true faith of the love of man. You remember the Council of Nicæa, at which I was present in conformity to the attention due to my conscience, wishing nothing else than to effect the agreement of all, and chiefly to convict, and get rid of that trouble, which took its beginning from the folly of Arius." He then relates how he had deprived some bishops of their sees for receiving some Arians who were in disgrace; and concludes with a threat, that if any should be rash enough to commend or even to mention those pests, they should be punished by himself as the servant of God¹. But, further, to the Church of Alexandria he writes, that he himself, as one of the Council, took upon himself the investigation of truth. It is evident, therefore, that he did not consider himself, and was not considered by the Council, expressly excluded from all authority in controversies of faith.

The pervading fallacy which runs through many arguments on this subject is the assumption, that things in themselves inseparable are separated by a broad and distinct line. Ecclesiastical rule is like the organic world in natural history. As the one deals with temporal and spiritual questions, so the other consists of plants and animals; and in both cases, generally speaking, the difference between each is obvious enough: but in both cases there is a debateable region lying between the two divisions, in which the characters of both are blended, as the very name of Zoophytes implies; and therefore Professor Owen well remarks, "that wherever you divide the animal and vegetable kingdoms, the boundary so defined will be artificial, and merely go to bisect the debateable ground of the organic world in a different latitude²."

What Andrewes' and Bramhall's sentiments were we have already seen. Others referred to are King James I., Usher, Mountague, Jackson, Mason, Stillingfleet, Casaubon, Taylor, and the Constitutions of Clarendon. Now James declares, that the

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i.

² Paper read at the British Association at Ipswich.

office of a king is to govern the Church (*inter alia*) by reforming the religion according to God's prescribed will, by judging and cutting off all frivolous questions and schisms, as Constantine did. All that he disclaims is the power of making new articles of faith, or acting as an infallible judge of doctrine⁴. Usher distinguishes between the power of the keys and the power of the sword; but to the latter he assigns the office in spiritual cases of yielding protection to the obedient, and inflicting external punishment upon the rebellious and disobedient⁵. In the case of Mountague, related by Cosin, the power of the supremacy denied was the power to command or change belief or faith: but it was admitted, that it had the power in causes merely ecclesiastical to compel all persons to their duties by the civil sword. The same sort of coercive authority is admitted both by Jackson and by Mason; and the latter says, that "though the king hath not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, yet he may justly exercise his kingly authority over those who have them, in order to oblige them to make a proper use thereof⁶." Stillingfleet distinguishes the right of spiritual jurisdiction derived from Christ by bishops from the authority to execute such a jurisdiction within the realm, and from the rules and measures of exercising it, which are prescribed by the laws of the land: "to transgress the bounds so prescribed is an offence against the crown and royal dignity." Casaubon notices an ancient canon to this effect: "Secular princes sometimes hold the supreme power within the Church, that thereby they may defend ecclesiastical discipline: and one of these princes, Leo the Isaurian, claimed it in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, for he boldly wrote to Gregory II., 'I am emperor and priest;' which Gregory no otherwise denied than that he did not show it in his works." But further, Casaubon says, as the bishop himself observes, that "it is the duty of a prince to command that sentence in divine affairs shall be duly and orderly pronounced, he being the keeper and defender of good order and discipline."

"There are some things," says Jeremy Taylor, "of a mixed nature; and something of the secular interest, and something of the ecclesiastical concur to their constitution; and these are of double cognizance; the secular power and the ecclesiastical do both in their several capacities take knowledge of them,—such are the delinquencies of clergymen, who are both clergy and subjects too,—but those things which are of mixed cognizance, are chiefly in the king; the supremacy here is his, and so it is in all things of this nature which are called ecclesiastical, because

⁴ P. 99.⁵ P. 101.⁶ P. 104.

they are 'in materiâ ecclesiæ ad finem religionis.' " Those things only," he says, " are properly spiritual, which are separate from the interest of the commonwealth in its particular capacity '." And now what say the Constitutions of Clarendon on the subject of appeals? " Si archiepiscopus defuerit in justitiâ exhibendâ ad dominum regem perveniendum est postremo, ut præcepto ipsius in curiâ archiepiscopi controversia terminetur ; " and in this view both Bracton and the Statute of Appeals concur. The former says, that " the spiritual and civil sword ought to aid each other ; " and the latter, after describing the power of the spirituality and temporality separately, adds, that " both these authorities and jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other. "

But the question of supremacy, as we have already remarked, has been presented of late in an *erroneous* view, from which it is difficult to extricate it ; for though it has not actually encroached hitherto upon those functions of the Church which are purely spiritual, yet since it has been shown how impossible it is to determine its boundaries exactly, its potential authority excites considerable alarm, and not without cause, when its powers are wielded by those who are attached to the Church, more by the ties of expediency than of affection, and estimate its utility, not by a religious, but by a political scale of value, and are ready to sacrifice the interests of truth to the interests of party. And yet how short-sighted are even these grovelling calculations, if by obstructing its efficiency, and ignoring its divine mission, and disgusting those who love the Church, by treating it as a base political engine, they shall ultimately destroy its ecclesiastical polity, and the time shall come, when it may be said of the Establishment, what can never be said of the Church in its spiritual capacity,—

" jacet ingens littore truncus,

Avulsumque humeris caput et sine nomine corpus ! "

Some comfort, however, there is in the consideration, that as the tree, whose roots penetrate deep into the ground, may defy the nipping frosts of winter, even though they deface its beauty and check its growth, so the Church, which has taken deep root in the affections of the lower classes, may safely disregard the cold blasts of indifference or hostility in higher quarters, which cripple its honour, and prevent its expansion ; and therefore we admire the high-toned sympathy, with which the Bishop of Exeter enters into the feelings of our poorer brethren on the subject of adorning

⁷ Vol. vii. p. 172.

⁸ Ch. viii.

the public service of God ; and gives them credit for that purity of æsthetic sentiment in religion, which is a great help to devotion, and which hides from them for a time all that is humiliating in the inequality of their station. "Where the congregation," says he, "consists mainly of the poorest orders, there we commonly observe a great love of a majestic and even elaborate service ; the ornaments of their church, the storied glass, the painted, and, it may be, gilded walls, the table of the Lord, elevated above the rest, and decked with sober, yet costly furniture, the pealing organ, the chanted psalms, the surpliced choristers : the solemnity of the whole ritual gladdens while it elevates their minds. They recognise in it their own high privilege as Christians, and rejoice to find themselves equal participants with their richest neighbours in the homage thus paid to the common Lord and Father of all. In truth, when we consider the little that the poor man has to delight his heart, and touch his imagination in his own squalid home, we ought to rejoice that he can find enjoyment in the house of prayer, his Father's house'."

But the best, and beyond all comparison the most important part of the Pastoral Letter is, that which contains the bishop's notice to his clergy of his intention to hold a diocesan synod ; and if that design has failed to produce all the good which might have been expected from it, it is not the fault of the bishop, but of his clergy. A fairer scheme could not have been devised for obtaining the sentiments of the majority upon any subject that might be proposed to them ; for the number of representative members far outnumbered those who were entitled to be there officially, even if all these had received their appointments from the bishop, or were bound on that account to adopt his views, ; but this is so far from the truth, that more of them were absent than of the proctors for the incumbents. It is matter, therefore, of regret that, under these circumstances, two deaneries, as well as some of the dignitaries, refused to obey the call of their diocesan ; and that in the thirty others many abstained from taking any part in the elections, and sacrificed the interests of the Church to party feeling and personal antipathies.

It cannot be pleaded in behalf of the absentees, that any doubt existed as to the legality of a diocesan synod. That question had been settled by the highest legal authorities, and its legality publicly acknowledged by the first minister of the Crown ; and, if precedents be required, the bishop has collected the most copious and satisfactory evidence upon that point ; so that it is almost superfluous to add this further justification of it from a pamphlet

published at the beginning of the last century: "The Presbytery were in every city a necessary standing council to their respective bishops; and, together with their bishops, they met in a diocesan synod upon all great causes; and without their advice and consent nothing of importance was or could be determined. This was the settled rule in the primitive Church, and was kept up here in England, when it had declined almost every where else, as the Constitutions of Egbert, archbishop of York in the middle of the eighth century, declare¹⁰." When such diocese consisted of a large city, and its suburbs, or some equivalent amount of population, it was a very practicable and useful custom to summon all the clergy; but to convene them as a standing council, when they amount to 700 or 800, would be plainly ridiculous; and therefore it is infinitely absurd to object, as some have done, to the representative system, which is authorized by common sense, by ancient usage, and by the analogy of convocation. The danger of a schismatical spirit splitting our national Church into diocesan Churches is guarded against by the rule specified in "Wilkins's Concilia," that any new constitution framed on a sudden emergency in any particular diocese, shall not be dissonant from those of the provincial synod. The synod has, in many respects, won golden opinions of all sorts of men. The bishop himself has done good service by producing evidence of the high estimation with which the fourth century regarded the sacrament of baptism; and his conduct was highly courteous and considerate to his clergy, and he deserves the highest commendation for the courage with which he has taught his episcopal brethren by his own example, how much each may benefit his own diocese, and eventually the whole Anglican Church, by exhibiting to the observation of friends and foes the dignity and the usefulness of a synod. We are not aware that the enemies of the Church or the bishop have attempted to disparage either the one or the other; and their friends must rejoice at the spectacle which it afforded. For what do we see there? Not the pretentious eloquence of men only ambitious to shine; not declamation upon trivial topics; no disputatious spirit or love of contention; no wrong-headed ebullitions of an uncomplying humour; and no acrimonious language where there was a difference of opinion: for, notwithstanding the unanimity on one point, there was difference of opinion upon others, which either came to a division, or were withdrawn in deference to the sentiments of an evident majority. But we behold a body of men conscientiously availing themselves of the opportunity afforded them by their bishop to confer upon the affairs of the diocese, full

¹⁰ The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated, in answer to Dr. Wake, c. v. p. 5.

of solicitude to remedy some defects in our ecclesiastical system, proposing their remedies with great ability and moderation, and anxious to discover, upon the comparison of much valuable experience, in what way they could best discharge their spiritual functions for the benefit of the flocks committed to their charge. We, therefore, quite concur in the opinion expressed by the bishop on this subject: "The good sense, the moderation, the temper with which the whole proceedings of the synod have been conducted is, at once, an assurance to the country, if they choose to receive such an assurance, that synods like this are likely to be the means, under God, of greatly promoting the spiritual good of those whose spiritual interests are entrusted to us." Certainly the most valuable result of it is, that it tends to dissipate the groundless fears entertained in high quarters concerning the probable consequences of allowing the convocation to transact business. For it is a model on a small scale of what might be expected in greater perfection on the larger. The wise demeanour which has done so much credit to the one, would shine more conspicuously in the other. For surely the absentees will never permit it to be said, that, if they had been there, a different scene would have been exhibited; that they would have acted the part of incendiaries, and thrown every thing into disorder by their intemperance. We are persuaded that, on the contrary, their wise moderation would have been beneficial to the synod. In the debate upon Lord Redesdale's motion in the House of Lords last session, the Archbishop of Canterbury is reported to have said that, "judging from the only grounds of judgment open to him—from the experience of the past, he could not comply with the petitions of those, who wished him to use his influence to promote the assembling of convocation." He would scarcely have used this language without some qualification, if he had seen the authentic account of the proceedings at Exeter. With respect, indeed, to "healing divisions in the Church," it must be owned that, from the causes already stated, it was not a happy example. The balm, that might have been poured into her wounds, and neutralized their morbid irritation, was withheld by the lâcheté of those who chose to stay away. But who can doubt that, if the same experiment were made in any other diocese, where the same personal or party antipathies did not exist, the result would be very different? and if the question were referred to a national synod, and the clergy, encouraged by their bishops, would manfully set their shoulders to the wheel to extricate the Church from its embarrassments, and would return the best representatives that each archdeaconry could furnish, the most timid may rest assured that moderate counsels would obtain the ascendancy, and charity

and peace would triumph. It is a libel upon the clergy to imagine that men of extreme opinions on either side would find favour in the minds of the majority. This consideration may relieve the archbishop from the double apprehension that haunts him. "Disappointment" and "excitement" are the two monsters that sit heavy upon his soul, and disturb his rest, and fill him with frightful dreams. With respect to the first of these, we wholly dissent from his Grace's position, that the reconciliation of some conflicting rubrics, or supplying the deficiency of others, and the change of a few obsolete words, or questionable phrases, would be of little value. If conscientious men are sorely perplexed, and feel their position in the Church a serious grievance; if the law of the Church prescribes one thing, and the law of custom prescribes another; if bishops are placed in the awkward dilemma of being forced either to authorize the infraction of positive laws, or to alienate the affections of many a congregation, it may well be expected that the Church will earnestly require a solution of these difficulties. Let the archbishop, then, form his judgment upon the ground which he has himself selected. The synod of Exeter is now matter of history; and what does experience tell us were the subjects with which it was occupied? The promotion of the interests of the diocesan training-school, especially by the admission of pupil teachers and stipendiary monitors; the arrangement of diocesan school inspection; the best way of continuing pastoral superintendence over the children who have left school just at that perilous period of their lives when they most need a kind monitor; the enforcement of that primitive and excellent method of teaching religious truth—catechetical instruction; the restoration of a permanent order of deacons—permanent, that is, with some rare exceptions—in order to admit into the ministry many pious and spiritual persons who have not had the advantage of a university education; the best mode in which they could avail themselves of lay assistance in their parishes; and the increase of services in the Church;—all these are subjects of the gravest importance, which could not be discussed without signal benefit to every member of the synod, and are full of the deepest interest to every member of the Church.

But to return to the subject of experience: if little good was effected by convocation in former times, it is unjust to visit upon its head the sins of the civil government. Its inefficiency arose from its connexion with the state; it was in consequence of a petition of convocation to the king, in the years 1533 and 1542, that an Act of Parliament was passed enabling him to grant a commission for the purpose of revising the Ecclesiastical Laws. But the design was frustrated by the death of the king. It was

resumed again in the first year of Edward VI., in consequence of a renewed petition from the convocation, and was again frustrated by the death of the king. The work thus prepared, under the title of "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*," was again brought before Parliament in 1571; but, being discouraged by the crown, the attempt to get it authorized completely failed. In 1640, the convocation enacted many canons without the consent of Parliament, which the Commons, as soon as it assembled, declared to be contrary to law, and they were afterwards repealed. In 1689, a book, containing directions for family devotions, with several forms of prayer, was prepared, to be authorized by convocation; but it was adjourned at the end of the year, and then dissolved with Parliament. In 1710, the convocation took into consideration the expediency of establishing rural deans where they were not, and rendering them useful where they were; a very important subject in the administration of our ecclesiastical polity, and well deserving of its attention now; the question was discussed very amicably in both houses, the bishops suggesting that the clergy should select persons to fill the office, while the lower house recommended that the choice should be in the archdeacon; some points were settled after mutual conferences, and a canon was drawn up to define and fix their duties; but before their deliberations were concluded, convocation was prorogued, and it was contended, that this terminated the queen's licence for them to proceed. In 1713, a form of service for admitting converts from the Church of Rome was prepared, and this, with other matters recommended by the crown, were in progress, when all was thrown over by the death of the queen. In 1715, among other things submitted to their consideration by the crown, were the preparation of a form for the consecration of churches and chapels, and rules for the better instruction of youth for confirmation; and some progress was made, when their labours were interrupted by the case of Hoadly, which was more political than religious; and therefore the crown came to that unhappy determination, in which it has persisted ever since, of refusing all synodical action to the Church of England. Now may we not ask, whether experience does not show, that the inefficiency of convocation, whatever it may be, has arisen from causes quite extraneous to its synodical character, and that if its sittings have ended in disappointment, it is from the faults of its civil construction, from its alliance with the state? But these are faults which may and ought to be corrected. It is evident, too, that its want of influence upon the constitution and fabric of our Church has been much exaggerated. The archbishop states, that the articles of 1552 "were ratified, not debated in convocation:" but they were

debated, and some alterations were made in them, and not till its sanction was received, were they submitted to Parliament to be subscribed and published¹. He states that its authority was deemed of so little importance, "that no record of the transaction appears in the register of their proceedings:" how could it, when it is well known that all the registers of this convocation were destroyed in the fire of 1666; and that we have nothing to supply their place but a few memorials preserved by Strype, and some extracts from the journals of the upper house between 1529 and 1562, published by Bishop Gibson? In order to prove that convocation had little to do with the formation of the Liturgy, he states that it was framed by a committee of bishops and divines, and submitted to convocation, not to be formed, but to be approved. But is not this the history of every Act of Parliament? It is never framed by Parliament itself, but by the cabinet, or by some individual before it is introduced; and even the Bill against the Papal Aggression, which occupied so much time in the last session, was submitted to Parliament not to be formed but to be approved. But, in point of fact, it appears that the authority of those bishops and divines to frame the Liturgy was derived from convocation; for the prolocutor of the lower house presented a petition to the archbishop, that the works of the bishops and others, who, *by order of convocation*, had laboured in examining, reforming, and publishing the divine service, might be laid before them². He objects to Lord Redesdale speaking of convocation as a part of the constitution; but yet, by the statute 24 Henry VIII., where the king himself is a party in any ecclesiastical suit, the appeal lies to the bishops of the realm assembled in the upper house of convocation, which is, therefore, called the third estate of the realm³. In 1689, the House of Commons showed a much juster appreciation of the value of that part of our constitution than the House of Lords has recently; for when those in the dissenting interest wished that all matters should be settled in Parliament, that house had the virtue to declare, that the convocation was the proper place for the consideration of ecclesiastical affairs.

But if the argument, from experience of disappointment, completely fails, let us see whether the argument from the expectation of excitement will not break down too. The archbishop has said, that "we must shut our eyes against all experience, if we do not foresee the danger of losing the confidence of the people, if we believe that it would not rather foment than allay divisions." The experience of the synod of Exeter

¹ Lathbury's History of Convocation, p. 165.

² Hist. of Conv. p. 138.

³ Blackstone's Commentaries, b. iii. c. 5.

warrants no such conclusions ; but it is with open eyes that some persons see imaginary phantoms and unreal terrors. On this subject we gladly adopt the language of a writer, who, in 1833, addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury in these terms :—" I know that an apprehension is entertained by some, that the love of innovation infecting the clergy may induce them to choose as their representatives in the lower house rash and pragmatistical men, too eager for popularity to be very solicitous about the means of obtaining it, and too selfish, or ambitious, or fanatical, to abstain from violent and contentious measures ; neither do I deny, that some corners of our Church may be infested with the plague-spot of a factious spirit, nor that some characters may accidentally find their way into convocation, more resembling a noisy demagogue than a representative of the ministers of the Gospel. And if such characters are indeed agreeable to the majority of the clergy, if there be in reality the least probability that they would acquire a preponderance, or any thing like a preponderance of power, then truly there would be reason to despair for our establishment ; then it would be too clear that her bulwarks are already undermined, and I should readily concur with your Grace in anticipating no good from a national synod. But it cannot be ; I cannot for one instant believe that we are so far degraded by a spirit of worldliness ; that we are so deeply sunk in secularity, and abandoned to unhallowed passions, as to commit the safety of our Church to turbulent agitators and factious representatives. No, my lord, the character of the clergy stands too high for such suspicions ; and their general merit, which cannot be impeached by any exceptions that malice may rake out, is the best guarantee that their choice would fall upon men eminent for talents and capacity for public business, for moderation, and piety, and moral worth."

But it may be said, that the argument must be confined to experience : " what can we reason from but from what we know ? " Well then, we know that the Liturgy has been submitted to convocation for alteration more than once ; and experience teaches us that no flame was lighted up from one end of the country to the other ; no " conflagration which all the royal prerogative was required to extinguish." But again the archbishop asks, " What reason have we for believing that more advantage or less injury to the Church would result from the assembling of convocation now, than in the reign of Queen Anne or George I. ? " Our answer is, There is every reason in the world. The circumstances of the Church are totally and entirely different from what they then were ; the excitement that then convulsed the Church was not religious but political : religion was sometimes the stalking

horse, but politics always lurked behind, and aimed the deadly blow. The Bangorian controversy, which was in the end so fatal to convocation, was in its origin purely political. Hoadly, the Whig Bishop of Bangor, published in 1716 a preservative against the principles and practices of the nonjurors both in Church and State. Now the majority of the clergy in the lower house, though not nonjurors, yet viewed the principles of that party not only with favour but with sympathy: in short, they were Jacobites, and were animated with the spirit which in 1689 had made them refuse to allude, in their address, to the king's zeal for the Protestant religion, or to thank him for his commission, and at the accession of Queen Anne, produced the struggle to introduce into the address on that occasion some reflections upon her predecessor. Hence arose the dissatisfaction with which they regarded those who supplanted the nonjuring bishops, and occupied their sees; hence that hostility to the upper house, which vented itself in all sorts of unreasonable disputes, and *disappointed* all who wished well to the Church. But it is evident that the conflict arose from political, and not from ecclesiastical causes; and they were so anxious to defend themselves from the charge of disaffection to episcopacy, that, in 1702, they vainly urged the bishops to pass a resolution asserting the superiority of their order and its divine right. Does this picture show any resemblance between the temper and feelings of those times and these? and is there not abundant reason to believe, that in the absence of such temper and feelings more advantage and less injury may accrue to the Church by allowing the convocation to act? But further, when Hoadly had filled up the measure of his offence by his sermon at the chapel royal, on the words, "My kingdom is not of this world," the lower house protested against the tendency of his works to impugn and impeach the regal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanction. Will any one say that this is a grievance likely to call forth the indignation of the warmest admirers of the nonjurors in the present day, and to cause a dissension between the two houses? Lastly, however, we are perfectly willing to agree with the archbishop, and this we grant that experience proves, that a body constituted, as convocation then was, "is ill suited to the purpose of solemn deliberation, or wise legislation." But that makes nothing for his argument; for he is willing to assume that it is to be remodelled, before he enters upon the consequences that may be likely to follow. For similar reasons we hold that the constitution of the late synod in Australia, to which he referred, might be much improved. But

whether its decision about baptism was right or wrong, it in no degree affects the present argument; because he has no fear of any such declaration being issued. Upon the whole, then, it is evident that neither history nor experience warrant any apprehensions of dangerous excitement from synodical action, especially since they also show that in the most fevered state of feeling in convocation no detriment has accrued to the state from the interposition of the Crown to suspend its functions, when they ceased to be beneficial to the Church. But the great lesson that experience teaches us, is the necessity of alteration and improvement; and we are much encouraged to inquire, how that may best be effected, by the declaration of the president of the council, the representative of Her Majesty's Government in the House of Lords, that he would not say, the establishment of such a tribunal was a novelty unfit to be considered; and that he wished some means could be pointed out, if he could see his way with perfect confidence. The first step then to reform, would be to give a definite form to a law, which we should not have called an alteration, if the archbishop had not appeared to be unaware of its existence; for otherwise it would have saved him from all this unnecessary alarm. He would not have taken this objection "in limine,"—"for what business is to be dispatched? Some would say this, and some would say that,"—if he had known that it was the recognised usage of convocation only to proceed to the dispatch of that business which was laid before them by the Crown, unless a fuller latitude was given them by the same authority. Thus, for instance, in 1640, Laud produced the king's letters, authorizing them to treat of canons and constitutions, and to confer upon such other points, as he from time to time should deliver to the archbishop; and in 1661 the king in council ordered, that a commission should be prepared to authorize convocation to consult upon matters relative to the settlement of the Church, omitting the *usual restraining clause*, that nothing should be done contrary to the Liturgy, or the Thirty-nine Articles, or the ceremonials already established; and, in 1689, a commission was appointed under the great seal to draw up matters for the consideration of the synod⁴. If, then, it was understood that this was not only the practice but the law of convocation, it would entirely depend upon the Crown acting under the advice of the archbishop, whether the discussion was confined to rubrics, or to canons, or to doctrines, or to any thing else; and although some perfunctory expression of opinion upon other topics might be dropped in debate, and perhaps usefully too, yet unless the assembly proved itself to be so disorderly as to be unfit for deli-

⁴ Lathbury's Hist. of Conv. pp. 221. 242.

beration, it would be easily restrained within the bounds of its own regulations. What those regulations should be on other points as well as this, is the subject that next demands consideration ; and here we may profit largely by the lessons which experience has taught us. The points in dispute between the two houses in the beginning of the last century were, on the one hand, whether the archbishop had the power of proroguing and dissolving convocation, and of fixing a day for proceeding to business by a schedule of continuation, so called because it continues the convocation from one day to another ; whether he could adjourn the lower house as well as the upper ; whether he had a right to appoint committees of the lower house for special business ; whether the bishops had a right to require an answer from the lower house in writing ; and, on the other hand, whether the lower house had any right to meddle in returns and elections ; whether they could appoint a substitute for the prolocutor without the approbation or knowledge of the bishops ; whether they have a right to hold intermediate sessions ; whether they had a right to proceed to business of the greatest moment, and form resolutions without acquainting the bishops or consulting them ; and whether they had a concurrent claim with the archbishop to a coercive power over their own members, or to grant leave of absence, or to substitute proxies. In constructing the new platform of a national synod, these doubts and difficulties should be fully resolved ; to which we may add another case of privilege which might become the subject of dispute, though it has never yet been called in question. In some convocations, orders were issued against revealing what passed in debate even in discourse, until it was finished. In 1629 the archbishop threatened to excommunicate any one who mentioned any thing out of the house to any persons whatsoever, except among themselves. In 1641 the penalty was suspension for three months, and six other instances are given in Gibson's "*Synodus Anglicana*." It might be expedient to imitate the synod of Exeter in the employment of a single reporter ; for though every deliberative assembly is entitled to exercise the same privilege as the Houses of Parliament of excluding strangers, and deliberating, if they see fit, with closed doors, yet it would be pusillanimous and impolitic to shun publicity altogether. These and many other minor arrangements will require very serious and sage consideration ; and, therefore, the next question that arises is, To whom shall this delicate and difficult task be committed ? A popular assembly is notoriously the worst body to which the framing of rules can be confided. Witness the numerous blunders introduced into Acts of Parliament by amendments inconsiderately proposed, and hastily adopted. There are precedents to

which we may refer. In 1689 a commission was issued by the Crown, authorizing certain individuals to prepare for convocation alterations in the Liturgy, and canons, and other matters connected with the Church. But it may be said the reform ought at all events to originate in convocation. Well, then, let the example of the convocation of 1532 be followed. Let only time be allowed, when it next meets, for the adoption of a petition to the Queen before it is prorogued. That surely is not too much to ask. It would merely state what was then stated, that they were content to commit these matters to thirty-two persons to be appointed by the Crown. In conformity with the wish or concession thus signified, after several vain attempts to give it effect, at last in 1551 a commission was issued to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers; of whom eight were selected to gather and put in order the materials. But it appears from Strype, that the work was principally executed by the Archbishop, Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon, who was a civilian. That work was the "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*," which would have been the law of the Church, if, when it was brought before Parliament, Queen Elizabeth or her ministers had not withheld their sanction. It would supply very valuable materials to a similar commission now, and is justly commended by the Bishop of Exeter as an important document of very high authority. With questions of doctrine and details of administration the royal commission need not meddle; they would be far better reserved for the committees of convocation. There are, however, some momentous organic changes requisite, with which they would be bound to deal. In the first place, the amalgamation of the two provinces is necessary; the Church of England cannot be fairly represented but by a national synod. The province of York may be flattered by "the bubble, honour"—the honour of appearing to have its own convocation; but it is no better than a delusion, which cheats its clergy out of the substantial privilege of having a voice and vote in the affairs of the Church. Its transactions were wholly unimportant; its assent to the acts of the larger province was expected as a matter of course; and the inconvenience of separation was so strongly felt in 1661, that the Archbishop of York and his suffragans requested their lower house to pass a vote for proxies to be sent to the other province; and several of its members were commissioned to sit and act in behalf of the convocation of York. It would, in fact, be only the restoration of an ancient practice; for in 1072, when a synod was held to determine the claims and boundaries of the two provinces, it was agreed that the Archbishop of Canterbury should have the power of summoning the

Archbishop of York and his suffragans to a synod, and such national synods were not unfrequently held. It is, therefore, but a slight concession from that province that we ask. But there is a more difficult concession in another quarter, which is equally essential to the unity of our Church in its national representation. On this subject we cannot better express our feelings than by adding another extract from the pamphlet of Philo-synodus, which we have quoted before: "The union of this country with Ireland must be cemented by a closer connexion of the clergy; I do not say of the churches, but of the clergy; for there is but one Church in England and Ireland: it is the Church of the United Kingdom. And if in the latter it is to be crushed by popery and misrule, its downfall may be considered the first signal of impending ruin here. The storm which uproots it there will rend the Church of England, and shake it to its base. Let us not then hesitate to proclaim that our interests are identified with those of the Church in Ireland, and that every fibre of our ecclesiastical frame quivers with the pang which pierces her bosom. Means, therefore, should be devised to admit her prelates and the representatives of her clergy to sit in convocation with ours; and that venerable body would be both strengthened and enlightened by the accession, many of them being men not less distinguished for their talents than for their piety." But Ireland has her own convocation; and the jealous susceptibilities of a *ci-devant* national Church, when asked to wear henceforth a quasi-provincial character, must be treated with great tenderness. We cannot legislate for her here. We may suggest what appears to be most beneficial to her, as well as to ourselves; but the first movement must come from herself. The concessions which she may be willing to make must proceed from her own conviction of their necessity. Let us hope that the time will come when the primate of England and the primate of Ireland will confer together on the best manner of making these arrangements; for the very fact that two different bodies of canons are in force in the two countries is a sufficient argument for removing so great an anomaly from the United Church. At all events, it would be easy to show that our own canons call loudly for reform, that they ought to be better accommodated to the altered circumstances of the times, and brought more into conformity not only with the law of the land, but even with the other branch of our ecclesiastical law, the Rubric. The clergy cannot obey contradictory laws, as, for instance, when they prescribe different times for catechising in the Church. One or the other must be wrong: and what is the consequence? both are disobeyed. If the Queen would only consent that her royal com-

mission should be authorized to frame new canons, to be considered in convocation, and obtain its sanction, a great point would be gained. It cannot be denied that it would be an experiment worth the trial, if it were only to relieve the Church from the burthen of obsolete and impracticable laws, and the consciences of the clergy from the doubtful obligation of obedience to them. We do not pretend to say that the result would give universal satisfaction; for what legislation ever did? It rarely happens that any single law unites all suffrages in its favour; but a code of laws never. Grumblers, therefore, there certainly would be; some perhaps disappointed, and some excited: but we will venture to predict that they would form only an inconsiderable minority, whose opinions could not be allowed to cross the wishes and to damage the interests of the greater number. But there yet remains another alteration in the framework of convocation, which is quite indispensable; an alteration which was advocated with great ability by the two prelates who supported the motion of Lord Redesdale, as well as by that noble lord himself,—the introduction of laymen. Yet this again would not be an innovation; it would be only a return to an ancient practice: for in former times, as we have already shown, princes were the representatives of the lay element in the Church, on the principle defended by Bishop Bilson in his “True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion”; that they have the same freedom to discern spirits and refuse strange doctrines that all the faithful have.

“In the code of Theodosius,” says Wake, “the code and novels of Justinian, the yet later collection of Basilus, Leo, and Constantine, how many constitutions shall we find in every one of these, relating to ecclesiastical affairs; nay, and even to the very faith which was to be taught and professed in the Churches! And when the empire began to be parcelled out into several lesser states and kingdoms, we find their several princes still maintaining the same authority. In 865 Lewis convened a council at Worms, and there ordered many things relating both to the faith and discipline of the Church. Arnulph, his nephew, called a great council at Trebur, presided and assisted at it, and caused what was done, not only to be subscribed by the bishops whom he had assembled, but to be confirmed by a great number both of the inferior clergy and of the *laity*.” Adelbardus, who was cousin to Charlemagne, and one of his counsellors, tells of a general assembly of clerics and laics convened by that monarch, which was indifferently called a convention, a council, and a synod.

* Theol. Tracts, p. 716.

* Authority of Christian Princes, asserted by Dr. Wake.

They deliberated, sometimes together, and sometimes apart; the seniors, that is, the magnates, whether counts or bishops, "propter consilium ordinandum;" the minors, that is, the lesser barons and inferior clergy, "propter idem suscipiendum et interdum pariter tractandum, et non ex potestate, sed ex proprio mentis intellectu, vel sententiâ, confirmandum." And, then, to come nearer home, to conventions which were held in Scotland from 843 to 1124, they more resembled these Gallican comitia or councils held by Charlemagne and his successors, in which capitularies were published, than episcopal synods; for in them there were present not only bishops, but chieftains also, and the king himself'. And, finally, we shall find, that the same practice prevailed among our own Anglo-Saxon ancestors, their ecclesiastical assemblies were called synods or councils, though secular persons joined in them, and secular affairs were sometimes transacted in them; and we learn from the same authority, that the presence of princes and nobles there, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, was testified by their subscriptions; for no ecclesiastical constitutions were allowed to have the force of law, unless they were not only confirmed, but approved by the king. And therefore he sometimes attended in person, together with the magnates of his realm'; and if what was done obtained their approbation, the royal consent was given. Matters of Church and commonwealth, says Sir Henry Spelman, were often dictated and concluded in the same meeting: "Communi consensu tam cleri quam populi, episcoporum, procerum, comitum, necnon omnium sapientum, seniorum populorumque totius regni'." Even after the Conquest, the laity were not excluded from diocesan synods, though the object of their admission was not any share in judgment, but that they might plead for redress of grievances. They were placed almost on the same footing with the deacons; for when the clergy had taken their seats, the deacons and laity were admitted; the deacons presented their complaints to the bishop first, and then the laity theirs. The pope laboured long, with increasing success, to establish his absolute dominion over the Church; and to effect this, he separated as much as possible the clergy, who were subject to him, from the laity who were not, and gave them an interest and share in his own supremacy. This exorbitant ambition of the Papacy has had a very fatal effect upon our ecclesiastical polity: it was the cause of the statute of Premunire, which, by restraining the legatine power, restrained

⁷ Epist. Th. Innesii ad Editorem Conciliorum.

⁸ Dissertatio Epistolaris de veteri et moderna Synodi Anglicanæ constitutione. Wilkins, Concilia, vii.

⁹ Concilia, Anno 605.

that of our archbishops too, who previously assembled provincial and national synods, and enacted canons without let or hindrance from the king; and it was the cause of the act of submission, when the Reformation transferred that obnoxious supremacy to the Crown, by which, as Fuller says, "all convocations, so long as they lasted, were born tongue-tied, till the king did cut the string thereof with his letters-patent, allowing them leave to debate on matters of religion; yea, even with the royal assent they subject not any, for recusancy to obey their canons, to a civil penalty, in person or property, until confirmed by Act of Parliament¹." Now the supremacy of the Crown, for reasons already assigned, is absolutely necessary in every country which has an established religion; and as long as the laity have no representatives in our synods, it would be difficult to contend against their right to have that voice in parliament which is denied to them in convocation. This it was that caused the dissatisfaction with the Australian synod, which the archbishop mentioned in the House of Lords, to prove that the experiment had failed there, and therefore would fail here. But how does he arrive at this conclusion? His words, as reported in the "*Guardian*," were: "The principal laity of a city had met together, and unanimously protested against a measure which they treated as an infringement upon their liberty as Churchmen." But what does this prove? Not that the experiment failed; for there was a great deal of wisdom in some of the determinations of the bishops, which we should do well to imitate, and would be rewarded with satisfaction, here as well as there. Not that it produced dissension instead of peace; for if one town alone dissented, the harmony was far greater than could have been expected. But this it does prove, that there was a defect in the constitution of that synod, inevitable under the circumstances, but not inevitable in the proposed remodelling of convocation here, and which ought to be corrected by the admission of the laity; for it is evident that the laity assembled in Parliament are a body no longer fit to legislate for the national Church. Why should our ecclesiastical concerns be discussed by Dissenters and Roman Catholics, or, at least, governed by their votes? This is an anomalous state of things unknown to the former history of our Church; and new ailments require new remedies. If, therefore, it could be shown that sufficient provision is made for the interests of the laity by admitting their co-operation, it would not be unreasonable to hope that Parliament might consent to pass an Act, giving legal validity to the enactments of convocation within the area of the national

¹ *Church Hist. of Brit.* p. 191.

Church, when sanctioned by the Queen in council, without insisting on the manifest injustice of their being submitted to the Lords and Commons. The Privy Council, which is not accustomed to show any partiality to the Church, would be a sufficient guarantee that nothing would be allowed to receive the royal sanction which interfered either indirectly or remotely with other sects. If they should be of opinion that any reasonable apprehension of such an effect could be entertained, they might be authorized to direct that the questionable measure should pass through the ordeal of a Parliamentary statute. But then the question arises, How could the Church be assured of the good will of the lay representatives, and their anxiety to promote her real interests? The only security would be the sacramental test; not as it was formerly understood for secular purposes, as a qualification for office, but as an evidence of a religious habit of mind. True indeed it is, too true, that even that security is not infallible; for the heart of man is desperately wicked, and dissimulation may deceive us: but though genuine piety is not always the motive to frequent communion, yet he who fails in that point is defective in the most important duty of Christian obedience and religious worship. "Let no such man be trusted."

The frequency required should not be less than the rubrical minimum of three times a year; but from what period of time backwards the qualification should be measured, whether one year would suffice, or how many, the commission would have to consider, as well as many other details of organization, such as the places and seasons of election, and the qualifications of electors. Nor is this all. The existing system of clerical representation needs a thorough reform. The present constitution of convocation is full of irregularities and defects. Different rules prevail in the two provinces, and in different dioceses of the same province. In the province of York, Durham refuses to send proctors. The other old dioceses return two for each archdeaconry. In the province of Canterbury there is not even one for each; for there are fifty-three archdeaconries, and only forty-four proctors to represent them. Now, since the whole body consists of 144, it is evident that the parochial clergy are very inadequately represented. In some dioceses they do not even enjoy the privilege of electing. Commissioners, archdeacons, the bishop, are the persons who choose the proctors. Then again the new dioceses complicate the matter still further, and are a powerful argument for recasting the whole in a new mould. The archdeacons are official members by the most unquestionable right; for at one time they were the sole representatives of the clergy, as at the synod of Merton; and being the nominees of

the bishops, they secure a considerable episcopal influence in the lower house. But it will probably be thought that the chapters have too large a share, and that the deans would be sufficient representatives of those not very important bodies. In the cognate Episcopal Church of the United States, four members are sent from each diocese to the general convention, which meets once in every three years. The same number of laymen also is elected by ballot, and the election of both is rendered the more easy by the preliminary meeting of diocesan synods or conventions; for to every diocesan convention a layman is sent from every vestry, and out of the number so assembled four deputies are chosen. This is a mode of proceeding which might with great advantage be adopted here. Diocesan synods might be authorized to meet, if not annually, as in America, yet at least triennially, for the purpose of this election, if not for the transaction of other business; such, for instance, as diocesan associations and other societies now transact. And besides this, they would materially strengthen the hands of the bishop, and enable him to enforce his just authority upon those who now sometimes fight against him under the ægis of a name—the much abused name of the Church—for it is not in truth the Church, but their own interpretation of the Church's will. If different diocesan synods were to come to opposite conclusions on any matters of moment, and of common concernment, the question would then be referred to the general convention; which would finally determine, if a rubric were doubtful, how it should be understood; if some practice of rites and ceremonies was various, how it should be rendered uniform; if some doctrine were called in question, whether it should be more strictly defined, or whether some liberty of interpretation should be left by refusing further interference.

There can be no reason to doubt, that these decisions, whatever they might be, would be received with reverence and submission as the law of the Church; and if some contumacious spirits should withdraw from our communion, we might lament their infatuation, but they would be the sufferers, and not the Church. The Primate appeals to experience to justify his fears of the consequences, and says we must shut our eyes against all experience, if we do not foresee danger. We accept the appeal, and deny the danger. The only experience of such a convention as we have described is to be found in the United States; and it is very remarkable, that the same unfounded apprehensions were entertained there from precisely the same causes. "It was feared," says the American correspondent of the "*Colonial Church Chronicle*," "that it might afford some advantages to parties disposed to agitate the Church,—and that,

with recent vexed questions with regard to Romanizing, and the like, there would be little to gratify the lovers of truth or peace. So great was the alarm felt by well-disposed persons, who foresaw all manner of evils, and anticipated that their divisions would be more fomented than allayed; that public and private prayers were offered up incessantly for the success of the experiment. And what was the result? Their prayers were heard; their faith in the protection of their Divine Head was justified; the anticipated difficulties were quietly removed; and the writer is enabled to say,—It must be confessed, that our convention, however novel its constitution, has worked admirably well. The lay element proves itself more and more an element of strength, of influence, and of safety. The position of laymen in our councils has tended to produce a class of well-read, sound, and practical lay Churchmen, who are always found on the side of conservatism, order, and law. Hence, when ignorant and fanatical laymen obtain a seat in convention, they soon find their level, and are kept in check by members of their own order; while the practical and popular views of purely practical matters, which the laity sometimes suggest in connexion with sound doctrinal principles, have often been found of great benefit, and have been readily accepted by the clergy in very embarrassing junctures.” If, then, their difficulties were so easily removed there, much more may we expect it here; for in some of the states the sacramental test is not permitted, and thus a door is opened to irregularities and disorder. Away, then, with groundless doubts and fears: in these days of ceaseless progression in improvement, it will not do to act on the antiquated maxim of letting well alone. It is not well to be distracted by strife and variance, without any prospect of remedy or reconciliation; and if any good has been hitherto achieved by our Church, notwithstanding her weakness, it is because so great is her vitality, that it cannot be wholly subdued by adverse circumstances. Let our rulers in Church and State only be persuaded of this, that, if the responsibility of incurring some risk alarms them, the responsibility of doing nothing, when they might do much to save her from impending evils, is far more formidable; and that they have now a glorious opportunity of immortalizing their names by rescuing her from her degraded position in the eyes of the world, and enabling her to heal her bleeding wounds, to develop her natural resources, to plume her wings for a flight into higher regions than she has ever yet attained, and to fulfil her divine mission by concentrating all her energies on the advancement of the Redeemer’s kingdom.

- ART. VII.—1. *Speech of the EARL OF ABERDEEN against the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill; with the Protest against the passing of the Bill.* London: Murray.
2. *Speech of the DUKE OF ARGYLL on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in the House of Lords, July 21, 1851.* London: Moxon.
3. *The Twofold Protest. A Letter from the DUKE OF ARGYLL to the Bishop of Oxford.* London: Moxon.
4. *Letters on Church Matters.* By D. C. L. *Reprinted from the "Morning Chronicle."* London: Ridgway.
5. *A Revival of Spiritual Religion the only Effectual Remedy for the Dangers which now threaten the Church of England.* By DANIEL WILSON, M.A., Vicar of Islington. London: Hatchards.
6. *A Letter to the Parishioners of St. Saviour's. By the Author of a "Narrative of Five Years at St. Saviour's, Leeds."* Oxford: Vincent.
7. *A Narrative of Five Years at St. Saviour's, Leeds.* By the Rev. J. H. POLLEN, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.
8. *An Apology for the High-Church Movement on Liberal Principles.* By the Rev. ROBERT OWEN, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.
9. *Records of the Supremacy of the Crown.* By JAMES BROGDEN, M.A., Vicar of Deddington.
10. *A Sketch of the History of Erastianism.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Murray.

THE character of immutability in matters of doctrines which the Church of Rome used to arrogate to herself, has certainly not extended itself to the political relations of that Church. The last few years have exhibited the Church of Rome in the most opposite lights. Having in one year discouraged agitation in Ireland, and in another condemned revolutionary principles in France, the Papacy appears in 1847 at the head of the revolutionary movement throughout Europe. Padre Ventura, its most eloquent orator, boasts of the power of the Church over democracy, and

announces its alliance with that formidable power. A Pope becomes the idol of liberalism and of democracy throughout Europe. Revolutionized Italy seeks to place him at its head. Monarchy is overthrown in France, and the republic which succeeds is at once recognised by the Romish hierarchy as a special gift of Heaven. French archbishops and bishops of ultramontane principles are amongst the most enthusiastic defenders and admirers of republicanism. Christianity becomes with them identical with the "*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*," of the "Tricolor." The clergy are never weary of consecrating and planting trees of liberty. They glory in proclaiming themselves revolutionists and republicans.

A year or so passes over, and the position of things in the Roman Catholic world is somewhat different. Republicanism is no longer in the ascendancy in France. Austria has regained her power in Germany and Italy. The democracy which Father Ventura and *Pio Nono* had appealed to, had been found less manageable than the Church of Rome had anticipated: the Pope had been obliged to call in the aid of foreign bayonets to subdue a spirit which he had created. And what is the result we see before us? Throughout Europe Romanism has allied itself with absolutism. It is now the agent which the chief continental powers employ for the purpose of disseminating political principles in accordance with their views. It is the open foe of republicanism and even of constitutional liberty; and the same bishops and priests who two or three years ago were hailing the advent of democracy as a revival of Christianity, are now denouncing it as the work of the devil, and catechising their people on the divine and indefeasible right of absolute sovereigns.

Such sudden and strange revolutions in principle are rather calculated to convince men of the policy than of the integrity of the Church of Rome. Its fidelity can be always relied on indeed—but only by those who are in possession of power, or who have a prospect of attaining it. Let democracy gain the ascendancy next year, or have a prospect of so doing; and Romanism would become its most humble and devoted admirer. Its sole object is self-aggrandizement; and it is withheld by no principle of any kind from the pursuit of that object. If, in our country, its cause can be advanced by its advocacy of "civil and religious liberty," it will be the most zealous of the supporters of that principle. If in another country its interests are likely to be promoted by advocating and acting on the directly contrary principle, it will be the agent of absolutism, and will denounce democracy as the work of the devil. In America it will be republican: in Naples it will be absolutist: in Austria it will be reactionary: in Ireland it will be rebellious.

But to pass now from the more general subject to the particular case of Romanism in England.

The last year has done much towards disclosing the real character of the Church of Rome to Englishmen. So extraordinary a combination and series of events has perhaps never occurred, at a moment when the lesson which it inculcates was more urgently called for; and blinded, indeed, must be the understanding which does not discern the character of their instruction. Was it a merely fortuitous combination of events which—at the moment when Romanism at length threw off the mask, and usurped, in the boldest terms, dominion over England—had severed the bonds of political alliance between the Papacy and the Whig and Radical party by the decrees of the Synod of Thurles; and thus enabled English Liberalism to act freely when the Papal Aggression took place? The Papal Aggression would, probably, have been unresisted by the leaders of political parties, had not the State policy for the pacification of Ireland, by mixed education, been frustrated by the Pope, and by the Romish hierarchy. Those two movements, occurring in rapid succession, presented the most decisive evidence, to all England, that the same lust of dominion—the same dictation and interference in temporal affairs—the same monstrous arrogance and unbounded audacity which had distinguished the Papacy in the middle ages—were its unchanged characteristics at the present day; and that its aggressive policy was only capable of being restrained by coercion. It was at length perceived that a system of concession, which might be safely adopted where real grievances needed to be redressed, was not likely to be attended with equal success when applied to an organized and ambitious system of aggression. Then the proceedings of the Courts of Law drew general attention to the formidable machinery by which the Church of Rome contrives to extract from youth and from old age the vast funds which she employs in her system of proselytism. In the course of those strange proceedings Romish bishops were detected in equivocation and falsehood; Romish priests were seen invading the chamber of the dying, and compelling the transfer of large possessions from their rightful inheritors, to the Church of Rome. In these cases, indeed, Romanism was compelled, by the excited state of public opinion, to disgorge the greater part of its prey; but it was seen, that a system existed, which was placing at the disposal of that Church incalculable means for promoting her own ascendancy.

The progress of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill through the House of Commons, showed, in the most unmistakable point of view, the spirit which animated the whole Roman Catholic party

in England and Ireland. Not only did the Romish hierarchy and people in Ireland make common cause with the Pope and his English emissaries—not only did they on all occasions treat the Royal Supremacy with insult and contumely—not only did they give vent to the most violent and seditious threats, and assert their resolution to disobey the law, if passed, but they openly banded together for the purpose of subverting the Ministry which had introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Disregarding all those interests of the State, which as members of Parliament they were bound to promote, the avowed policy of the Romish members in Parliament was to vote against the Ministry on all occasions, and at all hazards. They were ready to sacrifice any interest, or to promote any principles, by which the triumph of the Church of Rome could be accomplished. They would have brought in the Protectionists, though they had always themselves voted as Free-traders. This desperation of the Romish party in Parliament showed the dangerous character of the element which had been introduced into the Constitution in 1829. Here is a set of men whose objects are not political, but religious—a body who are indeed violent and turbulent politicians, but who are so only with the object of gaining ascendancy for their own religion. While with other parties in Parliament political and party considerations are of paramount importance, the Romish party is ready to throw its weight on *any side* where the interests of Romanism are likely to be promoted. It is wholly devoid of political or moral principle: its sole object is Papal ascendancy in this empire.

It is well that the results of the measure of 1829 should be thus at length so fully brought out into view. It has immensely enlightened public opinion in England. It is no longer requisite now to point to the page of history for the purpose of showing the spirit of Romanism. We are not liable to imputations of bigotry, or of unreasonable fear, when we say that Romanism ought not to be encouraged in any country situated as England is—that it is necessarily and invariably the bitter and persevering enemy of Protestant institutions—that its policy is unprincipled and desperate—that its spirit is persecuting—that it will never rest until it attains absolute ascendancy—that it will never remain satisfied while one fragment of the Established Church remains in existence—and that it is at this moment animated by the same spirit and principles (though as yet unable to act fully on them) which led to the Gunpowder Plot, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Irish Rebellion of 1641. The spirit of Romanism is now, for the first time within our recollection, understood by the press and the people of England: and Romanism has itself accomplished this most salutary object.

The hollowness of the claim for toleration and equality, when preferred by Romanism, has also been curiously illustrated by the contemporary concordats with Spain, Tuscany, and other countries, by which the Roman Catholic religion is granted exclusive ascendancy, while other communions are prevented from exercising their religious worship, and all subjects are deprived of their religious liberty. The Romanist who applauds the King of Naples, or the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Queen of Spain, for putting down Protestant service in their dominions, or imprisoning natives who may attend any other worship except that of the Church of Rome, or for preventing the erection of churches for the service of the Church of England, has little right to claim from England liberties and rights which he is willing to see refused to Protestants. His object is, but too evidently, to establish, by aid of the principles of toleration, a political ascendancy which he would instantly employ for the purpose of crushing every religion except his own. He advocates the principles of religious liberty, in order that he may extinguish religious liberty; just as he endeavours to subvert all reasonable faith, and to bring men to infidelity, in the hope that they will accept a principle of blind credulity, instead of a rational belief. He would rather see men infidels at once, than see them members of the Church of England, or of any denomination except his own. He argues precisely as an infidel does, and borrows all the arguments of the rationalist or the deist against the Word of God. His unceasing employment is to instil doubt in every form, in the hope that reason and common sense may be distrusted, and that the principle of unbounded scepticism he has invoked may eventuate in slavish submission to an authority which has no proofs except its own arrogant claims and assumptions. This system of argument which, as employed by Dr. Newman, has recently attracted much attention, is *universally* practised in the Church of Rome: it was invented by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century: and the fact that a large meeting of Romanists has been held at Birmingham, headed by the titular Bishop Ullathorne, for the purpose of returning thanks to the most recent preacher of this Romish infidelity, is a sufficient indication of the identification of that system with the feelings and views of the Church of Rome.

Yes! the Church of Rome would prefer to see us infidels, rather than to see us Protestants. It would support infidelity against us. It would rather see the Temple of Reason in England than the Cathedral of St. Paul's, or the Independent or Wesleyan Chapel. And it is strange and instructive too, to mark its peculiar bitterness against the Church of England. All its attacks are directed against that Church, and it is desirous of gaining the support of

the Dissenters in its efforts for her destruction : with Dissenters it is willing to fraternize, in the hope that they may be made tools for the overthrow of religious liberty, and the establishment of Papal ascendancy.

A certain number of members of the Church of England have been inclined to think far too favourably of the Church of Rome. Led away by utopian theories of religious union, and by a species of pious cosmopolitanism, several ingenious and subtle thinkers began to reason themselves into a belief that there could be no real impediments in the way of universal harmony. They persuaded themselves gradually that the Church of Rome was not so ugly as she looked at first—that she was mild, and gentle, and tolerant—and that all the fault was on our side. Of course, when matters had gone so far, unstable minds began to totter, and apostasies to occur. But still the favourable impressions towards Rome, which had for a series of years been continued, could not give way at once ; and by the section of Churchmen referred to, Rome has been studiously courted on all occasions. Its ceremonial was assiduously imitated ; its phraseology was adopted ; its devotions were treated as models ; it became the rule and standard on all occasions. This section of the Church could not endure plain speaking against Rome ; it sneered at the old-fashioned prejudices of those who continued the protest of the Reformation ; it did not fear to outrage public feeling in its avowed preference for the practices of a rival Church ; it steadily looked forward to union between the Churches of England and Rome, and endeavoured to prepare the way ; it was always ready to defend Rome—made common cause with the Papacy—felt deeply the expulsion of the “holy father” from his capital city—denounced the Roman people in their struggle for liberty—and, in fine, took its stand on behalf of Rome during the whole course of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. And yet, how has this conduct been requited ? While this section of the Church was bent on extending the right hand of fellowship to Rome, Romanists were treating them on all occasions with contempt, hatred, and enmity. If there was one party in the Church beyond another which was more especially the object of contumely, disdain, and hostility to Romanism, it was the very party which was sacrificing its character and influence to its love for the Church of Rome. Rome could not endure any approximation which did not lead to submission to her. The “Tractarian” who just did not admit the pope to be the vicar of Jesus Christ, and held the Church of England to be still a part of the visible Church of Christ on earth, was held to be as utterly severed from the way of salvation as the merest rationalist, or grossest heretic. Nay, he was still more detested, because he was held to be refusing his

faith when the fullest opportunities of knowledge were around him. Every species of treachery was resorted to. Romanism employed the most unscrupulous agents in the attempt to bring persecution and suspicion on those whom it sought to win. It worked covertly under the garb of its opponents. The "Church and State Gazette" was deceived by Romish emissaries, and became their organ for trumpeting forth expected conversions, and thus promoting the views of the Church of Rome. Without doubt, many a violent and apparently "ultra-Protestant," or "High-Church" publication in the journals, has been in reality the work of concealed Romanists. The recent exposure of Mr. W. Rees Gawthorn, has to some extent disclosed the secret and treacherous agency of Romish spies and emissaries which has been, for years, irritating the religious world, and infusing poison into the public press. If the hand of suspicion has been pointed at all clergy or laity who have been in any degree undecided in their views, or who have put forward any principles which might be laid hold of by their enemies for the purpose of undermining their influence, it has generally been by Romish agency. We speak from positive knowledge when we say, that a "High-Church" clergyman is certain to find Romanists in his neighbourhood the most active agents in whispering amongst his parishioners false assurances of his agreement with the Church of Rome, or in inflaming Dissenters against him, by a system of lying. Romanism invariably makes Puritanism its tool for the promotion of its own purposes; and pursues with the most deadly animosity the very men who have been courting it on all occasions. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact, as illustrative of the present spirit of Rome, that in precise proportion as it is treated with courtesy and tenderness, it increases in arrogance, violence, and enmity. It has no generosity—no honour—no delicacy. A man loses his honourable feelings, his refinement, his love of truth, when he joins the Church of Rome; and becomes morally and intellectually degraded. He is no longer capable of high, and generous, and honest conduct; but becomes false and crafty, treacherous, insolent, boasting, and full of enmity and evil passions.

In all that has passed within the last few months, there is, we think, instruction for the "High-Church" party generally; but more especially is there instruction for the "Tractarians." They have now seen *who* their enemies really are. They have seen that Romanists have been the chief secret agents in exciting against them the hostility under which they have suffered. Can a system be true, and Christian, which perseveringly employs in its aid treachery and falsehood? Is the spirit which the Church of Rome has manifested towards this section of Churchmen such as

to furnish any reasonable ground of hope that in that Church there is any charitable, large-minded, conciliatory feeling which would lead to any approximation on their part? Are the dealings of Mr. Dodsworth with Dr. Pusey, or of Mr. Gawthorn with Mr. Page and others, such as to encourage any expectation of generosity, honesty, truth, or fairness? Most earnestly and anxiously do we express a hope, that these things may gradually open men's eyes; and in convincing them that it is not for them to influence the Church of Rome, in convincing them that the spirit of Rome is proud, arrogant, ambitious, and intolerant as ever, and that evils which they themselves in some degree discern, are only cherished more and more in that Church, and developed and expanded instead of being corrected or reformed, may lead them to look for union throughout the Church, not by compromises of great truths and principles, not by approximations to grievous error, but to the providence of God, and to his blessing on assiduous efforts to promote his kingdom within those wide regions of the globe, where British freedom and civilization are opening the way for the spread of our pure and orthodox faith. Let the Church of England become pre-eminent in all the fruits of religion, and she will have done the utmost in her power for the restoration of decayed and fallen branches of the Church elsewhere. Let her abundant charity, and zeal, and holiness, be seen, and let her divisions be healed, and she will go forth armed with an authority and a power which her adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist. We have always felt that the only true mode of promoting the extension of Christian union is to cultivate to the highest degree the field in which we are placed, because unless the generous and charitable, healthful and rational spirit of true Christianity be widely diffused, it would be in vain to attempt the correction of errors, or the clearing away of misunderstandings, or the toleration of non-essential differences, since charity and moderation would be speedily overborne by violence and party spirit. And were the spirit of Christianity more widely diffused amongst ourselves, it would remain to be seen whether it existed elsewhere. It is plain that the Church of Rome is destitute of this spirit at present. Its only object is to gain the ascendancy, by any means, however unchristian and unworthy.

The "Tractarian" movement might have been an unmingled blessing to England, if it had been directed by some degree of humility and common sense; but the great defect from beginning to end has been in these points. Time has now disclosed more fully the character of its leader, Newman. Be it remembered that this man it was who, from 1833 to 1845, exercised an

enormous influence over the whole Tractarian party. He was its moving spirit for twelve years; he formed it, directed it, impressed on it the whole character of his erratic genius. It therefore became extravagant and exaggerated from the outset. Good and sound principles were overstrained, until they led to error and absurdity. And not merely was this the case, but every statement was made in the most startling and offensive way. Instead of presenting truth in a conciliating and gentle tone, it was always put forth so as most strongly to arouse prejudice, and to arm intolerance. It was perfectly natural that a course of proceeding so little consistent with Christian charity, humility, or wisdom, should in the first place excite a vehement and exaggerated party spirit of opposition, and eventually become subject itself to all the evils of party spirit. For some years past an active portion of the Tractarian party, that portion which inherits the spirit and principles of Newman, and his associates Ward and Oakeley, has been as decidedly under the influence of party spirit, (to say the least,) as any body of men in England. It is impossible to draw any distinction between their violence, and that of their most extreme opponents. For instance, the tone of a well-known series of letters by D. C. L., which have appeared in the "Morning Chronicle," is quite as bitter as that of the most angry correspondent of the "Record" or the "Church and State Gazette." When a writer of D. C. L.'s station and influence in society, and a leader of religious party, adopts systematically a tone of sarcasm and ridicule in treating of matters affecting the interests of religion, and does not hesitate to indulge in continual diatribes against the episcopate of the Church, it cannot be a matter of surprise to see in so many directions a spirit of bitterness and intolerance, and of an insubordinate and disrespectful tone towards the very best of our bishops. We cannot recall, without some feeling of indignation, the return made by a clergyman in the diocese of Chichester to his bishop, who had with an excess of kindness and consideration decided in his favour on some disputed points of ceremonial which were obnoxious to his parishioners. This clergyman had the bad taste to publish a letter to his bishop, assuring him that had the decision been adverse to him he would not have obeyed it, and we grieve to add, that the proceeding met the approbation of no inconsiderable number of persons calling themselves Churchmen. We have lamented to see much of the same bitter and insubordinate spirit in some recent correspondence between the clergy of a parish in the neighbourhood of Manchester and their bishop; and, also, in the case of St. Saviour's, Leeds, and St. Barnabas, Pimlico. The tone of disobedience, obstinacy, and insult to constituted authorities, manifested in those unhappy correspondences is enough to fill with

shame and astonishment all true members of the Church of England. Alas ! is this to be the end of "Church principles?" Most assuredly, if "Church principles" mean any thing, they do not mean disobedience and enmity to the bishops placed over us. We say emphatically, that no cause which is supported in such a manner, can, or ought to be, successful. An unchristian and turbulent spirit is not a truly Catholic spirit. A "rood-screen" or a "monotone" may be a very right and proper thing in itself; but the man who sets his bishop at defiance, and drives his congregation from the Church, in order to preserve one or the other, is exactly as wise and as charitable as those were who separated from the Church because they could not tolerate a surplice or a square cap.

We cannot too strongly express our sense of the great evils and scandals arising from the publication of angry and disrespectful correspondence between bishops and their clergy; or, indeed, in any evidences of a spirit of resistance on the part of the latter to their bishops' directions, in cases where the directions of the Church are not clear and unquestionable. Bishops, we know, are not infallible: yet they have authority from God and man; and where they do not transgress the plain directions of the Church, there is a strong obligation on the part of the clergy to obey them. And we may feel assured that better and happier results would follow from the sacrifice of private will and judgment to the clear and positive directions of episcopal authority, than by any resistance to it. Experience shows that bishops very rarely interfere in the arrangements of particular parishes; and only do so when they are almost compelled by circumstances: and we should indeed rejoice to see their interference taken with humility, and with cheerfulness; and not regarded as an act of hostility, or resisted in bitterness and obstinacy. It may be severely trying to self to have to relinquish matters of taste, or practices which we judge to be edifying or consolatory; but the conquest over self in submission to authority will, we believe, do more to promote the great ends of all, than any resistance, however able and energetic.

We would avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our strong sense of the general kindness and forbearance with which the bishops have dealt with their clergy. We hear sometimes of "persecutions" against the clergy: but there are some men, unfortunately, to whom it is persecution if they are ever required to submit their own judgments to authority, even while they are avowedly supporters of ecclesiastical authority in the highest sense. The Bishop of London has been involved in much trouble and difficulty at various times, in great degree through his consideration for the "High-Church" clergy. His

Charge of 1841, which brought on him such a storm of opposition and obloquy, was written with the evident object of extending encouragement to those of the clergy who wished to adhere to the Rubrics. What the bishop *permitted*, or *encouraged*, was, however, assumed to be *enjoined*; and the resistance of one set of men to observances which they held to be identified with Tractarianism, was rivalled by the indignation of the opposite party on discovering that the bishop would not enforce his suggestions or recommendations on all his clergy, and that he was not prepared to do so at the hazard of causing a schism in the Church. And yet, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the bishop with all the Tractarian party, his kindness and forbearance towards them has been very great. His long-continued indulgence towards Oakeley, Dodsworth, and others who eventually apostatized, was carried to the utmost extreme of lenity. Had he dealt with those cases as he might at any time have done, he would have gained a great amount of popularity; but he was content to wait with a patience which was really surprising, in the hope of retaining by indulgence those unstable men.

We can remember the time when the Bishop of London was on the point of removing Oakeley from his chapel, and when he refrained in consequence of the interference of a large body of influential persons. The indulgence had no effect in correcting the errors of that miserable apostate. The Bishop of Worcester and the late Bishop of Norwich were decidedly opposed to "High-Church" views, and yet they exhibited much kindness and impartiality in dealing with them. They were as ready to promote High-Churchmen as men of different principles, if they were equally deserving and faithful in the discharge of their duties. Indeed we cannot recollect an instance of a diocese in England in which, whatever may be the views of the bishop, "High-Churchmen" are not fairly and kindly treated, if they are not excessively indiscreet and ill-judging, and are faithfully engaged in their duties. In many dioceses their position is peculiarly happy: they are favoured by their bishop's notice, encouragement, and confidence.

Looking fairly at the actual state of things, we do not see any evidences that more favour is extended to the "Low-Church" party than to men of different views. Its leading clergy are not systematically, on all occasions, sought out, and advanced to leading positions. If the irregularities of some of its adherents are passed over, surely many irregularities in the opposite direction have equally been so. If Baptist Noel was tolerated on one side, Dodsworth, and Oakeley, and others were tolerated on the

other. We see no signs of any harsh dealing with either party; and we feel assured that be their position, individually, pleasant or painful, the "High-Church" clergy, as a body, have reason to feel grateful on the whole for the forbearance and even favour with which they have been treated.

It must surely be admitted, that the continual secessions from "Tractarianism" to the Church of Rome may reasonably be expected to give rise to suspicions, and to excite hostility towards all who in any degree concur in principles with that party. The prejudice against them is natural and unavoidable; and yet the bishops, as a body, do not exclude them from their confidence.

The immense excitement consequent upon the papal aggression, directed, as it was, very much against the Tractarian party, would have enabled any minister, if aided by the bishops, to have carried measures for expelling "High-Churchmen" from the Church. Yet neither minister, nor archbishop, nor bishop, encouraged any of the proposals for so doing. Associations were formed for the purpose of effecting radical reform in the offices of the Church; but the archbishops and bishops stood aloof. The leaders of the Evangelical party in Parliament proposed no plan for the extermination of the opposite party. The archbishop discouraged all movements of that description. Even the associations themselves were permitted, doubtless through the same influence, to fall into abeyance. The archbishops and bishops of England were contented to issue a truly paternal address, in which the clergy were exhorted, indeed, to abstain from urging innovations on the model of the Church of Rome before the Reformation; but in which the continuity of the Church was recognised, and a hope held out of some additional liberty for the Church being possible and desirable. We have seen bishops even in the midst of difficulties, and at the hazard of their own popularity, standing by their clergy, and protecting them against suspicion and obloquy. The Bishop of Salisbury, in particular, distinguished himself by his manly and generous conduct at this crisis. With reference to the views which the episcopate took of the papal aggression, and their strong condemnations of Roman Catholic tenets and practices, it would assuredly be most unreasonable and intolerant to condemn them for speaking the language which they have always spoken, and which the Formularies of the Church of England speak. It may have been unsatisfactory to some section of Churchmen, that the papal aggression was opposed at all. It may have been unsatisfactory to others, that it was not viewed simply as an act of schism, and that the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome were recognised and dwelt on, as the chief reason for

opposing that aggression. It may be that others were displeased to see any recognition of the Royal Supremacy, or any attempt to defend the union of Church and State. But if the episcopate really were persuaded that Rome is grievously in error—that it is our duty to resist her not merely as an intrusive Church, but as a false and unsound guide in religion—and that it is our duty to maintain the royal power, as established by the law, against all foreign aggression—can they be in any degree held blameable for their declarations in the course of the papal aggression? They acted with strict consistency and integrity throughout. They are wholly and entirely free from all just blame in this matter. It would be rather too much to blame the hierarchy for giving expression, at an important crisis, to sentiments which they had always held and avowed.

We are well aware that in thus adhering to the cause of the episcopate of England, we may be regarded by some persons as actuated by a desire to gain the confidence or support of the heads of the Church. We have no such motive in writing thus. Our single motive is, we trust, a higher one. We are anxious for the general welfare of the Church of England; and the character of our episcopate is deeply identified with the most vital interests of the Church. At a period when persons of more than doubtful intentions are engaged in a systematic crusade against the episcopacy in Parliament, it becomes the duty of Christians to endeavour to support as they may their ecclesiastical superiors. The blows aimed at the episcopate by such men as Sir Benjamin Hall and Mr. Horsman, are, we believe, intended for the purpose of overthrowing, and not of reforming, the episcopate. We have watched for some years the proceedings of those pretended friends of the Church, and we have arrived at the conclusion that they are its bitterest enemies; that they are seeking, under the pretence of reforming abuses, to abolish episcopacy altogether. Their unceasing effort is to cast obloquy and contempt on our bishops generally. The whole episcopate, without distinction of parties, is equally made the subject of brutal and unmanly insult, of foul insinuations, of gross accusation. The episcopate is degraded, and exposed to popular contempt and hatred in all ways. We might have believed in the sincerity of these reformers of the Church if we had ever found them engaged in any thing but the work of destruction. But, no! they can slander our bishops, but they are invariably silent or hostile if any proposal is made to promote Church extension, or an increase in the episcopate, or any other practical object for the benefit of the Church. Mr. Horsman can only pull down: he resists all attempts to build up. We denounce this man as an enemy of Episcopacy, and most

earnestly entreat Churchmen not to permit themselves to be made tools for the promotion of his objects. In acting with such men, members of the Church of England would be merely promoting the destruction of their own Church. All true Churchmen are desirous of reforms and improvements in the external arrangements of the Church; but let them beware of those who assail the Church itself through its bishops. Let them promote reform themselves, but let them in all ways discourage and resist the attacks of pretended reformers like Hall and Horsman. We do trust and hope that the clergy and laity of the Church will be prepared, at the right time, to stand by their bishops, and not permit, without an indignant protest, the continuance of the unmanly outrages and absolute *persecution* to which they have been exposed in Parliament. When our hierarchy are openly denounced as "robbers" and "plunderers," there is but one course for the true members of the Church to take. We must throw aside every difference, and join cordially in defence of the common cause.

And with reference to the subject-matter of Mr. Horsman's and Sir Benjamin Hall's attacks on the Church, it may be admitted—we have not the slightest wish to dispute the fact, that some of the sees have proved more productive than had been anticipated when arrangements were made some years since for equalizing episcopal revenues; and that some of the bishops have accordingly received a few hundreds or thousands more than they had expected. Why should these men be grudged the enjoyment of some little advantage, to which they were (it is admitted) most fully entitled both in Law and in Equity? Are they to be denounced as "robbers" for the mere exercise of their legal and unquestionable rights? It would certainly have been a very noble and munificent act in the Bishop of Durham to have handed over the whole improved income of his see to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or in the Bishop of Gloucester to have placed the estate of Horfield in their hands; but we are of opinion, that acts of this kind are of no value, if they are compulsory; and we do say, that those bishops are entirely free from blame in acting on their unquestionable rights. The arrangements made with them may be altered; but until they are altered, no one has any right to get up and accuse them of peculation or dishonesty. The simple fact is, that their estates have been *more productive* than they were a few years since. This is their *sole* crime; the sole foundation of all the malignant and libellous attacks to which they have been subjected. The sees of other bishops have been *less* productive than was expected, and yet Hall and Horsman clamour for their taxation to the same amount as if they had produced the full income anticipated!

We would remind Churchmen, that at a time when Rome is putting forth all her energies in this empire for the absolute destruction and overthrow of our episcopacy, it is most unwise in the friends of the Church to take any part against our bishops. Hall and Horsman are playing the game of the Romanists; and every one who in these times lowers, in any way, the character, the doctrine, the influence, or the authority of our bishops and archbishops, is doing an injury to the Church of England, and endangering its most vital interests. We trust we shall not be misunderstood as advocating any system of slavish and unqualified submission, under all circumstances, to bishops; our only object is to urge the undoubted duty of paying reverence to the rulers who are actually placed over us, and of avoiding, as far as may be, dissension with them, and a seditious and obstinate course of action, and resistance to their authority, and hasty, violent, and intemperate language, which cannot fail seriously to injure the Church at large.

We have read with pain an ill-timed publication, by the Rev. G. Denison, urging the expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords. We believe, indeed, that this publication is not likely to do much harm; but as an indication of the mistaken policy of a certain class of Churchmen, it furnishes cause for regret. These are not times to assail the episcopate, but to defend it. We are sensible of defects; but this is not the moment to proclaim them or exaggerate them. The parliamentary seats of the episcopate, as a symbol of the union between Church and State, now reviving once more, are of value; and with regard to the incomes of the hierarchy, we must say that they are by no means too large for the demands on them; and we would not consent to see them diminished, in any degree, *except for the purpose of extending the episcopate*. For this purpose the Church might consent to the appointment of bishops with smaller incomes.

The position of the Church of England, in relation to the State, has, in our opinion, been changed in no inconsiderable degree by the events of the last year. Whether this alteration is to be permanent—whether it is to lead to its fair and legitimate results—it is impossible to conjecture. But there is so great a change *in principle*, that it appears to demand from Churchmen a corresponding change in their objects and course of proceeding.

There are two points of view in which the relations of the State with religious bodies may be considered.

On the first system—the State claims no supremacy in religion, or at least does not enforce its supremacy. It leaves all religious societies to manage their own affairs, and to enjoy their property without molestation. This *was* the system which had

been gradually and steadily developing itself for the last fifty years in England and Ireland. The Crown had for a long series of years made no attempt to protect its Supremacy. Romanists had denied it, and Dissenters had denied it. Jurisdictions, perfectly independent of the Crown, had been established in the empire. The Supremacy had been gradually narrowed in its operation to the Established Church. Romish bishops had been appointed in Ireland and the colonies by Papal authority, and the Ministers of the Crown in succession had recognised them, endowed them, given them rank and precedence, and in all ways aided them. While the most unbounded liberty was granted to all sects and denominations to manage their own affairs, to set the Royal Supremacy at defiance, and to acquire what property they pleased, the Church of England saw herself deprived even of her legal and constitutional rights of holding synods and convocations; and was placed actually under the legislative jurisdiction of Dissenters and Roman Catholics in Parliament. The same Acts which gave political power to Romanists, placed her under their power. Under these circumstances the Church of England had an unquestionable right to ask, that as the Supremacy was now practically restricted to herself—as the Crown had relinquished its Supremacy over a large part of the nation—and as, consequently, the Supremacy was not necessarily inherent in the Crown—the Church might be so far relieved and partake of the general system of liberty—that her affairs should be no longer liable to interference on the part of persons of a different denomination—that her ecclesiastical tribunals and her legislature should not be composed of individuals alien to her faith. On this principle the Church had an indefeasible claim to free synods, and generally to such alterations as should exempt her from the control of other sects in Parliament or elsewhere. She had a right to ample security for the preservation of her faith and discipline. This, then, is *one* view to take.

But there is another view, of a very different character from this. The State, according to this latter doctrine, has a supremacy in religious matters: a supremacy not merely based on human and changeable laws, but based on the word of God: a supremacy such as the godly kings of the Jews, and such as the Christian emperors exercised. This is a supremacy which is regarded as essentially inherent in the Crown. It is a branch of the regal power. Consequently it extends wherever the regal power extends. It applies equally to all subjects. No sect or religious denomination is exempt from its authority. Such has at all times been the principle of the law of England, ever since it became a Christian state. The temporal power always re-

garded its supremacy as extending to all its subjects. The operation of the supremacy has been in different ages extended or narrowed in its objects; but the *whole nation* has ever been held subject to it in theory. Toleration has given permission to certain classes of the community to be exempt from obedience to institutions or ordinances to which they entertained insuperable objections; but this was merely an act of favour and indulgence, and was not to be considered as any relinquishment of the *rights* of the Crown or State. Those who were so tolerated were not to be permitted to infringe in any degree on the rights of the Crown, or on the establishments which it protected.

This was the old theory and practice of the English Crown, which, however, had been gradually permitted to fall into abeyance: and, moreover, this was the principle embodied in the oath of supremacy, in the canons of the Church of England, in the Thirty-nine Articles, and in the whole of our religious system.

As Churchmen we cannot but express our entire adhesion to this latter theory, as the more Catholic and Christian of the two. Nothing can be more glorious than the notion of kings and queens, who are indeed "nursing fathers" and "nursing mothers" of the Church; of sovereigns who are "defenders of the faith;" of princes who feel their responsibility to God for the care of his Church. Give us such a monarchy as this; give us a monarchy which exercises the same ecclesiastical powers with the same fidelity as Josiah, or Constantine, as Charlemagne, or Elizabeth, and we should have the utmost of our wishes. It is only when the Crown abdicates its supremacy and its duties, and permits its authority to be trampled under foot by every other denomination in the country, that the Church of England is called on to inquire whether such a supremacy as remains is scriptural or sanctioned by the English Church.

Such was the case up to the period of the Papal Aggression. We looked back on the genuine supremacy of the Crown as a power which the Crown had itself virtually abdicated. We, therefore, appealed to the only principle which appeared to be recognised by the Crown and by political parties,—the principle of religious liberty and equality,—and we thence argued that the Church of England had a right to some measure of the same liberty enjoyed by all other denominations. But the case is now altered materially—at least for the present. The modern theories of religious liberty and equality have given way before a sudden and unexpected revival of the old, and genuine, and sound principles of Church and State. The Ministers of the Crown and the leading political parties in the State have, partly through

the efforts of the Church of England to obtain greater freedom, partly through the insults and aggression of the Pope, been awakened to the necessity of upholding the Royal Supremacy. They have at length become aware that in recognising popish bishops as on the same footing with our own bishops they are giving up the *principle* which alone preserves the appointment of bishops to the Crown. For if popish bishops are bishops of England, it is plain that the consent of the Crown is not essentially necessary to the creation of English bishops; and, moreover, if the Pope is permitted openly, and in the face of the world, to exercise full and uncontrolled jurisdiction over Romanists in this empire, the Royal Supremacy is ousted as far as concerns a large portion of the Queen's subjects; and the question then occurs, On what *principle* can it be maintained over the remainder?

The State generally, as a whole, having revived the old principle of the royal supremacy over *all subjects* throughout the empire,—having by its prohibition of popish bishoprics asserted the right of the State to interfere in the religious concerns of others besides the Church of England,—having evinced by the same Act its determination to maintain the rights of the established episcopate in England and Ireland,—we are of opinion that the position of Churchmen is most materially changed, and that principles and views which would have been very applicable a year ago are by no means so at the present time.

The union of Church and State, which has been long giving way, has been suddenly revived and restored by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. It is now no longer possible to say with truth, that while the Church of England is fettered, all other denominations are permitted an unbounded liberty. Restraint has been put on Romanism: the State has met the Romish denials of the Royal Supremacy by the most convincing of all arguments. It has put the supremacy *in exercise* over Romanists: it will not tolerate their bishops as rivals of the established hierarchy: it dictates the position which their bishops shall assume. It has not, as yet, enacted any laws for the regulation of nunneries or monasteries, or for the prevention of Romish synods; but it does not, in the slightest degree, doubt its power to interfere in such matters. It *annuls* Papal bulls without ceremony; and here again asserts its supremacy in the broadest way over Romanists; at the same time denying and repudiating that of the see of Rome. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill includes in it the whole principle of the Royal Supremacy in its most extended sense. It utterly rejects the notions of the Roman Catholics who imagine themselves to be exempted from the royal supremacy. It coin-

cides with the old law of England, and with the whole theory on the subject enunciated by the Church of England in her formularies. If this law be not a mere hypocrisy—it cuts from beneath our feet all the causes of complaint grounded on the absolute immunity and freedom granted to all other denominations when compared with our own subjugation.

What has actually occurred, appears to us to render any appeal to the principles of civil and religious liberty on behalf of the Church of England wholly unfitting at present. It has become a political anachronism. At present, the principle of unbounded religious liberty is not in the ascendant: it is overborne by the Protestant principle; and there is not the slightest prospect of success in England by running right in the teeth of public opinion, more especially when that opinion is true and sound.

It is for this reason that we cannot but express some regret at the course pursued to a considerable extent by that part of the press which is favourable to the rights of the English Church, and by several of the advocates of those rights in Parliament. They opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill because they perceived that it was cutting down the principle of religious liberty, to which they had been appealing on behalf of the Church of England. But, in so doing, they placed themselves in a false position, and, according to all appearances, instead of adopting the popular principle, as they had previously done, they threw themselves in opposition to it. Whether they will be justified by the event, it is indeed impossible to predict; but, if the new impulse given to legislation—to political parties—to the press—and to the public mind—be no transient or uncertain one, but be renewed and developed by circumstances;—if the insolence, turbulence, and arrogant assumptions of Romanism—if the lapse of individuals from our own communion—if the religious extravagances of some Churchmen, are likely to foment and keep alive the national feeling—if the pride of the Romish party, inflated by the successes of so many years, is not likely to brook or forgive the check they have now sustained, but will probably lead to continued enmity and resistance to the liberal party—then we have before us the prospect of the continuance of the Protestant feeling of England, and, as a consequence, the strengthening of the union between Church and State. The State will be thrown into closer union with the Church; and Romanism will be kept down. In this case, how are we to proceed? It would be useless to appeal to the principles of religious liberty and equality in such circumstances. The Church could only appeal to the State on religious and constitutional grounds for the restoration of those ancient constitutional rights of synodical action, which were enjoyed in

times when the royal prerogative stood even higher than it now does—in the time of the Tudors and Stuarts. We should have to point out the unreasonableness of transferring the discussion of all matters from a convocation consisting of members of the Church of England, and summoned and confirmed by the Crown—to an assembly composed of persons of all creeds, and therefore incapable of entering fully and efficiently into the most important concerns of the Church. But even here the State may do much to silence our claims. If we should see it pursuing a steady course in maintaining the royal supremacy over Romanists—if we should feel its fostering care in the appointment of zealous and holy bishops, in the development of our discipline, the augmentation of our episcopate, the extension of our parochial system, the faithful exercise of power for the welfare of the Church—then we should have less ground to complain of the evils entailed by the suspension of the Church's synodical action.

Time however will, ere long, tell, whether the State is to resume and preserve its rightful power, or to abdicate it, and to deliver itself into the hands of Romanism. If it should be so, if the principle of liberty is to replace that of the Crown's ecclesiastical supremacy, the Church of England will be compelled to appeal to that principle in self-protection, in common with all other bodies. The principles of religious liberty cannot be refused their legitimate application in the case of the English Church. If she is driven to this extremity by the cowardice and want of principle which refuses to claim for the Crown its most sacred rights of supremacy, she cannot be blamed for acting in such a mode as will then be evidently essential to the preservation of her religion and discipline.

We trust that enough has been said to explain the reasons on which we decline at present to take any part in urging the claims of the Church of England on any grounds common to us with persons of all religious denominations in the empire. Our position is changed at present. The Ministers of State have evinced a practical regard for the welfare of the Church by refusing to expel from its communion the "High-Church" party. They have discouraged divisions within our borders, while they have repelled the enemies of the Church and State. The chiefs of the opposition party in Parliament have vied with the ministry in their services to the Church, and have even exceeded them, in some degree, in zeal against the Papal Aggression. Proposals for Church extension have been favourably received. Church societies have been patronised by leading politicians. The whole tendency and effect of the Papal Aggression, and the legislation consequent on it, has been to strengthen the union between

Church and State,—to give the Church greater influence,—to diminish to a great extent the hostility of Dissenters. It should be the policy of Churchmen, in our opinion, to take advantage of the opportunity, and to work for the Church as far as they may. At present, indeed, the “High-Church” party can do but little: its usefulness has been most grievously injured by the secessions to Rome from an extreme section, which have thrown suspicion over every one who is not almost an Ultra-Protestant. We are, therefore, deeply thankful that there is a party in the Church with whose views, indeed, we are unable to concur on all points; but, nevertheless, a party which commands public confidence so far as to have the means of doing good service to the Church. We rejoice that there are men like Lords Shaftesbury, Blandford, and Harrowby, Messrs. Kingscote, Colquhoun, &c., and other noblemen, and gentlemen, and clergy of similar views, who are unsuspected, and who are disposed to act on behalf of the Church. We earnestly trust that when Lord Shaftesbury brings forward his intended motion next session for Church extension including an increase of the episcopate, that portion of the Church which may differ from him in some points, will not be withheld by any overstrained notions or any personal prejudices, from strengthening his hands to the utmost. It may be very true that the development of our parochial or episcopal system should, in point of theoretical propriety, be initiated or carried out by the synods of the Church; but we have arrived at a crisis, when we must not throw away opportunities of gaining large practical benefits, because we cannot previously obtain the restoration of the Church’s liberties. The extension of the Church by Parliamentary power, would not diminish the force of our argument for the revival of synods for *other* purposes. In God’s name let us, for once, show, that we can act together for the general cause, and let it be seen that we have some common sense remaining amongst us. Let Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Blandford be cordially supported by “High-Churchmen,” when they are attempting to carry out some of the great objects for which all Churchmen have long sought in vain.

In conclusion we will adopt the words of a zealous and earnest writer of the evangelical school¹:—

“The Word of God contains several instances of the beneficial results of a revival of religion. In most cases the effect was transitory, and the people relapsed into their former condition; where the impression has been permanent, the most important consequences have followed. It is difficult to fix with precision the particular change which would

¹ A Revival of Spiritual Religion, &c. By the Rev. D. Wilson.

be thus brought about in our own day, or to say how such a revival would operate in the accomplishment of the glorious purposes of God for his Church. . . . The ground which I take is, that this is precisely the moment when such a revival would have, with God's blessing, the greatest possible effects. It would be a balm for the Church's wounds. It would be an effectual remedy against impending perils. The present zeal, and activity, and impulse given to religion, if directed into the right channel, would be most effective. The sails, as it were, of the vessel are set; it is ably manned; it is thoroughly equipped for service; we first require the favouring breath of heaven to fill the canvas, and she will prosper in her course. Let me touch on a few points in which a religious revival would be likely to show itself. A prevailing desire would be awakened throughout the Church to glorify the Lord Christ. Party spirit would gradually give way to a predominant aim to advance the glory of the Divine Redeemer. The effect of such a feeling spreading widely among us, would be, beyond conception, important."

The general spread of personal religion would indeed do more to promote the triumph of truth than any dependence on the powers of learning or of intellect. It would enable men to look above the formalism which in every direction is diverting our attention from the substance and essence of religion—would protect us equally from bigotry and narrow-mindedness on the one hand, and from a latitudinarian and sceptical disposition on the other—above all, would enable us to treat our differences, where they do exist, in a courteous and charitable spirit, without bitterness and without enmity.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. *Casa Guidi Windows*. By E. B. Browning. 2. Newman's Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England. 3. *The Scarlet Letter*. By N. Hawthorne. 4. Hon. W. E. Gladstone's Letters to Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government. 5. *Memoirs of W. Wordsworth, Poet Laureate*. By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. 6. *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. By Rev. T. Lewin. 7. Sharpe's Seven Periods of English Architecture defined and illustrated. 8. *The Botanical Looker-out among the Wild Flowers of England and Wales*. By E. Lees, Esq. 9. *The Elements of the Gospel Harmony*. By B. F. Westcott, Esq. 10. Dr. Wordsworth's Occasional Sermons. 11. *The Personality of the Tempter, and other Sermons*. By Dr. Vaughan. 12. *Gresley's Ordinance of Confession*. 13. *A Devotional Commentary on the Morning and Evening Services in the Prayer Book*. By Dr. James. 14. Brett's Indian Missions in Guiana. 15. Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*. 16. *Thoughts on the Land of the Morning*. 17. *The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Young Members of the English Church*. 18. Kettlewell's *Catechism of Gospel History*. 19. Bickersteth's *Means of Grace*. 20. Palin's *History of the Church of England*. 21. Fairbairn's *Exposition of Ezekiel*. 22. Mrs. Toogood's *History of Greece*. 23. *On the State of Man subsequent to Christianity*. 24. *The Time of Affliction*. By the Rev. R. Meek. 25. Chilcott's *Practical Treatise concerning Evil Thoughts*. 26. Romanism unknown to Primitive Christianity. 27. *Hymni Ecclesiæ*. 28. *The Followers of the Lord*. By the Rev. J. M. Neale. 29. *Alison's Second Reformation*. 30. Gaspy's *Lyrics and Meditations*. 31. *Pleasures, Objects, and Advantages of Literature*. 32. Chamberlain's *Theory of Christian Worship*. 33. *The Church in the Schoolroom*. By the Rev. L. J. Bernays. 34. Britton's *Horæ Sacramentales*. 35. Marshall's *Collection of Anthems*. 36. Walcott's *English Ordinal*. 37. *On the Unity and Order of the Epistles of St. Paul*. By the Rev. A. T. Paget. 38. Olshausen's *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles*. 39. *Manual of the Antiquities of the Church*. 40. Brown's *Defence of Revealed Religion*. 41. Bridge's *Mirror of History*. 42. Coleridge's *Essays and Marginalia*. 43. *Lectures on the Study of Theology*. By Rev. C. P. Chretien. 44. *A History of the Articles of Religion*. By Charles Hardwick, M.A. 45. *The Gospel of St. Luke Illustrated*. By Rev. J. Ford. 46. *Verses for 1851*. By Rev. E. Hawkins. 47. Neale's *History of Greece for Young Persons*. 48. *The Bible Unveiled*. 49. *The State of the Departed*. By A. Young, M.A. 50. *Sermons*. By Rev. J. Edmunds. 51. *A Selection of English Synonyms*. 52. *Sermons*. By Rev. W. Hitchens. 53. *Miscellanies*. 54. *Stories of Holy Men and Women*. 55. *Leaves of the Tree of Life*. 56. *Pierre Poussin*. By W. E. Heygate, M.A. 57. *Parochial Papers*. 58. *Thoms's Dissertation*. 59. *Report of the Committee on Life-Boat Models*. 60. Finlay's *History of Greece*. 61. *Consecration and Desecration*. 62. *Arnold's First Hebrew Book*. 63. *The Jewish School and Family Bible*. 64. *The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*. 65. *Short Forms of Prayer for Family or Private Devotion*. 66. *Exposition of the Principal Motives which induced me to leave the Church of Rome*. 67. *Tales of the Empire*. By Rev. J. Baines, M.A. 68. *Principles of Ecclesiastical Buildings and Ornaments*. 69. *The New Testament Expounded*. By Clement Moody, M.A. 70. *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*. 71. *Two Sad Deaths on one Sabbath*. 72. *Bandinel's Idolatrous Apostasy*. 73. *De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus*. 74. *Dr. Pusey's Rule of Faith*. 75. *Poems and Tales*. 76. *Montagu's Psalms*. 77. *The Jansenists*. By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D.—Miscellaneous.

1.—*Casa Guidi Windows. A Poem.* By ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1851.

GRAND in parts, and fervid every where, is this new work of Mrs. Browning's, and yet we think it scarcely worthy of her; not that

we are too Tory, or too orthodox, to sympathize with her denunciations, either of the absolutist rulers of the Continent, or of that sham pope, Pius :—

“ For, Tories as we are, and Churchmen too,
True Freedom rests for aye our souls’ ambition ! ”

but because art, art of a high and genial order, seems to us to be sadly lacking in this last production of the lady’s muse ; nay, we must even question its poetic inspiration. If, indeed, mere intensity of indignation, and height of scorn, and depth of sympathy could constitute such inspiration, then would this poem be absolutely overflowing with the divine afflatus : but it is not so ; a man or a woman may feel deeply, and rhyme angrily, and assail fiercely, and yet produce indifferent poetry after all. And this, it seems to us, has been the case with Mrs. Browning in the present instance. We say, it seems—for in the works of a poet of real genius (and as such we recognise Mrs. Browning most gladly) there must, almost of necessity, be much that is beautiful ; and the critic, who can scarcely be too ardent in his praises of the beautiful (such is our critical faith), should always shrink from too sweeping a condemnation of what he may be judging hastily and prematurely—of what the author must have considered far more deeply than himself. Fortunately, however, the critic need not pretend to be infallible, and we wish to speak with all becoming modesty on the present occasion. But to revert to our charge, art seems to us to be missing here, as well as lyrical impulse. Had we been asked to express our sense of the one most marked characteristic of Mrs. Browning’s genius, we should certainly have specified that bounding freedom of ringing melody, that open-hearted genial power of pouring forth the unpremeditated music of the heart, that happy, and sometimes majestic, sometimes exquisitely tender, adaptation of the sound to the sense,—which we have admired, for instance, in her “ Rhyme of the Duchess May,” her “ Lady Geraldine’s Courtship,” her “ Cry of the Children,” or her magnificent “ Dead Pan.” That lyric impulse, which seemed to demonstrate that she sang for singing’s sake, was what we had a right to look for, as we imagined, in all of Mrs. Browning’s poems. In those of her poet-husband’s, on the contrary,—missing this quality for the most part at least, we looked for some quality possibly more valuable, viz. a certain extraordinary ease and naturalness of manner, combined with intense dramatic power and fervour, deep thought, or burning ardour, flashing, or let us rather say, ringing, from every close and burnished line. But Browning has been wont to achieve his greatest effects by passion, rather than by melody of rhythm : if he possesses the true faculty of song, he does not often exercise it. Mrs. Browning has felt,

on the contrary, most justly, that therein lay her strength ; or, rather, her poetic instincts and impulses have compelled her to pour forth her soul in unpremeditated lyric melodies, where the sound was not only an echo to the sense, but became, in itself also, a source of passion and of beauty. Take as an instance from that most exquisite of poems, "Cowper's Grave," these lines :—

"O poets! from a maniac's tongue, was pour'd the deathless singing!
O Christians! at your cross of hope, a hopeless hand was clinging!
O men! this man, in brotherhood, your weary paths beguiling,
Groan'd inly while he taught you peace, and died while ye were smiling!

"And now, what time ye all may read through dimming tears his story,
How discord on the music fell, and darkness on the glory,
And how, when one by one, sweet sounds and wandering lights departed,

He wore no less a loving face because so broken-hearted ;

"He shall be strong to sanctify the poet's high vocation,
And bow the meekest Christian down in meeker adoration :
Nor ever shall he be, in praise, by wise or good forsaken ;
Named softly, as the household name of one whom God hath taken."

Surely we need not say that one great charm of this is, its being a gush of natural song ; and still less need we point attention to the nevertheless important fact (usually an indispensable mark of good poetry), that the sense almost invariably ends with the line, and is not carried on by two or three words into the next. Now, it is against this fundamental canon of poetry that Robert Browning may be said to sin systematically ; but then he yields us such compensation in the dramatic power and intense reality of his strains, that we are contented to raise no quarrel with him upon the subject ; though we cannot refrain from adding, that it is mainly from the extreme indulgence in this one bad habit (as in itself we must consider it), that his "Sordello" is of such marvellously tough digestion. In "The Lost Leader," and some few other poems, Mr. Browning has condescended to bow to the ordinary laws of metre, or rather of *metrical poetry* (for his metre, in itself, is always admirable) ; and in these instances he has achieved the lyrically beautiful : in general he does not aim at this goal ; he contents himself with being dramatic and terribly in earnest ; he is poetical in conception and expression, only not lyrical. Of course this remark applies to his rhymes, and not to his blank verse, which has a charming cadence of its own. But, woe to relate ! Mrs. Browning is not contented with being Elizabeth Barrett Browning ; she will be Robert Browning also : not possessing ("absque invidia," be it said) his concentrated powers of thought and passion (we are quite sure that she would be the

first to concur in this opinion), she has nevertheless emulated his dramatic method of delivery, and has thereby sacrificed her own fresh melody of song. Her new poem is written systematically on the principle of not ending the sense with the line ; and we are consequently compelled to own that we think it a clever, occasionally passionate, and here and there powerful, political talkification, or rhymed manifesto, in which we may discern, indeed, sundry poetical thoughts and images, (certain of them spoilt in the delivery by an excess of 19th-century mannerism, a bigmouthed oracle style of talk too much in fashion with the poets of the day, Tennyson and Mrs. Browning in particular), a vast amount of sympathy with Italy, and many bursts of just acorn for Young Italy, and of execration for tyrants,—but very little *poetry* ! we are sorry to say so. We would have given these 140 eloquent pages for two or three of some genuine passionate *lyric* on the wrongs and woes of Italy ; such another as the “Cry of the Children ;” some gush of heart’s-music which might have found a world-wide echo. We are vexed that Mrs. Browning should thus forfeit, wilfully and of “malice prepense,” her own especial prerogative ; and we entreat Mr. Browning to exert his conjugal authority to constrain (if need be) a reversion to the melodies of old ; that each of these true bards may shine on, in his or her true sphere, without encroaching needlessly upon the other’s dominions. Here is the opening of “Casa Guidi Windows ;” it will more than justify, we think, all that we have spoken :—

“I heard last night a little child go singing
 ‘Neath Casa Guidi windows, by the church,
 ‘O bella libertà, O bella!’ stringing
 The same words *still on notes he went in search*
So high for, you concluded the upspringing
Of such a nimble bird to sky from perch
Must leave the whole bush in a tremble green :
 And that the heart of Italy must beat
 While such a voice had leave to rise serene
 ‘Twixt church and palace of a Florence street !”

Now setting aside the pretty extravagance, as we must consider it, of this idea—this, we say emphatically, is scarcely poetry : there seems little genuine impulse in it ; we do not hear the lyre sounding in our ears ; these are clever rhymes, so it seems at least to us, and nothing more. Of course the “Athenæum,” with its usual discernment, thinks them most powerfully poetical : of course the “Leader” is in raptures : but some praises are the severest censures. “Casa Guidi Windows,” as it appears to us, might just as well have been indited in prose—nay, better ; and animated, graphic, heart-stirring prose this manifesto would have made, though it lacks the essence of poetry, viz. *condensation* of thought,

feeling, and expression. In Robert Browning's lyric or rather dramatic strains we hear our hearts throb with almost every syllable, and this passionate reality it is which makes amends for the lyrical beauty that is deficient: now Mrs. Browning's political indignation, strong as it is, cannot take the place of those more personal passions which her husband has so powerfully expressed, and that, be it remembered, in brief poems, and at their crowning moments of development. We repeat, that it is our impression, that animated, passionate prose, would, in this instance, have struck a deeper key, and have proved more likely to achieve its end, that of regenerating the heart of Italy. We have not poetry before us: we have hope, and hopeful memories, if we may so say, blent with passionate fears and sad anticipations; and we have anger also, and scorn, and prophecy, but the inspiration of song has rarely crowned the singer. Strange and fantastic metaphors, and somewhat transcendental epithets, (we speak roughly,) are scarcely poetry. Calling Italy "impassioned nympholept of her own past," is scarcely poetry; though the critics may indulge in endless raptures, and score and underscore, as they are well-nigh certain to do, all those phrases which breathe the full-blown mannerism of the nineteenth century, with its vague vastness and artificial quaintness of epithet. Because Alfred Tennyson is really wonderfully happy on this last score, though even *he* fatigues us with this happiness, every versemonger now is on the perpetual search for single sounding lines or startling adjectives; and critics applaud them rapturously who are utterly blind to the artistic grandeur of a whole; who can sneer, for instance, unhappy creatures! at such an epic as Southey's "Roderick." The "Edinburgh" said the other day, oracularly, and with an air of pains-taking condescension, that Southey was an amiable poet, but unhappily no artist, and that nothing he had done would *live*. Who *are* these unhappy men who persist in addressing their pens with honest Dogberry, "Write me down an ass!" This age has its mannerism, and a very sounding mannerism it is; and he who will not pay tribute to its false gods or true, must look for long neglect and vulgar scorn. Not that we would speak of Tennyson or the Brownings as "false gods;" far from it: we admire them all three exceedingly, but that, despite their mannerism and tendencies to oracular bigmouthedness, and not on the score of these things. We feel it necessary to protest against a deluge of "artistic" verbiage which threatens to overwhelm us; the herd of critics and of poetasters discern the salient mannerisms of true poets, and they are the only things they do discern; and these mannerisms they set up as the standard by which to measure all poetry. There is power, real power, however, in "Casa Guidi

Windows;" there are many fine thoughts, and some few beautiful images, and there is a vast amount of political earnestness. Many strong speeches are uttered, and some true. Popery is dealt with unsparingly, and all visible Churches are condemned apparently for the sake of her of Babylon. Pius is anathematised; the Grand Duke Leopold of Florence is reviled; so, on the other hand, are the talkative young republicans of Italy, ever more ready with the word than with the deed: who maintain, concerning themselves, in the justly bitter words of our authoress,

" If we did not fight
Exactly, we fired muskets up the void,
To show that victory was our's of right!"

One of the noblest passages in the poem is that near the close, concerning King Charles Albert of Sardinia, who died, it will be remembered, so speedily after his abdication. We will extract it, though entering a protest at the same time against the rather inflated admonition to Italian patriots not to consider themselves demeaned by brotherhood with true-hearted and freedom-loving royalty; we do not think a king's name is a word of shame, little as we sympathise with continental despotism.

" Yea, verily, Charles Albert has died well :
And if he lived not all so, as one spoke,
The sin pass softly with the passing bell.
For he was shriven, I think, in cannon smoke,
And, taking off his crown, made visible
A hero's forehead. Shaking Austria's yoke
He shatter'd his own hand and heart. ' So best,'
His last words were upon his lonely bed,—
' I do not end like popes and dukes at least—
Thank God for it.' And now that he is dead,
Admitting it is proved and manifest
That he was worthy, *with a discrown'd head*,
To measure heights with patriots, let them stand
Beside the man in his Oporto shroud,
And each *vouchsafe* to take him by the hand,
And kiss him on the cheek, and say aloud,
' Thou, too, hast suffer'd for our native land!
My brother, thou art one of us. Be proud.'"

So much for the self-esteem of the democracy! to whose ranks Mrs. Browning, once a good royalist, seems to have deserted: we say, *seems*, for poetic sympathies are only apparently exclusive, and are not always lasting. That the wrongs of Italy are great, we do believe; but we look upon its rulers as quite as much the victims of national and ecclesiastical degeneracy, as are any of their subjects: and we scarcely think "big talk," and "procla-

mations à la Mazzini" of some Utopian greatness to be realized by a mere outreaching of the hand, likely to regenerate a nation. This regeneration must be the stern work of suffering and of years, and, we may add, of religious reformation also ; for until the degrading superstitions of Rome are trampled down, most especially that vile system of indulgence-seeking, which constitutes the popular religion of Italy, we cannot hope or believe that liberty will prove the child of revolution. In conclusion, we would entreat Mrs. Browning to *sing* indeed, and that her own wild notes, not verifying too literally her own fable of "The Poet and the Nightingale." She will know what we mean. No more distressing politics, we hope, at least not treated after this quasi-poetic fashion, but rather songs breathing of the heart's affections, sweetly and wildly fantastic, as her "Brown Rosary," if she will, tenderly and pathetically passionate as the "Year's Spinning," or "Catarina to Camoens."

II.—*Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England: addressed to the Brothers of the Oratory.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., *Priest of the Congregation of St. Philip Neri.* *Lecture I. Protestant View of the Catholic Church.* London: Burns and Lambert.

"I have long dreamt of such a kind of man!"

What more should we say? Here is John Henry Newman's answer to those grave and numberless charges brought against the Church of Rome, which unite in designating her, in her present aspect, as "her of the seven hills," who bears the cup of sorcery and abomination in her outstretched hand: of proved idolatry; of admitted creature-worship. Here is his answer: "a fool-born jest" against the British constitution! Is it not charity to end as we began?

"I know thee not, old man: fall to thy prayers!—
How ill white hairs become a fool, and jester!"

III.—*The Scarlet Letter, a Romance.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. London: Routledge. 1851.

QUAINT and passionate at once is this very powerful tale; spite of its strange horrors, an air of reality pervades it; it is an original creation, of which America may be proud, for which England may be grateful. This is a tale of sin, but also one of fearful punishment, and the human heart, with all its strength and weakness, is therein most graphically delineated. We cannot wonder at the excitement which the appearance of this book has caused in literary as well as in fashionable circles: to both it

brings something new and strange, a novel experience of humanity. So strongly are we impressed with a sense of the literary merits of "The Scarlet Letter," that we are inclined to rate its author above all the authors of America, excepting only Washington Irving, and perhaps Longfellow and Fenimore Cooper. An article might well be devoted to this one tale, had we the needful time and space at our command; and indeed we despair of giving a sufficient notion of its qualities within the limited space of such a critical sketch as we would now attempt to furnish. Mr. Hawthorne preludes his passionate and deeply earnest story, with its many episodes of romantic and fantastic beauty, by a gravely humoristic account of his own life, as the surveyor for three years of an American custom-house,—from his experience of which he does not appear to have derived any warm affection for the service of the great republic. Thus he speaks of its eagle, or national symbol, in the course of his description of the said custom-house, its front, and portico:—

"Over the entrance hovers an enormous specimen of the American eagle, with outspread wings, a shield before her breast, and, if I recollect aright, a bunch of intermingled thunderbolts and barbed arrows in each claw. With the customary infirmity of temper that characterises this unhappy fowl, she appears by the fierceness of her beak and eye, and the general truculency of her attitude, to threaten mischief to the inoffensive community; and especially to warn all citizens, careful of their safety, against intruding on the premises which she overshadows with her wings. Nevertheless, vixenly as she looks, many people are seeking at this very moment to shelter themselves beneath the wings of the federal eagle; imagining, I presume, that her bosom has all the softness and snugness of an eiderdown pillow. But she has no great tenderness, even in her best of moods, and sooner or later—oftener soon than late—is apt to fling off her nestlings, with a scratch of her claw, a dab of her beak, or a rankling wound from her barbed arrows."

Emphatically choice and elegant is Mr. Hawthorne's *style*, free from all vulgar Americanisms of thought or expression, though here and there we come upon a strangely-sounding word, invariably a good one, we aver, which is a positive acquisition to our language: his phrases are admirably turned, his language is most happily balanced, and it is neither coarse nor artificial. The tale must move the heart of every reader, and that we trust beneficially: it gives us an insight into the inherent weakness and baseness of our nature; it demonstrates powerfully that sin must reap the harvest, woe. To clerical readers it is the more interesting, inasmuch as a clergyman is the chief sinner, and the hero; one, who errs in a moment of passion, and atones by a life

of secret suffering, and finally—but we do not wish to forestall the reader's pleasure by revealing the issue of this interesting and exciting tale. It is fraught from first to last with passages of earnest thought, of deep and solemn meditation; it betrays a most accurate knowledge of humanity. Many of the conversations recorded in it are stirring and dramatic in a very high degree. The chief personages,—the erring clergyman, the Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale, so meek and yet so fervent, so nervously sensitive and yet so passionate, endowed with such high gifts but burthened with the fatal consciousness of sin;—the unhappy partner of his guilt, so lofty and seemingly self-possessed, internally so fiercely agonized by woe;—her originally calm and learned husband, who from the pursuit of an ill end becomes at last a very fiend;—the wondrous elf-child, Pearl, who positively bewitches while she startles the reader and fills him with a mysterious awe,—these four characters stand out from the canvas, with hues too distinct, with form and bearing too real, to be easily forgotten by those who have gazed upon and grown interested in them. The background of the dim forest with its weird witch-mysteries, the framework of Puritanic sternness and harshness of mood, enhance the merits of the portraiture. The tale is one, the memory of which clings to you, and will not soon depart; a ghost of passions which have found repose in the cold quiet grave, but seem resuscitated here, a solemn warning against evil, a picture of wintry desolation, fraught with a solemn and unearthly beauty.

We have said that this book is original; yet it will not fail to remind the reader of the "*Amber Witch*," from a certain similarity in the general nature of the background, that Puritan Protestant world amidst which all passes; with the same witch-like element predominant in the German author, but only felt here and there, like a cold whiff from the charnel-house, in the composition of Mr. Hawthorne.

Since we wrote the above we have perused a second work of this author's just published, which we will not now proceed to criticise; we like it however less than its predecessor. It is entitled "*The House of the Seven Gables*;" and it errs by a finical indulgence in details which is here and there tedious, as well as by exhibiting an exultation in the death of an unhappy man, "*Judge Pyncheon*," who dies in his sins, which exultation is not only painful, but, we must say, brutal also; it shocked us in the perusal, and compels us to retract our assertion, that there is nothing vulgarly American,—in the very worst sense American,—in Mr. Hawthorne's writings. Nevertheless he remains a man of genius; and his compositions, which are both of them fraught with power of a high order, deserve far more careful and far minuter criticism than we can bestow upon them here. He is a miniature-

painter among romancists; but his miniatures are very highly coloured, and not lacking in force or even breadth of style. We shall take leave of him with the quotation of this characteristic passage from his last production:—

“ If we look through all the heroic fortunes of mankind, we shall find this same entanglement of something mean and trivial with whatever is noblest in joy or sorrow. Life is made up of marble and mud. And without all the deeper trust in a comprehensive sympathy above us, we might hence be led to expect the insult of a sneer, as well as an immitigable frown, on the iron countenance of fate. What is called poetic insight is the gift of discerning in this sphere of strangely-mingled elements the beauty and the majesty which are compelled to assume a garb so sordid.”

IV. — *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. for the University of Oxford. Fourth Edition. London: Murray. 1851.

IF any English constitutionalists, or English Tories, which we take to be well-nigh convertible terms, have allowed themselves to be deluded into the supposition that they are bound to sympathize with foreign absolute governments in their proceedings against the nations groaning under their sway, we entreat them to peruse the two letters before us, and to open their eyes at last. The system of monarchical iniquity therein laid bare to the public gaze is almost too fearful to contemplate. No doubt, as Mr. Gladstone reminds us, the present Governments of Austria and of Prussia are not ferocious and sanguinary as that of Naples; civilization has made too great advances in Germany to render this possible. Thanks to what, we would inquire, is that civilization so far “en arrière” in Italy, that its governments can adopt, are almost driven by the fatal necessity of their position to adopt, such a frightful system of despotic terrorism,—if it be not ascribable to the full, the unrestricted influence of that Popery, to which Mr. Gladstone is so courteous in the letters before us? But passing from this digression, the greater absolute monarchies of Europe appear to be under the influence of public opinion; the ruler of one of them at least, Frederic William of Prussia, is, in our estimation, a just and a good man; and yet we fear, that if, from a dread of democratic sway, these monarchies should be induced to check a free constitutional development of law and order, after the model of our own country, then they too will be positively driven to assume an attitude of hostility to all mental progress whatsoever, and indeed to mind itself under every shape and form. But, in the meanwhile, the practical horrors of the despotism under which the unhappy Neapolitans, and, we may add, the, if possible, still

more unhappy Romans, are groaning, cannot be exaggerated: contemplating the picture honestly and calmly placed before us by Mr. Gladstone, we can but cry with the souls beneath the altar, "How long, O Lord, how long?" All words were lost upon such detestable enormities.

We need not quote such a pamphlet as this, which has probably passed through the hands of almost all our readers, and the value of which, as the evidence of a disinterested observer, an English gentleman, and a Conservative of Mr. Gladstone's cautious temperament, can scarcely be over-estimated. We would only point attention to the fact that the one broad denial of Mr. Gladstone's statements, the one unqualified defence of the wicked Neapolitan Government which has appeared, with the exception of Mr. Macfarlane's weak "brochure," has come to light in the organ of the French "parti prêtre," that is, the most Roman Catholic paper of France, and has borne the signature of "M. Jules Gondou," a gentleman on whom a contemporary, "The Theologian and Ecclesiastic," but very recently bestowed the highest praises. Can nothing open the eyes of our besotted fellow-Churchmen (and we know not from quarter to quarter whether we shall be able to hail them by that name) to the true character of those, who treat them with contemptuous opprobrium, and who are ever to be found on the side of wickedness throughout the world, sworn advocates of all vilest abuses, sold to the service of iniquity?

v.—*Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, D.C.L.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. In 2 vols. London: Moxon.

THE Life of Wordsworth was an undertaking that any man might well have felt reluctant to commence, from the expectation which would naturally be formed by the public, and the real difficulty of meeting it. The greatest of our modern poets, whose deep philosophy and exquisite perceptions created a new world around us, and infused poetry into the most insignificant objects, whose moral teaching calmed and elevated the mind, and prepared the way for meditation on those truths of revelation which formed the foundation of his own hopes, passed through life, surrounded by few of those circumstances which lend peculiar interest to biography. Little of adventure or of change characterized his lengthened career. More fortunate than Southey, he was comparatively early placed, through the aid of friends, in circumstances of independence, which left him exempt from the necessity of employing his pen for the support of his family. That aid was, indeed, productive of the noblest fruits—of those immortal writings which gradually raised his name to the highest pinnacle of earthly

renown. But Wordsworth was right when he remarked that a poet's life is in his writings. It was so in his own case most completely: the poetry is every thing; the man, apart from his poems, comparatively nothing. His life was subordinate to the great objects and exertions which made him what he was. He lived in contemplation and in congenial society, spending his hours in simple pursuits, amidst the rocks, and woods, and mountains of his chosen abode; or in excursions to other lands, and scenes of beauty and ancient fame. His poetry all bore relation to these habits and scenes, and his biographer and relative, Dr. Wordsworth, has done wisely, we think, in following the thread supplied by his poems, and arranging the incidents of his life in connexion with them. He has thus given importance to circumstances in themselves of very slight interest; for the course of Wordsworth's life was scarcely to be distinguished from that of any other man of education resident in the country, and capable of enjoying its beauties.

The correspondence of the poet, preserved in these volumes, is rather interesting from its association with him, than in itself. It presents the workings of a thoughtful, vigorous, and practical mind. There is no mystic transcendentalism about it. It is full of freshness and generosity of spirit, and warmth of heart, but we have nothing further to say of it. The opinions of such a man on the principal questions in religion and politics, which have engaged attention in the course of the last half century, are not without their value to his admirers; but we do not look to poets as authorities in such questions.

On the whole we must say that the Memoir of Wordsworth has afforded us very great interest and satisfaction. It is true that it makes us very little acquainted with the man. It does not abound in such details as add materially to our knowledge of Wordsworth personally. But it is nevertheless a careful and judicious compilation of much that bears on the subject; and though it will fall short of the anticipations with which many must contemplate such a memoir—though it may appear to them bald and common-place, when they are fresh from the perusal of those marvellous productions of Wordsworth's genius; it ought really to be remembered that it is not for any writer to describe the movements of Wordsworth's mind; that his empire lay in regions of thought and imagination, and in silent composition, which the world could not appreciate or sympathize, save when the result was placed before them. We are of opinion that Dr. Wordsworth has executed his work exactly as it ought to have been done. He has not troubled us with criticism. He has gathered facts and correspondence, and he has carefully connected the poetry with them. If the result is a work of no very intense

interest, the nature of the subject is, we conceive, sufficient to account for it. The work, however, will be a valuable acquisition to Wordsworth's many admirers, and will occupy a permanent place in our literature.

vi.—*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* By THOMAS LEWIN, M.A., of Trinity College, Oxford. 2 vols. London: Rivingtons.

It is not often that we meet with works purporting to convey the history of the Bible, which we can peruse with pleasure; they are generally either superficial, or overloaded with learning, or common-place. The work before us is one which we can hardly lay down without concluding the perusal of it. Most unpretending and unassuming in style; it is nevertheless written with ease and animation; it presents to the reader the scenery, the manners and habits, the events which surrounded the Apostles. Rome, Antioch, Seleucia, Corinth, arise before us as they were in the first century; even maps of the chief cities are presented to us. We have the private history of the heathen rulers who then lived, and the habits of society, the religions, the philosophies of that day, and all without wearisome detail. Mr. Lewin has taken the best and most salient points in all cases, and has produced in this way one of the very best and most readable books we remember to have seen on Scripture history. We deem his execution of the design peculiarly felicitous; even the Epistles come in (with some good annotations and remarks) in a very pleasing way. We feel assured that the work may be perused by any one with advantage.

vii.—*The Seven Periods of English Architecture defined and illustrated.* By EDMUND SHARPE, M.A., Architect. London: Bell.

In this publication, Mr. Sharpe proposes a new division of the periods of English Architecture. In place of Rickman's four periods of "Norman," "Early English," "Decorated," and "Perpendicular," he proposes the "Saxon" period, from A.D. — to 1066; the "Norman," from 1066 to 1145; the "Transitorial," from 1145 to 1190; the "Lancet," from 1190 to 1245; the "Geometrical" from 1245 to 1315; the "Curvilinear" from 1315 to 1360; and the "Rectilinear," from 1360 to 1550. This division and nomenclature appears to us to be very sensible and satisfactory. The illustrations of the work are exquisitely beautiful.

VIII.—*The Botanical Looker-out among the Wild Flowers of England and Wales.* By EDWIN LEES, Esq., F.L.S., &c. Second Edition. Hamilton and Adams: London.

WE fully concur with the author of this work in his allusions to the difficulties which beset the way of the student of botany—"the armed array of technicalities" which it requires so much perseverance and courage to face and to master; and we are greatly indebted to him for the aid and encouragement here afforded to beginners. It certainly does seem, at first sight, as if the inquirer would hardly be rewarded for the trouble of acquiring a knowledge of this branch of natural history; but Mr. Lees has invested it with such colours, that the most indifferent person can hardly rise from the perusal of his work without feeling that there is much keen enjoyment—much beautiful association—much instruction and profitable knowledge, to be gained, in the pursuit of this study. Mr. Lees' book takes us out into the woods and fields, and along the mountain steep, and by rivers and the sea-shore, pointing out the many natural scenes and sounds, and life in its varied forms; and the whole coloured by the varied hues of poetry. He tells us of his adventures and rambles, and the occurrences by the way; and we cannot, perhaps, do better than quote one of those passages in which he enters into a description of his researches, as a specimen of his style:—

"I had rather a dangerous adventure some years since, in the summit of the Brecon Van mountain. While on the peak, I observed a tuft of white flowers some little distance down the precipitous side which descends perpendicularly in one unbroken cliff many hundred feet. I was alone, and the plant lay too far beyond my reach either to gather it, or to ascertain with certainty what the species was. Unwilling, however, to retreat without it, I looked about for some means to effect my object. I found a stick left by some guide or former traveller, and planting this firmly in a crevice of the rock, I used it with one hand, while I sought support further below with my umbrella in the other. A slight projection gave me a resting-place for my foot, and thus cautiously descending I got within reach of the desired plant. I had just seized a portion of the flowers in my hand when the crumbling sandstone I was trusting to gave way, splintered to pieces, and plunged thundering far below; and had I not at the moment immediately sprang upwards and caught the fixed stick, I must have fallen myself and doubtless been dashed to pieces without the possibility of escape. Safe back again upon the summit, I yet trembled nervously for some minutes afterwards, and shrunk instinctively from the edge of the precipice. Even botany is not without its incidents."—p. 216.

The work treats of the wild flowers which make their appearance in the successive months of the year—a very good and

popular arrangement; and we have no doubt that, combining as it does scientific detail with matter of a popular character, it will obtain the extensive circulation which it merits.

IX.—*The Elements of the Gospel Harmony: with a Catena of Inspiration, from the Writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.* By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, *Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.* Cambridge: MacMillan and Co.

THIS essay was, in its original form, the Norrisian prize essay for last year, the subject being—"The plenary inspiration of the four Gospels is not invalidated by the alleged discrepancies which are objected against them." It has since been re-written; and the argument more distinctly stated and strengthened. The author argues very ably for the plenary inspiration of the Gospels, while he maintains that it did not supersede the free agency of the writers. He also regards the Gospels as being written without precise chronological arrangement, but considers them to follow out other designs and objects, such as developing the Messianic idea, relating the facts of the Gospel history, or tracing the life of Jesus. A large amount of learning is brought to bear on the subject; but the style is rather too technical and abstract, and involves too much of the modern idealism, to be generally popular or intelligible.

X.—*Occasional Sermons, preached in Westminster Abbey.* By CHR. WORDSWORTH, *D.D., Canon of Westminster.* Second Series. London: Rivingtons.

A PERUSAL of this volume of discourses will readily explain the usually crowded state of Westminster Abbey. But Dr. Wordsworth possesses far different qualifications from those which usually go to the composition of a popular preacher. Solid learning, vigorous argument, firm and high principle, are the characteristics of these discourses. We cannot too highly prize the courage and faithfulness which, in such times as the present, could speak in the following terms:—

"The emissaries of the Papacy imitate Dathan and Abiram in rebelling against civil Powers. But Korah also has his followers. They who endeavour to prejudice the minds of the People against their Pastors are animated by his spirit and tread in his steps.

"The Tempter who instigated him and his company to rise against Aaron and his sons, is in these days actively engaged in endeavouring to foment jealousies between the Laity and Clergy of the Church. Is not *all* the congregation holy? he asks. He whispers his suggestions to you in the words of Scripture: *Ye have all an unction from the Holy*

One. Ye are *all* a royal *priesthood, a peculiar people.* Christ has made you all *priests to God.* Away, then, with superstitious theories of sacerdotal functions and hierarchical privileges! These are invidious distinctions invented by man, and not instituted by God. Away with all fond notions that Christ has ordained, by a divine decree, that His Word and Sacraments should be administered by special persons, called and sent in a particular manner, and that they cannot be rightly administered by others than those who are so called and so sent! These are idle fictions, and vain imaginations, engendered by the pride and presumption of designing and ambitious men, in order to bring the Lord's people into spiritual bondage, for their own vain-glorious aggrandizement. They are the machinations of priestcraft. Away with them, in the name of Evangelical Liberty and of Scriptural Truth! Down with them, down with them to the ground!

"Such, my beloved brethren, is the language which in the present age is often uttered by the Evil One in the name of the Gospel of Christ.

"This is a subject on which it is difficult for a Minister of Christ to dwell. In so doing he may appear to some to plead for himself. But a necessity is laid upon him to lift up his voice, and speak the truth, and refute error, at far greater sacrifice than that of incurring reproach, which, if he does his duty in this world, he must not expect to escape.

"What, then, shall he say?

"Can he assert with some that God has left it to men to make laws for themselves in spiritual matters?

"Many, perhaps, might applaud him, as exempt from bigotry and intolerance, and distinguished by liberal and enlightened sentiments, if he were to affirm that the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments is not committed by Christ and His Apostles to any Order of men, with special charge that they should *teach others also* and ordain them to the same office. Some might praise him if he should deny that the Christian Episcopate and Priesthood are of Divine Institution, and were neither made, nor can be unmade, by man. Perhaps, also, he might be eulogized by some, if he were to say that the words of Christ are obsolete,—*Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted*,—and that the *ministry of reconciliation* is an idle mockery; that no blessing is to be expected by the penitent on the bed of sickness or of death, when he obeys the command of the Apostle, and *sends for the presbyters or elders of the Church* to pray with him and for him. Perhaps, also, some might flatter him if he were to declare that laymen,—even such as are rarely seen in the public assemblies of the Church, or kneeling at her altars, and who associate themselves with those who cause divisions and offences in the Church, and who, therefore, as St. Paul teaches, ought *to be marked and avoided*,—may, with a clear conscience, intermeddle with the spiritual affairs of the Church, and are not liable to the wrath of God, Who smote Uzziah with leprosy, for burning incense, and Uzzah with death, for touching the ark. Perhaps also he might acquire popularity with some if he should preach that

the Priest utters a senseless salutation, when, in compliance with Christ's command, he says, on crossing a threshold or in entering a chamber of sickness, *Peace be to this house, and to them that dwell therein*: and that there is no longer any meaning in the words which Christ uttered, when He said to His Apostles, *He that heareth you heareth Me; Receive ye the Holy Ghost; Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world*. Perhaps he might be lauded by some, if he were to affirm that a Christian Apostle, St. Jude, writing to Christian congregations, did what was vain and superfluous when he warned *them* against the danger of perishing in the *gainsaying of Korah*, and that the *Jews* alone were concerned in that awful judgment and in the remonstrance of God when He says, *This people are as they that strive with the priest*; and that God was speaking only of the *Jews*, when He said, *The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts*: and that the good king Jehoshaphat, though praised by God, was no example to Christian Kings and States, when he set Zebadiah, the ruler of the house of Israel, to judge in all the *king's* matters, but Amariah, the chief priest, to judge in *matters of the Lord*, and thus exercised his Royal Supremacy in civil matters by civil judges, and in spiritual matters by judges spiritual. Doubtless, some might praise him, if he imitated the Herodians, and made no distinction between the things of Cæsar and the things of God, but confounded them all together, and subjected the things of God to the will of Cæsar,—even a Tiberius or a Nero.

"But, my beloved brethren, if he were to speak thus, could he approve himself to his own conscience? Could he approve himself to God? This is a solemn question. The praise of men will avail us nothing at the Great Day. They who judge us will then be judged. When Christ shall sit on the throne of His Glory, before Him will be gathered all Nations. The plaudits of the Universe will not save a soul from death. They may rather be the cause of its ruin; for *what is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God*, and those who honour Him He will honour; but they will be rejected by Him who love the praise of men rather than the praise of God.

"It is the bounden duty of Christ's Ministers to warn those of their peril who venture to deal profanely with holy things. Their blood will be on our head if we are silent. Let us, then, be charged with priestcraft, it matters little, if we speak the truth and save a single soul from perdition. We will say with St. Paul, *Being crafty, I caught you with guile. Think you that we excuse ourselves unto you? we speak before God in Christ, we do all things, dearly beloved, for your edifying. Even so we speak, not as pleasing men but God, Which trieth our hearts. For if we yet pleased men we should not be the servants of Christ. For God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and of love and of a sound mind*.

"Remember, also, the same Apostle says, *I am put in trust with the Gospel*. He does not regard his office as a possession, but a trust:—a

deposit committed to him by Christ. And the case of St. Paul is that of every Christian Minister. And if, for the sake of popularity, or to aggrandize himself, or for any other cause, he sacrifices the rights of his office, what does he do? He gives away what is not his own. He robs his Master. He is a traitor to Christ."—pp. 206—210.

xI.—*The Personality of the Tempter, and other Sermons, Doctrinal and Occasional, including a Sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.* By CHARLES JOHN VAUGHAN, D.D., Head Master of Harrow School, &c. London: J. W. Parker.

THE publication of volumes of discourses like that of Dr. Vaughan is amongst the most pleasing signs of the times. The important position occupied by the preacher as the head of one of the great public schools, and as an eminently successful instructor of youth—the place which he holds in the estimation of those who are opposed to all "sacerdotal" exclusiveness, or "High-Church" claims, give peculiar value to the sound and healthy tone of doctrine which pervades his discourses. Dr. Vaughan is himself under the influence of Christianity. His religion does not consist in scepticism, insult, or rash innovation. He can argue for the eternity of future punishments, or the personality of the Tempter, or the reverence due to the word of God as a Divine revelation, while he laments the excesses of party feeling, or disclaims the notion of a sacrificing priesthood, or a "sacerdotal caste." His style is most graceful and pleasing, and while calculated to attract persons of high education and capacity, is adapted to the comprehension of any educated congregation. We have perused most of his discourses with feelings of rejoicing that there are such preachers holding such positions. Happy would it be for the Church if all Dr. Arnold's disciples were as moderate and as right-minded as Dr. Vaughan.

xII.—*The Ordinance of Confession.* By WM. GRESLEY, M.A., *Prebendary of Lichfield.*

WE do not intend at present to enter into any detailed notice of this work, as we shall probably have occasion to refer to the subject in our next number. We merely notice it now in consequence of a remark Mr. Gresley has made upon the paper on "Spiritual Direction" in our last number. Mr. Gresley has entirely mistaken our meaning, and, as we think, has scarcely treated us with his usual ingenuousness. Mr. Gresley thus speaks: "The reviewer closes his article with an argument which I wish

he had not used—the argument of expediency. “We are fully persuaded,” he says, “that it is a system to which it is impossible *popular opinion* can ever be reconciled,”—alas, alas! and is an ordinance on which depends the salvation of souls to be abandoned, because we cannot hope to have ‘popular opinion’ on our side? Depend on it, the Church will never do the Lord’s work otherwise than negligently, until her leading men have got rid of the notion ‘of satisfying the public.’ We must look simply to the good of souls, and the honour of God’s name, and cast to the winds all anxiety about ‘satisfying the public,’ if the doing so would oblige us to deviate one hair’s-breadth from the strict line of Christian duty¹.” Mr. Gresley has not treated us quite fairly here. He has not actually misquoted our words, but, very nearly the same thing, he has suppressed a previous sentence by which the words he has quoted ought to be interpreted. Our words were these: “We object, then, in the first place to the revival of auricular confession in the English Church, because it is a practice which never can by any possibility be regarded in any other light, than with the greatest suspicion, by the vast majority of English Churchmen. We are fully convinced that it is a system to which it is impossible that popular opinion can ever be reconciled.” We beg to assure Mr. Gresley that we had no notion of “satisfying the public,” as those words are commonly used; we simply alluded to the “popular opinion” which prevails among “the great majority of English Churchmen.” We will merely say further, that our “quarrel” with Dr. Pusey—the word is Mr. Gresley’s, not ours—lies very much deeper than with respect to the mere “frequency” of confession, as Mr. Gresley may very easily see, if he will read our paper more carefully than he appears yet to have done.

It may be well to say one word on another subject. It has been pointed out to us that the expression that the canons “practically ignore confession” is liable to be misunderstood, inasmuch as one of them does plainly refer to its use. We thought the context would have shown that we alluded, not to the legitimate use of confession as allowed by the English Church, but simply to the Romish practice of making it the rule of life, which our canons do, as it seems to us, very decidedly ignore. As, however, the expression in question may be misunderstood, we gladly take this opportunity of explaining it.

¹ P. 140.

- XIII.—*A Devotional Commentary on the Morning and Evening Services in the Book of Common Prayer; in a series of Plain Lectures.* By JOHN JAMES, D.D., Canon of Peterborough. In 2 vols. London: Rivingtons.

THE respected author of this Commentary is, without doubt, well known to most of our readers, as the author of "A Comment on the Collects of the Church of England," and of "Christian Watchfulness," both of which works have attained an extensive circulation. The work for which we are now indebted to Dr. James consists of a series of sixty-two Lectures, or Discourses, on the various parts of the Morning and Evening Prayer, explaining their meaning, and practically enforcing the lessons they suggest. Their tone is grave and affectionate, and the instruction they convey would, we think, be highly useful to any ordinary congregation of the Church of England. The preacher very properly enters into no controversial subjects, but devotes himself to the practical and spiritual improvement of those whom he addresses. We can safely recommend this work to the notice of the clergy.

- XIV.—*Indian Missions in Guiana.* By the Rev. W. H. BRETT, Missionary in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London: Bell.

A PUBLICATION like this is peculiarly well-timed at the moment when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is celebrating its Jubilee. The volume before us will tell the nature of the work which is being quietly done by the missionaries of this society in foreign parts. We must quote a few passages as illustrating the efforts of these men, many of whom are doing the work of Evangelists in their respective spheres. The following is Mr. Brett's simple account of his opening a mission on the Pomeroon in Guiana:—

"On the banks of the Arapiaco, just above the confluence of the rivers, which there form a fine sheet of water, there is a small strip of land, which had been cleared, and was formerly inhabited by a gang of negroes employed in cutting wood. These negroes, at the expiration of the apprenticeship, had taken the earliest opportunity of quitting the rivers for the society of their gayer brethren on the coast. There were still standing, in the beginning of 1840, three cottages or huts which had been occupied by them.

"There was also a wooden building, which had been used as a place of worship, when the settlers of the district were visited by a clergyman, or an itinerant catechist, who had frequently performed divine service there. It was, when I first saw it, in a most wretched state; the thatched roof being full of large holes, and several of the window shut-

ters having fallen off. There was free access to the wind and rain. Not having been used for a long time, it was almost inaccessible from the long grass and weeds which grew all round in rank luxuriance. The frame of the building was, however, quite sound, though the boarded sides and floor were much decayed. This was to be the future mission chapel.

"Though the Indians themselves live in a rude and primitive way, yet they form their estimate of a white man, in a great degree, from the appearance of his abode, and the comforts which surround him. A great obstruction to the establishment of the mission arose from the situation and nature of my first dwelling-place, which it is necessary briefly to describe.

"One of the three huts before mentioned was occupied by an old white sail-maker, who was sick with ague and fever, and soon after left the place. The next was the dwelling of an old negro woman, named Jeannette, who had several black children residing with her. The third was at my service. It was a singular and not very inviting residence: the front was boarded and covered with shingles (or wooden tiles); the two ends were of shingles nailed upon laths, and the back was composed of the split trunks of the manicole palms, covered on the outside with the leaves of the trooly. The roof was also thatched, but the thatch was full of holes. It was divided by partitions of rough boards into three apartments, two of which had boarded floors resting on the earth, and very much decayed; and the third had apparently been used for some light kinds of blacksmith's work, a block of very tough wood standing firmly fixed in the earthen floor, which had been used as an anvil. The situation of the building being low, the water appeared between the chinks of the old floor, when the river was swollen by the spring tides, and a number of small frogs were accustomed to come out in wet weather, and spring upon the walls; one part of which, being very damp and green, seemed to possess particular attractions for them. The roof was open, and flakes of mingled soot and cobwebs, which had been long collecting there, were continually falling, as the insects which abounded disturbed and shook them down. There was, also, a large nest of wood-ants, which were devouring different parts of the building. These were destroyed by a dose of arsenic, furnished by a respectable settler in the neighbourhood, who also kindly sent a man to whitewash the inside of the walls, which were in a filthy condition, and abounded with vermin.

"To this wild spot I was welcomed by the old negro woman, who engaged in my service with the greatest willingness; and, indeed, without her help it would have been impossible to have remained there. She had a black lad living with her, about eleven years old, whom I got to sling his hammock with me in my new abode, not thinking it quite safe to sleep there alone. The first night we were disturbed by some creature getting in at a hole in the roof, which my companion said was a tiger-cat. I was more apprehensive of snakes, which abounded there; but we had no opportunity of ascertaining the nature of our un-

welcome visitor, as it was perfectly dark; and being alarmed at the noise we made, it effected a hasty retreat, and returned no more.

"Having no furniture, it became necessary to borrow some for present use. This was difficult. However, a table with three legs was procured, and the place of a fourth supplied with a stick from a neighbouring tree. It was, after all, so rickety that it could only stand against the wall. A small wooden chair was also obtained, the seat of which being lower in front than behind, the person sitting in it had a tendency to slip off. It was quite a curiosity in its way, and why it was made so it was difficult to conceive. A small bench or form supplied a more convenient seat. In other respects we managed somewhat better, being supplied from a wood-cutting establishment, where there was a small store, or shop, from whence rice, plantains, salt-fish, and pork might be procured, which formed almost my only diet for several months. This, with the damp situation, was injurious to health, though other inconveniences were trifling, and it was impossible to refrain from smiling at the grotesque appearance of the dwelling and its contents.

"The rivers being in front, and a swampy forest behind us, we were obliged to go by water whenever we wished to leave the place, and a canoe was lent me for two or three months, till an opportunity presented itself of purchasing one.

"Divine service was commenced on the Sunday in the decayed chapel before mentioned; but it was very thinly attended. The former congregation of negroes was almost gone, and very few settlers ever came."—pp. 70—74.

We have, next, the opening of the mission; it was at first most unsuccessful.

"The great object in view being the conversion of the Indian tribes, some Waraus, who were employed in cutting trooly leaves in the neighbourhood, became the next objects of attention. In order to visit them, it was necessary for me to paddle myself across the river every evening, assisted by the negro boy. I found them a very wild party, both in their appearance and manners. It was, indeed, hardly possible to look at their degraded condition, especially that of the females, without deep commiseration, and an earnest prayer that they might soon feel the blessed influences of the Gospel, and be led to sit *clothed* at the feet of the Lord Jesus. An elderly man named Manwaiko was their captain, or chief. He was as ignorant of our language as any of his people. I endeavoured to enter into conversation with him, but every thing connected with religion was distasteful, and he invariably answered in the jargon of the rivers, 'me no sabby' (*I do not understand*). When he spoke to me, I was equally at a loss to comprehend his meaning.

"Hoping to get on by degrees, I asked him the names of different objects in his language, and wrote them down to commit to memory. This at once interested him; and it is indeed a passport to the favour of every Indian, to express an interest in his language. We were soon on friendly terms, and his people, as well as himself, began to look for

my arrival every evening after they had done work. They could not, however, be induced to visit me, or to attend Divine service on the Sunday. They said they had no clothes, which was indeed true.

"On one Sunday morning, a black man brought five Waraus to the chapel. They were mostly dressed in red woollen shirts, and some of them had on their heads high-peaked caps, a natural production of the trooly tree. They had no trousers, shoes, nor any other apparel. They seemed divided between a consciousness of unusual finery, and a nervous apprehension of the supernatural consequences of attending our worship; but every other feeling seemed lost in mirth, when one of them, wishing to kneel, lost his balance, and nearly overturned one or two of the others. Their behaviour after this was so irreverent, that it was a relief when they left our humble place of worship. These incidents, though painfully annoying, must be expected at first, among barbarous and heathen people.

"All efforts among the Waraus seemed perfectly fruitless, as far as regarded their spiritual welfare. I thought that a faint glimmering ray of truth began to break in upon the darkness of their minds at last, but they left the neighbourhood in two months' time, the period for which they had engaged to work having expired."—pp. 75—77.

The missionary then turned to another tribe—the Arawaks.

"Many of the younger men knew the broken English spoken on the rivers, and with them I was able to converse, though with the greatest difficulty, on religious subjects, which appeared, even when expressed in the plainest manner, to mystify them exceedingly. The older men used the Creole-Dutch in their intercourse with the settlers, and with this I was unacquainted. The females spoke nothing but their own beautiful language; although some individuals knew enough of ours to comprehend the meaning of a few sentences expressed in the simplest form.

"I frequently fell in with them on the river, but was sorry to find that the message of salvation met with no better reception. They possessed a natural courtesy, which prevented them from reviling or insult; but it was very evident that they looked on the missionary as a troublesome person.

"They never would visit my abode, though often invited to do so; and when they called at the cottage of the old negro woman, they took their leave when they perceived me approaching to speak to them. By commencing a school for the five or six black and mulatto children in the neighbourhood, I had hoped to attract the Indians also; but the antipathy of their race to the negroes rendered it any thing but an attraction to them. One Indian alone promised to send me his son, and he broke his word.

"To push off in my canoe, and stop them as they were passing, was the only means of intercourse left; and it was soon mortifying to see them paddle quickly by with as little noise as possible, keeping on the opposite side to escape observation. One man, more plain in his speech

than the rest, expressed the general sentiment of his tribe (and, I may add, of the Indians generally) in words to the following effect, being an answer to my request that he would listen to the Word of God:—"My father knew not your book, and my grandfather knew not your book; they understood more than we; we do not wish to learn what they did not know." This indifference was very painful, but the man spoke the truth boldly, and I appreciated his candour, though grieved at their obstinate resolution to remain in blindness."—pp. 80, 81.

This was discouraging enough; however, our missionary still persevered; and his perseverance at length met its reward.

"One day, about noon, I was surprised by a visit from an Indian, who was accompanied by his son, a little boy about five years of age; and I was still more surprised when, after a friendly salutation on his part, he asked me if I would instruct his child. I had never seen the man before, and could hardly believe him serious in his request. He was, however, perfectly in earnest, and said that he had just returned to his 'place,' after a long absence, and had now come to see me as soon as he heard of my arrival among his people. He was not so well acquainted with English as some of the younger men, but we managed to understand each other's meaning, helping out the words by signs and gestures; and an hour or two passed away more pleasantly than any I had experienced for a long time. He had been to the mouth of the Essequibo, and had seen what was doing there.

"I endeavoured to ascertain the state of his mind, and he answered my inquiries, as far as he was able, with much frankness. He seemed to have his eyes open to the state of the Indians, as living 'without God in the world,' and expressed disgust at the superstition of his countrymen in serving devils. Some time afterwards I found out that he had been himself a sorcerer, but becoming disgusted with the practice, had broken his magical gourd, and cast away the fragments, previously to his placing himself under instruction. He did not tell me of this at first, probably fearing that I should reject his application, not being aware, as yet, that past sins are no bar, but rather a reason why we should flee unto Christ for salvation.

"He had been a great traveller for one of his tribe, having been a long way up the Essequibo, and he was also well acquainted with the lower part of the Orinoco. Though no recognised chief, he was the principal man at his settlement, and possessed of rather extensive family influence among his people. He was small in stature, and consequently rather mean in his appearance, but possessed keen eyes, and his black hair was more than usually inclined to curl: from this he had derived his Indian name, which he told me was 'Saci-barra' (*good or beautiful hair*).

"Though fully believing in the existence of God, and desirous of serving Him, he seemed to have no idea of the only Mediator between God and man, and was lost when I spoke of the Redeemer. He seemed, however, to be firmly convinced of the impossibility of knowing the

way to the '*great our Father*,' without revelation from God Himself, and promised to come every Saturday, and stay till Monday morning, that he might see his child, and himself receive instruction.

"I would willingly have kept the boy with me, but he said he was not prepared as yet to leave him, and seemed hurt at the distrust implied. He said *his words were true*, and I had, a day or two after, proof that they were so, by his bringing not only the boy, but his eldest daughter, a girl eight years of age, whom he placed with me, assuring me that all his children should be brought as soon as they were old enough.

"After some further conversation he returned to his canoe, went home, and induced his wife to come with him on the following Sunday; and the next week a company, consisting of the four sisters of his wife, with the husbands of three of them, two other individuals, and the children of several of the party, nearly filled my humble habitation, and increased the number of Indian children at school to four. These of course had to be taught their alphabet, and the adults likewise, who all expressed their determination to learn God's word, to which the majority have constantly adhered.

"Such was the commencement of the work in the Pomerion. A single Indian, whom I had never seen, was induced, by his secret convictions, to come forward in defiance of the sorcerers of his tribe, and break, by his example, the spell which seemed to counteract the humble efforts made to introduce the Gospel in that part of the country. I have been minute in describing these circumstances of the foundation of the mission, in compliance with the request of those whose judgment I respect, and whose wishes I am bound to regard, and also because no portion of the eventual success can be ascribed to the labours of the missionary, but proceeded from God alone, whose Spirit had prepared the hearts of this interesting family.

"The Gospel now seemed likely to take root among this tribe, and we obtained an additional attendant, the father of the women before mentioned. My little hut would by no means hold all, so they suspended their hammocks beneath the roof of the future mission dwelling. Matters being in this encouraging state, I felt anxious to extend the sphere of labour, but resolved to wait a short time before making any fresh attempt. The people with me, though well disposed, required much instruction, and from them and others I had heard much of the denunciations of their sorcerers. It might have been attended with ill consequences to have exposed them to probable persecution, which might have followed any hasty attempt, until they were at least grounded in the simplest doctrines of the Gospel.

"The following incident, however, led me to commence at once with other families of their tribe. While engaged one afternoon in teaching the little school, a violent thunder-storm came on, which compelled an Indian, with his wife and children, to bring their canoe to land for the purpose of seeking shelter. I saw them looking at our little abode, which they never before would visit, and asked them to enter till the

storm abated. They did so, and the man seemed amazed at the sight of the Indian children learning their alphabet. After inquiring about his own children, to whom he seemed much attached, I pressed him to learn things good and profitable to eternal salvation, or at least to allow them to do so. He was moved, but would not yield, and seemed indignant that others should have dared to attend instruction without the consent of their tribe, and said that before any thing of the kind were done, the 'capitan' should have made all of them acquainted with it. He was merely seeking to excuse himself, as I saw; but to remove this objection, I asked him if he and his family would consider these things well, if laid before him by the mouth of the chief? He answered that he would, and went his way, the storm having ceased. I could but look upon this incident as a call to bring the matter to an issue without delay.

"Accordingly I soon after visited the settlement of their chief in my small canoe, which had an unusual number of paddlers, there being myself, a black boy and girl, one of our Indian men, and his wife, who wished to accompany us. The chief we went to see had no more clothing, when we first met him, than the meanest individual of his tribe; but after returning my salutation, he soon put on one or two European garments, and then entered into a long conversation. He was better acquainted with English than any individual of his nation whom I had previously met with: but cared very little for spiritual things. There was, however, one point of advantage. He had seen and conversed with Bishop Coleridge the year before, and could not deny that he had given his assent to the Bishop's proposition, that he should induce his people to place themselves under Christian instruction. I now called on him to fulfil his words: and to set an example in his own person to all the others.

"His Indian name he told me was 'Waramaraka,' which is derived from the name of the ornamented gourd or rattle used by their sorcerers. He was however known to the settlers by the name of John William. He was shrewd and intelligent; but both himself and his people were much contaminated by intercourse with civilized persons, and very different from the simple-minded family who had joined me. They all attended, however, with outward reverence at our solemn worship that night in the forest."—pp. 82—88.

We cannot go further with this interesting narrative. A few pages on it is stated, that by the end of the year the "congregation" at the Christian Church amounted to "sixty," and the school was filled. There is an immensity of much interesting detail throughout this volume, and we trust it may obtain a wide circulation.

xv.—*The Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and English Princesses connected with the Royal Succession of Great Britain. By*

AGNES STRICKLAND, *Author of "Lives of the Queens of England."* Vol. II. Blackwood: Edinburgh.

IF Miss Strickland has not succeeded in producing, in this instance, a volume of the same deep interest as that which attached to her first volume of the "Lives of the Scottish Queens," it must, in justice to her, be said, that the fault is not hers, but that of the subject itself. It is perfectly impossible to give the same interest to that very prosaic personage Lady Margaret Douglas, or even to Queen Mary of Lorraine, as to Magdalene of France, James the Fifth, and his gallant father. All the antiquarian details in the world will not make up for the want of incident in the story itself; and therefore, though Miss Strickland has, as usual, shown wondrous art in conjuring up the forms of past ages, and has presented to us lords, and ladies, and princes, in their every-day dress, and manners, and correspondence, and schemes, and mishaps—still we own that we look upon this volume rather as a foil to those in which Miss Strickland's pen will find an appropriate, though a most difficult subject—Mary Queen of Scots. We shall look to her publication on this somewhat worn subject with much curiosity to see in what way she will treat it. The volume now before us is amply deserving of a perusal, but we would warn the reader not to expect the same species of romance which characterized the former volume of this series.

XVI.—*Thoughts on the Land of the Morning; a Record of Two Visits to Palestine.* By H. B. WHITAKER CHURTON, M.A., Vicar of Icklesham, Sussex, &c. London: Hatchards.

THE pious and accomplished author of this work has traversed the East as one who looks to the ultimate restoration of the people of Israel to their long-lost inheritance, and to the favour of God. He contemplates the scenes of sacred events in the grave and reflective frame of mind which befits a Christian in traversing the regions where his faith was revealed—where God spoke to man face to face. It is needless to add that the volume before us is pervaded by a spirit of deep piety, and that it will be an agreeable and profitable companion to all students of the sacred volume. Its details are, throughout, most interesting; and the engravings by which it is illustrated are in all cases extremely well executed, and in many instances are eminently beautiful. We should say, that from the elegance of the volume it would be a very appropriate gift to young persons of piety who are habitual students of the Bible.

xvii.—*The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church.* Vol. I. London: Mozley.

THIS is a very pleasing and cheap little religious periodical, intended for children. It abounds in tales, and fragments of history, and other appropriate topics. We must say that we think some of the numbers exhibit, here and there, a tendency to familiarize the mind with tales of a rather fabulous description, and with practices which might have been tolerable in the middle ages, but which should not now be recommended in any way. In the present times, however, it is next to impossible to find any publications of a certain class which are wholly free from fault in this respect. The disposition to view the notions of mediævalism favourably is certainly carried now quite as much into the extreme as the contrary view used to be some years ago.

xviii.—*A Catechism of Gospel History; for those engaged in the work of Christian Education, and who are desirous of implanting true Church Principles.* By the Rev. SAMUEL KETTLEWELL, Curate of St. Peter's Church, Leeds. London: Rivingtons.

THIS Catechism of Scripture History is framed on the plan of a Harmony of the Gospels. Each section of questions concludes with some few remarks to be made by the teacher after the lesson. As far as we have been enabled to see, the questions are excellently adapted for their purpose, and we have much pleasure in commending the little work to the especial notice of the clergy, and the managers of National and Sunday schools.

xix.—*Means of Grace: Lectures delivered upon Wednesday Mornings during the Season of Lent, 1851, in St. John's Church, Clapham Rise.* By the Rev. ROBERT BICKERSTETH, M.A., Incumbent of St. John's Church, Clapham Rise. London: Hatchards.

THESE are plain, unaffected, and sensible discourses, setting forth the great outlines of Christianity and urging the necessity of holiness and obedience. We are unable to concur in the preacher's views on Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which he appears to disconnect with grace, and to represent as mere signs. In avoiding the danger of approximation to Romanism he has gone into the opposite extreme.

xx.—*The History of the Church of England from the Revolution to the last Acts of Convocation, A.D. 1688—1717.* By the Rev.

WILLIAM PALIN, *M.A. (Trin. Coll. Camb.), Rector of Stifford.*
London: Rivingtons.

MR. PALIN remarks, that Bishop Short and Mr. Carwithen had closed their histories at the period of the Revolution, and that the subsequent history of the Church of England remains to be written. His history is evidently formed on the model of the above-mentioned writers: it is intended for popular use, and is not based on profound researches or original documents, but on the ordinary histories, memoirs, and printed documents, generally accessible. The volume before us comprises the history of the first twenty-nine years after the Revolution, and is to be followed by others, bringing down the narrative to the present time. Mr. Palin makes no professions of impartiality, and writes throughout as a High-Churchman. We own that we think the work would be improved by a somewhat more limited space being allotted to the author's own opinions. It is, however, as far as we can judge, a fair and trustworthy narrative of events; and we trust that Mr. Palin will continue and complete a work which promises to be a really valuable addition to our literature. It supplies, to a certain extent, a great desideratum, and will be, without doubt, extensively referred to, unless it should be replaced hereafter by a more elaborate composition.

XXI.—*Ezekiel, and the Book of his Prophecy: an Exposition.*
By the Rev. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, Salton, Author of "Typology of Scripture," "Jonah," &c. Edinburgh: S. and T. Clark.

THE author of this work gives evidence in his pages of the possession of abilities and attainments which fully entitle him to assume the onerous task of a commentator on Ezekiel. To the biblical student his work will be of considerable value: it includes a new translation of Ezekiel, with much critical annotation, and an exposition of the whole; and, extending, as it does, to upwards of 400 closely printed octavo pages, it affords space for a full discussion and explanation of the difficult book on which it comments.

XXII.—*A History of Greece, taken from the Greek Historians. The Religious Faiths, Manners, and Customs, illustrated from the Writings of the Poets.* By MRS. TOOGOOD. London: Masters.

THE little volume before us contains a careful and well-written abridgment of the History of Greece, accompanied by questions, which will render it peculiarly well adapted for use in the instruction of children, or in schools.

xxiii.—*On the State of Man subsequent to the Promulgation of Christianity.* London: Pickering.

THIS forms one of the series entitled "Small Books on Great Subjects, edited by a few Well-wishers to Knowledge." The numbers of this series that we have seen are generally tinged with the rationalizing German theories which are in favour in some quarters. The writer of the Church history before us is a philosopher of this new school, but he is less intolerant to orthodoxy than most of those who think with him; and his pages are interesting and well written.

xxiv.—*The Time of Affliction.* By the Rev. ROBERT MEEK, M.A., Rector of Sutton Bonnington, &c. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.

THIS manual suggests all those considerations which are calculated to soothe affliction and render it blessed to the soul. Its tone is simple and affectionate.

xxv.—*A Practical Treatise concerning Evil Thoughts, &c.* By WILLIAM CHILCOTT, M.A. London: Skeffington and Southwell.

THE author of this little volume was a clergyman at Exeter, where he died in 1711. An edition of it was printed by Mr. Winstanley Hull, of Lincoln's Inn, in 1835, for private circulation. The author was evidently trained in the school of Jeremy Taylor, and the author of "The Whole Duty of Man," and such other worthies of the Church of England; and we deem the publication of his work a valuable addition to our practical theology.

xxvi.—*Romanism unknown to Primitive Christianity. The Substance of Lectures delivered in the Parish Church of Gainsborough.* By the Rev. O. S. BIRD, M.A., F.L.S., Canon of Lincoln, Vicar of Gainsborough, &c. London: Hatchard; Seeleys; Groombridge.

THIS is one of the many publications to which the late Papal Aggression has given rise. It comprises a series of discourses on the papal supremacy and on the chief errors of Romanism, supported and elucidated by copious annotations and references to the chief works on the controversy. Mr. Bird appears to have bestowed considerable attention on the composition of this work, which we have perused with profit and gratification.

- xxvii.—*Hymni Ecclesiæ e Breviariis quibusdam et Missalibus Gallicanis, Germanis, Hispanis, Lusitanis desumpti. Collegit et recensuit* JOANNES M. NEALE, A.M., *Collegii Sackvillensis Custos.* Oxonii et Londini : J. H. Parker.

MANY of the hymns in this collection are very beautiful and truly Christian, and wholly unobjectionable. There is a simplicity and devotion in the older hymns which render them a fitting study for those who would endeavour to compose sacred poetry in the present day. Let our poets gather suggestions from these ancient forms ; but let them not attempt to transfer them into our language. Their brevity and simplicity scarcely seem to admit of translation. Beautiful in their original language, they would be with difficulty naturalized in ours.

- xxviii.—*The Followers of the Lord. Stories for Children from Church History.* By the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M.A., &c. London : Masters.

A COLLECTION of interesting and well-written tales, relating to instances of Christian courage and heroism in various ages and Churches, from the first century to the present day. Many of these stories are very striking.

- xxix.—*The Second Reformation ; or, Christianity developed.* By A. ALISON, Esq. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THERE are some good points here and there in this book ; but it is fortunate that Mr. Alison does not possess as much of power as he does of inclination to "reform" the Church and State of England. He would sweep away belief in miracles, justification by faith, the tithes and property of the Church, entails of land, primogeniture, the present system of taxation, &c. &c. A. Alison, Esq., is evidently a great man in intention—a perfect Solon. It is strange that such a genius as his should not be at the head of affairs : but we live in a world full of anomalies.

- xxx.—*Lyrics and Meditations.* By WILLIAM GASPY, *Author of Summer Offerings.* London : Mitchel.

THERE is some pleasing poetry in this volume ; and the tone and spirit is throughout good : but we think there is no very great power or originality in the volume.

XXXI.—*Pleasures, Objects, and Advantages of Literature. A Discourse by the Rev. ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT, Incumbent of Bear Wood, &c.* London: Bosworth.

To those who are acquainted with Mr. Willmott's other publications, it will be only requisite to say, that he has treated the subject of the present volume precisely in the same mode with which they are familiar, and which is almost peculiar to himself. His pages are a perfect Mosaic, inlaid with the thoughts and sayings of great men of all ages. The profuseness with which they are quoted is almost wearisome and exhausting to the attention. We really are of opinion that Mr. Willmott would add to the interest of his publications by introducing more of his own views, and not keeping up such a steady and unintermittent fire of *bon mots*, anecdotes, sayings, extracts, &c. We are at times fairly tired by the too frequent recurrence of good things.

XXXII.—*The Theory of Christian Worship. By the Rev. T. CHAMBERLAIN, M.A., Student of Christ Church, &c.* London: Masters.

A PIOUS and thoughtful volume of discourses, urging with gentleness and moderation those views which attach the highest importance to the ordinances of the Church.

XXXIII.—*The Church in the Schoolroom: being Discourses to Schoolboys. By the Rev. L. J. BERNAYS, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.* London: Low.

THE care now bestowed on the religious instruction of schoolboys ought to produce some effect on the rising generation. It cannot fail to make them better informed at least, and more reverential. Mr. Bernays' discourses are a favourable specimen of the kind of instruction now in many places imparted in schools. They are very well adapted to their purpose.

XXXIV.—*Horæ Sacramentales. The Sacramental Articles of the Church of England vindicated from recent Misrepresentations, and illustrated by the Writings of their Compilers and last Editor, and by other Documents published under the Sanction of the Church between the Years 1536 and 1571. By THOMAS HOPKINS BRITTON, M.A., Curate of Hockworthy, Devon, &c.* London: Masters.

A VERY elaborate and learned work, detailing the sentiments of the Reformers in opposition to the views of Mr. Gorham and

those who think with him. Mr. Britton has satisfactorily met the notion so often put forth, that the Articles were intended to be vague and comprehensive, in the hope of pleasing all parties.

xxxv.—*A Collection of Anthems used in the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of England and Ireland.* By WILLIAM MARSHALL, Mus. Doc., late Organist of Christ Church Cathedral, and St. John's College, Oxford. Second Edition. Oxford and London: J. A. Parker. 1851.

THIS is a carefully collected and neatly printed volume, serviceable either to the choral tourist (to invent the phrase for want of a better), or to those who are desirous of introducing sacred music of this character into their families or parishes. Prefixed is a short account of all the composers whose names occur in the course of the work, and the volume concludes with an index of first lines.

xxxvi.—*The English Ordinal, its History, Validity, and Catholicity; with an Introduction on the three Holy Orders of Ministers in the Church.* By MACKENZIE WALCOTT, M.A., Curate of St. James's, Westminster, &c. London: Rivingtons.

THE volume before us exhibits unequivocal proofs of extensive research, and of much thought on the important subject to which it relates. We hope to be enabled to draw attention hereafter more fully to this excellent work, which reflects the highest credit on the orthodoxy and learning of its author.

xxxvii.—*On the Unity and Order of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Churches.* By the Rev. ALFRED T. PAGET, M.A., Mathematical Master of Shrewsbury School, &c. London: Rivingtons.

THE author of this work informs us in his Preface, that his argument is directed to show that the Epistles of St. Paul to the Churches are one system; that the order of their composition is discoverable from their *logical* order as parts of such a system, and that their order thus indicated is: 1st, the Epistle to the Hebrews; 2nd, those to the Corinthians and Thessalonians; 3rd, that to the Galatians; 4th, that to the Romans; 5th, those to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians. We cannot undertake to express any opinion as to the amount of probability in Mr. Paget's argument; but from such attention as we have been enabled to give to his work, it appears to be characterized by much ingenuity and knowledge of his subject.

xxxviii.—*Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Thessalonians.* By HERMANN OLSHAUSEN, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated by a Clergyman of the Church of England. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

OLSHAUSEN is certainly one of the least exceptionable of the German commentators on Scripture; and at the same time his writings are rather less overloaded than usual with fantastic and affected phrases, and all the humbug of "terminology." He is a patient and learned writer, and evinces considerable moderation and reverence of tone.

xxxix.—*Manual of the Antiquities of the Church.* By H. E. F. GUERICKE. Translated and adapted to the Use of the English Church. By Rev. A. J. W. MORRISON, B.A., Master of Grammar School, Truro. London: J. W. Parker.

WITHIN the compass of this small volume, a great mass of information on the constitution and worship of the primitive Church is to be found. The translator has, with excellent judgment, corrected those parts of the original which would convey ideas at variance with those of our ecclesiastical polity; and has added new matter of very great value. Guericke is a Lutheran, and stoutly contends for the real presence.

xl.—*A Defence of Revealed Religion, comprising a Vindication of the Miracles of the Old and New Testaments from the Attacks of Rationalists and Infidels.* By JOSEPH BROWN, M.D. London: Rivingtons.

THE author of this volume bears testimony to the spread of infidel opinions in many parts of the country within the last two years, and he has been led, in consequence of the facts which have come to his knowledge, to publish the work before us, in defence of the Scripture miracles, which have lately been assailed by Mr. F. Newman, and other infidels, and rationalists. From all we have seen of his work, Dr. Brown appears to be an able reasoner, and possessed of all the qualifications requisite for his effective discharge of the task he has undertaken.

xli.—*The Mirror of History; or Lives of the Men of Great Eras, from Julius Cæsar to William the Conqueror.* By the Rev. EDWARD BUDGE, B.A., Rector of Bratton-Clovelly, Devon, London: Baldwin.

THE object of this book is to supply a course of historical readings

suited to the Upper classes of schools, or for the use of persons who have not much time to give to such studies. It appears to be very well suited to its purpose.

XLII.—*Essays and Marginalia.* By HARTLEY COLERIDGE. Edited by his Brother. In 2 vols. London: Moxon.

THESE volumes contain essays and remarks on a great variety of subjects, chiefly selected from articles in periodicals, and exhibiting all the ability of their accomplished author. They are almost uniformly brilliant and striking.

XLIII.—*Lectures on the Study of Theology: delivered in the Chapel of Oriel College.* By the Rev. CHARLES P. CHRETIEN, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Oriel. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

A VERY thoughtful and judicious series of lectures on some of the leading topics in theology.

XLIV.—*A History of the Articles of Religion. To which is added a Series of Documents from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1615. Together with Illustrations from Contemporary Sources.* By CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, and Whitehall Preacher. London: Rivingtons.

WE had hoped ere now to have examined this important work at some length, but have been prevented by other engagements. Mr. Hardwick's work is one which cannot fail to attract general attention, and ought to be in every clergyman's library.

XLV.—*The Gospel of St. Luke illustrated (chiefly in the doctrinal and moral sense) from Ancient and Modern Authors.* By the Rev. JAMES FORD, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter, &c. London: Masters.

To the many who are acquainted with Mr. Ford's former publications on the Gospels it will be sufficient to say, that in the volume before us he appears to maintain fully the position which he has gained as an expositor of Scripture.

XLVI.—*Verses for 1851, in Commemoration of the Third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.* Edited by the Rev. ERNEST HAWKINS. London: Bell.

WHOEVER the author of these verses may be, he is both a

Christian and a poet. We quote in proof these lines on American Missions :—

“ Lord, when Thou didst come from heaven,
Edom sought Thee from afar,
With her gold and incense given,
By the leading of a star :
Westward then, from Eden guiding,
Was the light of Bethlehem shed ;
Like the pillar'd blaze abiding
O'er the wandering Hebrew's head.

“ Westward still, the world alluring
Hath the risen Day-star beam'd,
And the sinking soul assuring
O'er the world's wide ocean stream'd.
Westward still, the midnight breaking,
Westward still, its light be pour'd !
Heathen thy possession making,
Utmost lands thy dwelling, Lord !

“ Westward, where from giant fountains,
Oregon comes down in flood,
Westward to Missouri's mountains,
Or to wild Iowa's wood :
Where the broad Arkansas goeth,
Winding o'er savannah's wide ;
Where, beyond old Huron, floweth
Many a strong eternal tide.”

XLVII.—*A History of Greece for Young Persons. Edited by the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M.A.* London : Masters.

THERE is certainly no lack of histories of Greece for “ young persons.” We have already noticed two in this number. Mr. Neale's history has greatly the advantage in point of style, but it does not comprise so much information on collateral topics as Mrs. Toogood's volume.

XLVIII.—*The Bible Unveiled.* London : Samson Low.

A RATIONALISTIC and semi-infidel publication, denying original sin, the atonement, &c.

XLIX.—*The State of the Departed, and the Time of the Reward of Glory.* By ALEXANDER YOUNG, M.A., Mochrum. Glasgow : Ogle. London : Hamilton and Adams.

A HIGHLY interesting and valuable treatise on the intermediate

state. The author advocates the doctrine taught by Irenæus and all the earlier fathers on the subject of Hades.

- L.—*Sermons preached for the most part in a Village Church in the Diocese of Durham. By the Rev. JOHN EDMUNDS, M.A., formerly Fellow of the University of Durham.* London: Hatchards.

THE best volume of parochial Sermons we have seen for a long time: plain—searching—affectionate—scriptural—and altogether most effective. We should like to see more volumes of this kind, and, if they are as well written, Mr. Edmunds will do a real service to the Church.

- L.I.—*A Selection of English Synonyms.* London: J. W. Parker.

THIS very able work is edited by the Archbishop of Dublin, who has prefixed a short preface. The strong recommendation of so eminent a logician as his Grace is sufficient to direct attention to this work.

- L.II.—*Sermons preached in the Parish Church of St. Feock, Cornwall. By the late Rev. WILLIAM HICHENS, B.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Assistant Curate of St. Feock.* London: Rivingtons.

THESE Sermons are the productions of a very pious, thoughtful mind. They are of a practical and spiritual character; but they are deficient, as so many sermons are, in hortatory power. They are adapted for building up a congregation of intelligent and well-disposed Christians, rather than for converting sinners from the errors of their ways.

- L.III.—*Miscellanies.* By WALLBRIDGE LUNN. London: Routledge.

THIS is one of the volumes of the Popular Library, and really it is amongst the marvels of the day that such volumes can be sold for one shilling. The "Miscellanies" contain a great deal of amusement, and some instruction: the author is a keen and satirical observer of human life.

- L.IV.—*Stories of Holy Men and Women. By the Author of "Hymns and Scenes of Childhood."* London: Masters.

THIS volume is not without the tendencies to mediæval practices,
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which we have to regret in the present day. In one place, for instance, pilgrimages are spoken of in too favourable terms. The tales are interesting and well written, but we do not quite like their spirit and tendency.

- LV.—*Leaves of the Tree of Life. A Manual for the Intervals between the Hours of Divine Service of each Sabbath of the Year.* By the Rev. ROBERT W. FRASER, M.A., Minister of the Parish of St. John's, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Paten and Ritchie.

THIS little Manual contains a series of religious readings, accompanied by short poetical pieces for every Sunday in the year. From all we have seen, it appears to be well calculated to suggest appropriate thoughts and devotions, and we have derived pleasure and edification from the work.

- LVI.—*Pierre Poussin: or, the Thought of Christ's Presence.* By WILLIAM EDWARD HEYGATE, M.A., &c. London: Skeffington and Southwell.

AN interesting and beautifully told story, relating to adventures of the Vendéan war.

- LVII.—*Parochial Papers. Edited by the Rev. JOHN ARMITSTEAD, M.A., Vicar of Sandbach, Cheshire.* Vol. I. London: J. H. Parker.

THIS volume contains a series of most useful and valuable papers on Church Choirs, Schools, Parochial Missionary Societies, and visiting the rich and poor. It will be of the greatest use to the clergy.

- LVIII.—*A Dissertation on the Ancient Chinese Vases of the Shang Dynasty, from 1743 to 1496, B.C.* By P. P. THOMS. London: Gilbert.

THIS work is full of engravings of ancient Chinese relics, executed by native artists. They are copied from a work published in China, and extremely well executed. The author of this work appears to have no misgivings as to the genuineness and antiquity of the remains of Chinese art which he illustrates. Whether there be porcelain vases 3000 years old does seem to us rather questionable.

LIX.—*Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Life-Boat Models submitted to compete for the Premium offered by His Grace the DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND. To which is added a List of the existing Life-Boat, Rocket, and Mortar Stations, and an Abstract of the Wrecks which occurred on the Shores of the British Isles in 1850. With Appendix, Maps, and Plates.* London: Clowes and Sons.

THE Government, and both Houses of Parliament, have much reason to feel grateful to the Duke of Northumberland for instituting and promoting an inquiry like that before us, which would not, in the ordinary course of things, have been left to a private individual. The Duke, whose connexion with the naval service had rendered him a competent judge as to the deficiencies in our present system, offered, with much public spirit, a prize of 100*l.* for the best model of a life-boat, and placed the decision, in all cases, in the hands of a committee, consisting of Captain Washington, R.N., Mr. Watts, Assistant Surveyor of the Navy, Mr. Fincham, Master Shipwright in the dock-yard, Portsmouth, Captain Jerningham, and Mr. Peake, Assistant Master Shipwright in the dock-yard, Woolwich. The result of their inquiries appears in a very able and valuable report on the merits of the 280 models and plans submitted, and on the state of life-boats generally. The report is confirmed by the high authority of Sir Baldwin Walker, Surveyor of the Navy. It is pleasing to add, as an instance of well-directed liberality, that the Duke of Northumberland has expressed his intention of placing a life-boat, at his own expense, on each of the most exposed stations of the Northumberland coast, and rockets or mortars at all the intermediate stations.

LX.—*The History of Greece from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebisonde, 1204—1461.* By GEORGE FINLAY, *Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature.* Blackwood: London and Edinburgh.

WE have perused this work with much gratification. Mr. Finlay has thrown light on a very curious and complex chapter in history—that strange mixture of Latin and Greek races which preceded the final subjugation of Greece to the Ottoman power—and the almost miraculous existence of the empire of Trebisonde—strange in its origin—and still more strange from lasting four hundred years without any thing but a name to support it. Mr. Finlay has evinced great learning and research in this volume, which must take its place amongst standard historical works.

- LXI.—*Consecration and Desecration. A Shadow of the Years 1850 and 1851.* London: Masters.

A TALE or allegory having reference to the proceedings at St. Barnabas, and written in a very bad spirit—a spirit of disloyalty to the Church of England. Publications of this kind, pretending to advocate Church principles, are most mischievous.

- LXII.—*The First Hebrew Book. By the Rev. T. KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A., &c.* London: Rivingtons.

A VERY complete manual of elementary instruction, characterized by Mr. Arnold's well-known ability and research.

- LXIII.—*The Jewish School and Family Bible. Newly translated under the Supervision of the Rev. the Chief Rabbi. By Dr. A. BENISCH, &c.* London: Darling.

A TRANSLATION of the Bible into English, giving the Jewish interpretation, is a curious and important work. It will, without doubt, attract attention.

- LXIV.—*The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register.* New Haven: Conn; and Putnam, London.

AN admirably-written American Church Quarterly. We have perused several numbers of our contemporary with the highest gratification at the amount of learning and ability applied to the support of the best of causes.

- LXV.—*Short Forms of Prayer for Family or Private Devotion, &c. By a CLERGYMAN.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker.

THIS collection of prayers for the week has been compiled from the Book of Common Prayer, and we think it is one of the most successful we have seen.

- LXVI.—*An Exposition of the Principal Motives which induced me to leave the Church of Rome. By C. L. TRIVIER.* London: Bosworth.

A WELL-WRITTEN little book, composed by a converted Romish priest, and adapted, perhaps, to be more useful in France than in England.

LXVII.—*Tales of the Empire ; a Scene from the History of the House of Hapsburg. By the Rev. JOHN BAINES, M.A., &c.*
London : Masters.

WE regret being obliged to pronounce a very unfavourable opinion of the principles of this book, as tending to Romanism.

LXVIII.—*Principles of Ecclesiastical Buildings and Ornaments.*
London : Bosworth.

THIS volume appears to be the production of some amateur who wishes to indulge in the luxury of handsome illustrations. It takes notice of almost all subjects connected with ecclesiastical architecture and ornament in some 30 or 40 pages.

LXIX.—*The New Testament Expounded and Illustrated according to the usual Marginal References in the very Words of Scripture. Part II. containing the Epistles and Revelation. By CLEMENT MOODY, M.A., &c.* London : Longmans.

THE continuation and conclusion of Mr. Moody's very convenient and useful work. It ought to be in every clergyman's library.

LXX.—*Transactions of the Exeter Diocese Architectural Society. Vol. III. Part III.; Vol. IV. Part I.* Exeter, 1849-1850.

THE transactions of the Exeter Architectural Society, comprising as they do many communications from persons distinguished by their attainments in architectural knowledge, and enriched by beautiful and accurate engravings and measurements, are amongst the most important contributions of our day to architectural science. Amongst the most interesting papers, we would mention that on fresco painting, and Chancellor Harington's on the consecration of churches.

LXXI.—*Two Sad Deaths on one Sabbath, &c. Two Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Amesbury. By the Rev. FULWAR W. FOWLE, Prebendary of Salisbury, &c.* London : Mozley.

WE are glad to see by the number of editions through which these admirable discourses on drunkenness and unchastity have passed, that they are appreciated as they ought to be.

LXXII.—*Idoltrous Apostasy. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Didcot, on the Second Sunday after Trinity, June 29, 1851. By the Rev. J. BANDINEL, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

THE preacher of this excellent discourse has endeavoured to place before his congregation some reasons which may account to them for the strange instances of perversions to an idoltrous system which we are witnessing. He carries back his hearers to the tendencies of the human mind as exhibited in the history of God's ancient people, and thus meets the emotions of surprise which must be excited in the mind of every true believer.

"Of all the many wonderful things which we see and hear of now-a-days, there is nothing which, *at first sight*, appears more strange and unaccountable, than the numbers of those who have left the pure and scriptural Church of England for the idoltrous and unscriptural Church of Rome. Men who were known to be highly educated, and supposed to be truly religious, have deserted the faith and the Church of their fathers, have adopted the doctrines of a new faith, and submitted to the authority of a foreign bishop.

"This, *at first sight*, appears strange and unaccountable.

"Again. If we read the historical books of the Old Testament, those which contain a narrative of public events from the call of Moses to the Babylonish captivity; amongst the many wonderful things which we find there, there is nothing which, *at first sight*, strikes us as so strange and unaccountable, as the frequency with which the Israelites either deserted the worship of Jehovah altogether for that of the false gods of the heathen, or mixed up the worship of idols and other objects with that of the only true God. Men who had witnessed the miracles which God had wrought, in vindication of his authority or exercise of his will—signs in the heaven above, and wonders in the earth beneath; who had seen the discomfiture of his enemies, and the fierceness of his wrath against whole nations of idolaters; men, I say, who had either been present on these occasions, or had heard them described by their parents—notwithstanding all that they had seen, and known, and heard, and learnt, still went over in whole multitudes to the service of those false deities, who had not been able to defend their votaries from the wrath of God, to the practice of those abominations, which called forth the fierceness of his anger.

"Surely this, *at first sight*, appears strange and unaccountable."—pp. 3—5.

The argument is thus wound up:—

"We see clearly then, my brethren, that idolatry is natural to our fallen nature; and that under one form or another it has always been very prevalent even amongst the professed worshippers of the true God.

"We cannot therefore wonder, that Satan should have done his

utmost, both in old times and also at present, to beguile men into idolatrous apostasy.

"There is nothing more unaccountable in a man's being guilty of idolatry, either now or heretofore, than of his being guilty of adultery, fornication, hatred, variance, drunkenness, revellings, or any of the other works of the flesh, which St. Paul expressly enumerates, *together with idolatry*, as excluding those who practise them from the kingdom of heaven.

"This is, my brethren, a very important truth; it is, I know and feel, a very humbling truth; but that does not make it either less true or less important. *Man is by nature idolatrous.*

"If we do not know and feel this, we shall not be on our guard against the inroads and temptations of idolatry, whenever they beset us; for no one prepares against a danger, until he knows of its existence.

"And knowing and feeling this, we shall not wonder at the apostasy either of Israelites to Canaan, or Englishmen to Rome.

"I am of course aware, that there are many circumstances, in which the cases are different; that in each case there have been additional and other temptations; in each case peculiar aggravations: of these matters I am not now treating. But I have endeavoured to prevent your minds from being either staggered or bewildered by reading of the apostasies of old times, or those of the present day. And I have wished to urge upon you the fact, that every one of you has in his heart a natural tendency to idolatry, which you must pray against and strive against, lest the devil, who walketh about as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, seize on you unawares; lest you set up idols unwittingly in your own hearts, or become the victims of a dark delusion, and leave the God of England for the idols of Rome."—pp. 12—15.

These are great truths manfully and honestly stated. We cordially thank Mr. Bandinel for his excellent discourse.

LXXIII.—*De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus. Dissertuit* CAROLUS GULIELMUS SCHOLL. Berolini: Hertz. Londini: Williams et Norgate.

THERE is certainly no part of ancient history which has greater need of criticism than the history of England and Ireland. It is crowded with fabulous legends. We have ourselves endeavoured to remove the veil from some of our legendary inventions of the middle ages; and Dr. Scholl has, in this work, performed a real service, in pursuing the investigation in an honest tone of criticism, through all our ancient historians. His work should be studied by every one who seeks really to master the early history of our Church and nation.

LXXIV.—*The Rule of Faith as maintained by the Fathers and the Church of England. A Sermon preached before the University, by the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., &c. Oxford: Parker.*

It is with sincere gratification that we are enabled to extract from Dr. Pusey's Sermon such passages as the following. It is needless to say that such expressions from him will have much weight, and are of no small importance:—

"The Church of England has, from the Reformation, held implicitly, in purpose of heart, all which the Ancient Church ever held. The rule of Vincentius was held as explicitly by Cranmer and Ridley and Jewell as by Laud, Hammond, and Beveridge. The Homilies appeal to 'God's word, the sentences of the Ancient Doctors, and judgment of the Primitive Church;' they speak of 'the judgment of the old Doctors and the primitive Church,' as explaining the meaning of the 'law of God, and acknowledge the six [Œcumenical] Councils, which were allowed and received of all men.' On the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, Original Sin and the doctrine of Grace, and the two great Sacraments, she plainly teaches the same doctrine which from the first was always taught.

"But it has been asked of late, 'Is the act of a Provincial Church which for itself examines Antiquity, any the less an act of a collective private judgment than the same act of individuals?' It is an act of private judgment, in no sense which is not allowed by the Ancient Church herself. The caprice and self-will of innovators, the *ἰδίωσ τοῦς*, and the *ἰδία προαίρεσις*, are what are condemned by the Ancient Church, not the reverent investigation of Antiquity, with implicit submission to its authority. Vincentius puts the very case, in which there is no distinct authority of a General Council. 'Then shall he diligently take heed that he prefer the universal decrees and determinations of an ancient General Council, if such there be, before the temerity or folly of a few. What if some such case happen where no such thing can be found? Then shall he labour, by conferring and laying them together amongst themselves, to refer to and consult the Ancient Fathers' opinions, not of all, but of those only which living at divers times, and sundry places, yet continuing in the communion and faith of the one Catholic Church, were approved masters and guides to be followed; and whatsoever he perceiveth, not one or two, but all jointly with one consent, plainly, usually, constantly, to have holden, written, and taught; let him know that this without scruple or doubt he ought to believe.' And this way, the very Fathers whom we are taught to reverence, themselves practised. St. Athanasius on the word *ὁμολόγησις*, St. Augustine against the Pelagians, St. Cyril against Nestorius, nay, the very Fathers of the Council of Ephesus, St. Leo against Eutyches, Theodoret, alleged individual testimonies of older Fathers, in proof of the ancient term of faith or the doctrine which they upheld.

"Now to speak very briefly on points as to which our writers

protest; it is very clear that throughout the East the Cup has never been denied, nor was it denied in the West for twelve and thirteen hundred years; nor were Indulgences, such as they are now, known for about twelve hundred.

"On the doctrine of the intermediate state Roman Catholic writers of reputation say; 'No wonder that Ambrose thus wrote of the state of souls; but it might seem almost incredible how, for nearly fourteen hundred years from the very time of the Apostles to the Pontificate of Gregory IX. and the Council of Florence, the Holy Fathers were uncertain and inconsistent. For not only do they differ one from the other, as commonly happens in such questions not yet defined by the Church, but they are not even consistent with themselves, sometimes appearing to grant that those souls enjoy the clear sight of the Divine nature, of which at other times they deprive them.' A writer of the twelfth century speaks of purgatory as the opinion of some. St. Augustine, again, from whom the Latin doctrine of Purgatory is mostly derived, uses the words 'it is not incredible,' 'perchance, it is true.' And the Greeks are not agreed with the Western Church. St. Hilary, again, thought only of a fire through which the Blessed Virgin had to pass; and St. Ambrose that St. Peter and St. Paul must be tried by it, though without pain; and prayers for the departed included, at one time, the Blessed Virgin, or Patriarchs, Apostles, and Martyrs; and the passage from this life was spoken of as 'a haven of rest;' whereas the common doctrine of Purgatory is that souls there 'never rest.'

"Again, the cultus of the Blessed Virgin is acknowledged to be of later date. Surely, then, when it is taught in authorized books that 'it is morally impossible for those who neglect the devotion to the Blessed Virgin to be saved,' or that 'it is the Will of God that all graces should pass through her hands,' and so, that we 'can only hope to obtain perseverance through her;' that 'God granted all the pardons in the Old Testament absolutely for the reverence and love of this Blessed Virgin;' God has constituted Mary the ordinary dispensatrix of His grace; 'he who neglects Mary shall die in his sins;' surely we may ask with St. Athanasius, 'Whence or from whom did they learn this? who of the Fathers taught it?' Were this so, how is it that Holy Scripture speaks of the Throne of our Lord only, as 'the Throne of grace;' how that it so inculcates on us only that He is 'the One Mediator between God and man;' and speaks of no one with Him? or how that none of the Apostles delivered this teaching to those after them, or for so many hundred years, the Church knew nothing of it?

"Yet this doctrine is methodised, so as to bear very closely upon the Intercessorial office of our Lord Himself. It is said in the name of the Church, 'the intention of the Church is that we seek Jesus Christ in His Saints, and we are much more sure of finding Him in his Saints, for instance in the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, St. John, St. Peter, than when we seek Him immediately and of ourselves . . . We are very unworthy to draw near unto Jesus, and He has a right to repulse [rebuter] because of his Justice, since, having entered in: o all

the feelings of his Father from the time of his Blessed Resurrection, He finds Himself in the same disposition with the Father towards sinners, i. e. to reject them; so that the difficulty is to induce Him to exchange the office of Judge for that of Advocate, and of a Judge to make Him a Suppliant: now this is what the Saints effect, and especially the Most Blessed Virgin.'

"Again, the Church of England may ask; Since no one text of Holy Scripture can be alleged for the invocation of saints, since it is said of our Lord that 'He ever liveth to make intercession for us,' that 'we have not a High Priest who cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities;' that we may 'come boldly to the throne of grace;' that there is but One Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus; on what authority is this teaching delivered in the name of the Church?"—pp. 46—61.

LXXV.—*Poems and Tales: with an Autobiographical Sketch of his Early Life.* By the Rev. W. WICKENDEN, B.A. *The Bard of the Forest.* With a Preface, by the Rev. HENRY STEBBING. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.

THERE are several pleasing tales in this volume. The style is rather too florid. The memoir is interesting, and shows the struggles of a young man of genius under circumstances of poverty.

LXXVI.—*The Psalms, in a New Version.* By M. MONTAGU. London: Hatchards.

IF this version be more faithful than that of Tate and Brady, it is much less poetical: its language is often very ungraceful.

LXXVII.—*The Jansenists: their Rise, Persecution by the Jesuits, and existing Remnant.* By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London: Bagster.

A VERY interesting little volume, illustrated by neat engravings. It contains a curious account of the present state of Jansenism.

MISCELLANEOUS:

AMONGST publications of a general character now lying before us we may mention the first number of the "Architectural Quarterly Review" (Bell), a new publication, very ably conducted; "Peter; Confession; and Absolution" (Rivingtons), Essays on occasion of the Papal Aggression, by Rev. J. Macnaught, B.A.; "Can a Clergyman create an Equitable Charge on a Living under the Statute 1 and 2 Vict. cap. 110?" by John Darling, M.A., Barrister at Law (Stevens and Norton); "A Plea for the Rights

and Liberties of Women, in Reply to Dr. Ullathorne," by Mr. Drummond (Bosworth), an ably written pamphlet; "Some Thoughts on the Spread of Mental Culture" (Norwich: Musket), a thoughtful tract; "The Woman and the Dragon," by Rev. J. P. Gurney (Nisbet), on part of the Book of Revelation; "The Death and Resurrection of the Two Witnesses," by the same; in which the witnesses are supposed to have been slain at the proscription of religion in France, 1793; "Lights on the Altar," by the Rev. T. S. L. Vogan, M.A. (Rivingtons), comprising views which we believe to be substantially correct; "The Papal Supremacy," by a Medical Man (Rivingtons), a learned and well-written publication; "The Plain Chant of the Order for Morning Prayer," &c. (Rivingtons), conveying much instruction, which will be of value to all church choirs, and will tend to promote an improved system of chanting; "Cases of Conscience; or, Lessons in Morals, extracted from the Moral Theology of the Romish Clergy," by Pascal the Younger (Bosworth), a pamphlet which ought to be published in a form more suited for circulation; "A Letter to the Rev. G. A. Denison, M.A.," by the Rev. S. Robins (Hatchards); "Speech of Rev. S. Robins," publications in which we must admit the general correctness of Mr. Robins's judgment; while we do not wholly concur in the course he has taken; "Peace" (Hatchards), pointing out the evils of war and the burdens it entails; "The Church of England in the Colonies," by Lord John Manners (Simpkin and Marshall), a Lecture on this interesting subject; "Church Leases," by W. H. Grey (Ridgway); "Soft Spring Water from the Surrey Hills," by the Hon. W. Napier (Smith, Elder, and Co.), offering suggestions for providing water for the metropolis; "Some Examination of a recently published Opinion of E. Badeley, Esq., in favour of Altar Lights," by a Layman (Rivingtons), an able tract, maintaining, as we conceive, sound views on this subject; "The Sacrament of Responsibility" (Bell), a well-written parochial tract, advocating right views of baptism—its value consists in an exclusive reference to Scripture, which renders it adapted to meet dissenters' objections; "Equalization of Poor Rates" (Odell), a suggestion for the more equal distribution of the burden of the poor rate; "The Embarrassment of the Clergy," by Presbyterian-Anglicanus (Bosworth), calling for a settlement of disputed questions of discipline, and in rather too excited a way; "Documents respecting the Estate of Horfield Manor," with a Preface, by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Murray), a full exculpation of the Bishop from the charges made by certain persons in Parliament, which are only disgraceful to themselves; "A Letter to the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D.," by Rev.

T. P. Wright, M.A. (Rivingtons), a manly defence of the claim for Convocation ; "Tracts and Documents relative to the Lord Bishop of Bombay's Visit to Madeira," by Rev. R. T. Lowe (Rivingtons), the details of a transaction which we lament, and in which Mr. Lowe appears to us to have acted unadvisedly.

Amongst other publications we may notice Bishop Doane's Seventh Charge to the Clergy of New Jersey, entitled "The Christian Minister," characterized by the eloquence and warmth of feeling peculiar to that eminent Bishop ; "A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of Glasgow and Galloway," by their Bishop (Rivingtons), in which we rejoice to see the combination of a charitable spirit with firmness on great principles ; "A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rupert's Land," by the Lord Bishop (Hatchards), comprising much interesting and valuable matter, though approving of the Judgment in the Gorham case ; a Sermon by Canon Rogers in Exeter Cathedral, "Jesus Christ, the sole Mediator, virtually denied by Roman Catholics," a learned discourse ; "Five Lectures on the Passion of our Lord," by the Rev. R. S. Oldham (Rivingtons) ; "Holy Communion at Visitation," by the Rev. James Ford, M.A. (Masters) ; "The Seal of Apostleship," an Ordination Sermon by the Bishop of Rupert's Land (Hatchards) ; "The Extension of the Church in the Colonies," an excellent Sermon by the Rev. H. Bailey, Warden of St. Augustine's ; "Angels the Ministers of God's Providence," a Sermon by the Rev. Richard Gibbings, written with his usual learning ; "Salvation by Christ through His Church," a Sermon by the Rev. Dr. Claxson ; Bishop Doane's "Jubilee Sermon," a very interesting discourse ; Sermons by the Rev. Laurence Ottley on the "Importance of Spirituality and Unity amongst the Ministers of the Church," by the Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, and the Rev. Sir George Prevost, at the Bishop of Oxford's Ordination ; by the Rev. J. Oldknow ; a Sermon by the Rev. J. H. B. Green ; a Sermon by the Rev. W. T. Eyre, on the Reformed Church of England ; by the Rev. J. H. Bright, at the Visitation of the Archdeacon of Stafford ; by the Rev. C. P. Eden, at a Visitation of Archdeacon Crecyke ; by the Rev. L. J. Bernays, on "The Way of Peace ;" by the Rev. C. J. Elliott, on "The Coming of the Day of God ;" by the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttleton, on "The Want of Success in the Christian Ministry," &c.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The French Government, pursuing its policy of seeking the aid of the Roman Catholic priesthood, which led to the expedition to Rome, discourages in all ways the spread of Protestantism, while it gives to the Bishops full liberty to hold their synods, provincial and diocesan, and on all occasions seeks to strengthen their influence. The French Bishops have begun to re-establish their ecclesiastical courts.

We read continually of the foundation of new monasteries and the return of the monastic orders. According to all appearance, France will, in a few years, be as full of monks and nuns as before the Revolution. The Archbishop of Paris has placed the parish of St. Sulpice under the direction of the Seminary, by appointing the head of the latter to the incumbency of the parish.

A Maire of a little village in La Sarthe having lately interfered, according to the terms of the old law, to prevent a religious procession from leaving the church, the curé applied to the Bishop, who in his turn complained to the Prefet; and the result was, that the Maire was dismissed by the Minister of the Interior, and the gendarmerie were ordered to maintain good order in processions. This measure has highly delighted the Romish party—and was, of course, intended exactly for that purpose, on the eve of the election of the President.

The town and municipal council of St. Lo, in La Manche, have placed in the hands of the Bishop of Coutances the college of that town, and have voted 7000fr. to prepare it for its new arrangements.

M. Bourzat lately proposed in the Chamber of Deputies that the number of Bishops should be reduced. The report on this proposition states, that France has one Bishop for every 400,000 souls; Bavaria, one for every 375,000; Austria, one for 358,000; Ireland, one for 224,000; Spain, one for 203,000; Portugal, one for 113,000; Sardinia, one for 110,000: and Naples, one for 106,000.

M. Graveran, Bishop of Quimper, has summoned his diocesan synod, consisting of the Vicars-General, Canons, Honorary Canons, Curés, Directors of the Seminary, Principals of two Colleges, Superiors of Houses of St. Joseph, the two Senior Chaplains, and the Senior Curate or Curates in each Canton.

At the beautiful chapel of "Saints Anges," at St. Eustache, lately repainted, a reliquary has been placed, containing a bone of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Mgr. Fransoni, Archbishop of Turin, has gone to England; and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and the Bishop of Nevers, have returned to Paris from a visit to London.

An imposing ceremony took place at Rive-de-Gier on June 26, when the Archbishop of Lyons consecrated a new church, and confirmed one thousand persons.

The following appears in the Journals :—" At the College of Saint-Chamond (held at present by the Marist Fathers), that statue of the Virgin stands with celestial grace which in 1850, in the inundation at St. Etienne, remained standing amidst the torrent, and was pronounced miraculous by all the people who witnessed the prodigy. On the 10th July, all the *élèves* of the College went in procession to consecrate themselves solemnly to the Holy Mother of God, at the foot of her statue. All who were present were profoundly impressed by this touching ceremony."

The Princess Polignac having presented a handsome banner to the Society of men at Polignac, the latter returned the compliment by causing an Office for the departed members of the Polignac family to be celebrated with much pomp.

The "Univers" publishes the following question, addressed by the Bishop of Langres to the sacred Congregation of Rites, and the answer received from Rome :—

" Q. Episcopus Lingonensis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestræ humiliter quærit an liceat ordinarium Missæ in linguam vernaculem et vulgarem traducere, et sic traductum, approbante Episcopo, ad usum Fidelium typis mandare ?

" R. Sanctissimus mandavit ut Episcopus orator moneat traductores ut a cepto abstineant, ejusdemque operis impressionem et publicationem inhibeat."

It is said that M. Sibour, the Archbishop of Paris, is under the ban of the Ultramontane Church, on account of his liberal opinions. The Pope's Nuncio lately gave a grand dinner, studiously omitting to invite the Archbishop. Archbishop Franzoni, of Turin, declined to call upon him ; and many of the aristocratic inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Germain have withdrawn the charitable contributions which were accustomed to pass through his hands.

A trial has been going on before the Tribunal of Correctional Police, at Carpentras, in the course of which some curious disclosures were made, throwing light on the natures of the modern miracles at Rome. The accused was Rose Tamisier, charged with " an outrage on objects of religious worship." She is a woman of the age of thirty-three, extremely pale, with a strong cast of mysticism in her countenance. The Court was crowded to excess, and the famous bleeding picture was placed behind the Judges. Several witnesses stated that Rose had always pretended to possess the power of working miracles. To one witness she showed a letter alleged to have been written by a person miraculously endowed with the faculty of writing in answer to her prayers. To another she stated that she had, on a particular occasion, been surrounded with a great light from heaven at Cadenat. To a third she told that, in the Convent of Sallons, she had planted a cabbage by the command of Heaven, which in a few days grew so large that all the

persons in the convent dined upon it.—The Curé of Saignon had known Rose for fifteen years, and always noticed her marked tendency to mysticism. She told him on several occasions that she had miraculously received the Sacrament in the Church ; and on going to the tabernacle of the altar, he found that the consecrated wafer had vanished. He removed the key of the tabernacle, and forbade her to approach the altar ; but on going to the church one morning, he found the tabernacle open, two candles on the altar lighted, and Rose prostrate on the ground ; when she told him that the candles had become lighted of themselves, that the tabernacle had voluntarily opened, that she had felt herself fixed to the ground at some distance from the altar, and that the consecrated wafer had then advanced slowly to her mouth. About the same time, she professed to have marks of a miraculous character on her breast, in proof of which she produced her linen, which bore sometimes stains representing the Virgin Mary, and at others a crown of thorns. One day, before celebrating mass, he ordered Rose to place a piece of clean linen to her breast, and not to leave the church without his permission. When the mass was over, he called her to the vestry, and made her produce the linen, which to his astonishment bore the figure of the Virgin. By direction of the archbishop, he ordered her to pray to God that the marks on her breast might be removed ; and a few days after they disappeared. Upon one occasion, when he had to say mass at five o'clock, Rose promised to have him awakened ; he was aroused from sleep by three blows struck on his night table, and at the same time heard distant music ; and the next day Rose said, " I had you awakened by my guardian angel ! " Another miracle ascribed to Rose by the Curé was that she had caused buttons to be sent to him in a supernatural way for repairing his coat.—M. Massie, a landowner at Saignon, said the Vicaire had called him an Atheist and an Infidel, for not believing in Rose's miracles, and had announced to him that still more extraordinary things would soon be witnessed.—M. Caire, formerly Vicaire at Saint Saturnin, who had known Rose at the time he had resided there, considered that her piety was not very enlightened. When her pretended miracles were related, he had refused to go up to the Chapel, and had recommended the Curé to put an end to the scandal, for the sake of religion. This had led to an altercation, and eventually to his removal from the parish. As he had been the confessor of Rose, he refused to answer any questions as to her character and conduct.—M. Chavard, another priest, said that, in order to see whether Rose really had the spiritual graces to which she pretended, he engaged in a "neuvaine" with her, when he told her that being at prayer one day, before the altar of the Miraculous Virgin, he saw, in a splendid vision glittering with light, the Virgin Mary, holding the infant Jesus in her arms ; that Jesus dropped him a letter, written in characters of gold, and that on opening it he read, " Peace be with you, my son ! I have nothing more precious to give to those my heart loveth ! " that, after reading it, the letter suddenly vanished ; that he had seen three hearts, to one of which a cross

was chained ; that from one of them blood dropped into a chalice, held by a hand ; that he had then heard the voice of an angel, saying, " Take and drink without hesitation, for this blood will communicate to thee force to resist the rude trials which await thee ! " that, after drinking, the chalice suddenly became changed into a Bishop's mitre, which floated before his enchanted eyes ! Rose, therefore, declared that precisely at the same time she had seen the same vision, and explained what the different things signified.—M. André, another Curé, had considered the miracles as juggling tricks, and intended to expose them in a religious periodical, but had been prevented by the ecclesiastical authorities.

After a long investigation, in which evidence appeared of palpable impostures, and Rose was proved to have had secret access to the Church, the Tribunal pronounced itself incompetent, and no decision was arrived at.

GERMANY.—The German Catholics have increased and multiplied to such an extent, that the Austrian Government has at length determined that the communities shall be dissolved, " as their doctrines are rather a negation of the Roman Catholic dogmas than the establishment of any new profession of faith." The Saxon Government has acted in the same manner.

The Austrian, Prussian, and other Governments of Germany continue to extend their support to Romanism in every way. It is their hope, by means of the priesthood, to suppress the revolutionary tendencies in their states.

At Berlin a new and splendid Roman Catholic Church is about to be built. The first stone was laid recently, in the presence of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs. The cost will be about 30,000*l.*, of which the state furnishes about 11,000*l.*

The veteran of neology, Dr. H. E. G. Paulus, died at Heidelberg, on the 10th inst. For more than half a century he has been celebrated as one of the most able and active among the writers of the rationalistic school of German theology. Dr. Paulus was born at Leonberg, near Stuttgart, in 1761. He studied chiefly at Tübingen, but visited several other Universities in Germany, Holland, and England. While at Oxford, in the year 1784, he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at Jena. In 1793 he succeeded to the theological chair, and gave lectures on theology about 40 years at Jena, Würzburg, and Heidelberg, till advancing age and its infirmities compelled him to retire from his public duties.

We have not heard so much of late of the Jesuit and other Missions for the conversion of Protestants in Germany. In Bavaria the priests frightened the people into almsgiving by telling them the eclipse *might* be the beginning of the end of all things. At the entrance of the Church of the Minorities, in Vienna, the following " Christian Invitation " was posted: " The 27th July, being the eve of a great phenomenon of nature, processions will be made by the faithful to the shrines of our

Lady at Maria Zell and Klein Maria Teferl, to pray for the intercession of the Queen of Heaven, that no harm may happen to our beloved city of Vienna. The faithful assemble at the Convent of the Carmelites at six in the morning, and are requested to bring with them female children clothed in white, to attend the Cross." It is said that some Baptist and other English Missionaries have been favourably received, and have collected congregations, in which at least the simple doctrines of Christianity are preached.

The Prussian Evangelical Church continues its excommunication of sectarians.

ITALY.—At a Consistory held at the Vatican, Sept. 5, Archbishops were appointed for the Sees of Grenada, Compostella, and Quito; and Bishops appointed to the Sees of Sinigaglia, Ancona, Macerata, Arras, Huesca, Malaga, Civita - Castellana, Termoli, Saint-Claude, Yacia, Budweis, Albarca, Csanad, Salamanca, Placencia, Majorca, St. Louis, Linares, and Leuca.

The Pope, at the request of the Vicar-general of the Order of Dominicans, has just granted fresh indulgences for the devotion of the Rosary. Is this devotion wearing out?

We find in the Roman Catholic journals the following piece of intelligence:—"The Sovereign Pontiff has desired that the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda should subscribe a large sum to the Catholic University of Ireland. The desire of Pius IX. has been promptly realized, and the venerable Archbishop of Armagh has received the funds destined by the Sovereign Pontiff for the establishment of the Irish University."

By a Decree of the Congregation of the Index 9 June, 1851, several books on magnetism, and also works by M. Burdach, Nicod, Brenner, &c., have been condemned.

Since the publication of our last number the Pope has granted indulgences to all contributors to the erection of a Roman Catholic Church, to be built in London, and intended ostensibly for the use of Italians, but really as a cathedral for Dr. Wiseman. The Duke and Duchess of Modena have given 600 fr. and 200 fr. to the object.

A misunderstanding has arisen again at Rome between the French and Papal authorities. When first occupying Rome some of the French troops were quartered at the offices of the Holy Inquisition: some time after, however, they gave up the building to the Congregation of the Holy Office, who got it repaired at a cost of 15,000 fr., and were enabled to occupy it but a few months ago. On the 16th the French commission for quartering the troops suddenly received information that the seventh battalion of foot chasseurs was coming on the following evening. Not knowing where to quarter them at so short a notice, the commissioners immediately sent to the Holy Office, announcing in rather an imperious tone their intention of taking possession of the buildings, and demanding the immediate removal of the offices of the Inquisition. At urgent request, three days were granted

for removing archives, &c.; and, failing to find another suitable residence, the Pope has been obliged to lodge the Inquisition in the Vatican.

The precautionary measures adopted by General Gemau have given great umbrage to the Papal Government. Meanwhile the Austrians are fortifying the whole line between Foligno and Ancona. The internal condition of Rome is represented as most deplorable. Atrocities, darker even than those of Naples, are, it is said, perpetrated in the gaols, which are full of political prisoners, and the barbarity of the Papal Government towards them has been carried to the length of forbidding the use of prayers for them.

Dr. Grant, the President of the English College at Rome, was lately consecrated Bishop of Southwark, in the Church of the English College at Rome, by Cardinal Franzoni, assisted by the Archbishop of Loretto and Recanati, and the Bishop of Port Victoria, in Australia. It is rather a strange circumstance, that notwithstanding the announcement of this fact in all the Roman Catholic journals, a Dr. *Brown* has just been installed at Southwark. How has *Grant* been transmuted into *Brown*? Has he as many names as Gawthorn? or is it a new prodigy?

An attempt was made, on the 11th instant, to assassinate Monsignor Tizzani, Bishop of Terni, by blowing up the house he inhabited at Santa Maria Maggiore. The incendiary missile exploded before it reached its destination. The friends of the prelate had been previously invited, by an anonymous handbill, to attend his funeral.

From a communication addressed by Lord Palmerston to the Scottish Reformation Society, it appears that for the offence of attending the British Church, and reading the Bible, Count Guicciardini and the other persons arrested with him, have been banished from Tuscany for six months, with liberty to select their place of exile.

A story is told of a young man, who recently died at Pisa, rejecting the good offices of sundry monks, who threatened him with "the devil;" and deceased exacting a promise from a friend that he would not leave his body until it was buried. The friend, a Corsican, accordingly watched over the body in the burial-ground. At dead of night "the devil" stood by his side, draped in black and red, having enormous horns, and a long tail. He was asked what he wanted; but as he gave no intelligible reply, and made advances towards the body, the Corsican drew a pistol, and shot the devil dead. He proved to be the convent "bellman!" The Corsican was tried for the murder. He pleaded his belief that he was really attacked by the devil, and was acquitted.

The "*Monitore Toscano*," of the 5th inst., publishes a concordat concluded between Rome and Tuscany on the 25th of April last, and which does away with many of the guarantees decreed in the last century against the authority of the Church by the Grand Duke Peter Leopold.

A chapel is, it is said, about being erected at Turin, for members of

the Church of England, against which some bishops of Piedmont have protested.

A church for the Vaudois is about being erected at Turin.

At the procession of the "Fête Dieu," at Genoa, one of the priests was struck with a horsewhip, another was menaced with the cry of "Death to the priests!" and "Vive la Liberté!" The same cries pursue the priests at Turin.

MALTA.—The Archbishop of Rhodes, by command of the Pope, has addressed a pastoral to "his venerable brothers, &c., of the diocese of Malta," in which he denounces the "Avvenire," a Roman Catholic, but liberal journal, published at Malta, as—

"An irreligious print, which contains erroneous, false, and captious doctrines in matters of religion, which twists Scripture in a sense different from that recognised by the Church, maltreats ecclesiastical authority, without sparing the supreme Bishop, and gives to Christianity an aspect entirely different from that in which it should be viewed by every son of the Catholic Church. For this reason, having before our eyes God alone, and the welfare of the souls committed to our charge, and moved only by a most intimate conviction, we do accordingly condemn without restriction the journal, entitled the "Avvenire," and declare consequently that, by the publication of this condemnation, not only the editors and writers of the journal, but all who are directly or indirectly concerned in it, or who read or keep it without permission, incur the penalty of censure."

On the 28th ult. the Bishop of Gibraltar held a confirmation at the English church at Lisbon, when more than 200 were confirmed, the greater portion of whom were men and boys belonging to the English ships of war.

RUSSIA.—A frightful occurrence took place in Wladimir, on the 1st of July. According to ancient custom, a procession is held on that day, to carry the miraculous image of the Virgin from a neighbouring convent into the town of Wladimir, and back again. The concourse was unusually great, and just as the procession was crossing a bridge, the latter gave way, and 149 monks lost their lives, while 58 were recovered, more or less injured.

ASIA.

CHINA.—Some difficulties have arisen as to the respective jurisdictions of the American Missionary Bishop of Shanghai, and the English Bishop of Victoria. Some correspondence has taken place, which has not as yet issued in any arrangement.

SYRIA.—A paper in the "Ami de la Religion" informs us of the various denominations of Christians in the East who recognise the Papal authority, and who, though living in the same localities, have different rites and hierarchies. They are, 1. Maronites; 2. Armenians; 3. Melchite Greeks; 4. Syrians; 5. Chaldeans: a species of unity somewhat at variance with our Western notions.

At Jaffa, in Syria, the framework of a ship has been discovered in the sands. It is supposed to be as old as the period when the Jews occupied the port of Jaffa ; and it is to be transported to England.

BOMBAY.—The Right Rev. Dr. Carr, Bishop of Bombay, who is at present in England on leave of absence, has given in his resignation, and the vacant see has been conferred on the Rev. John Harding, Rector of St. Andrew's by the Wardrobe and St. Ann's, Blackfriars.

The Bombay papers announce the decision of the first case under the recent act, which established liberty of conscience in India. A man of the name of Narayun Ramchunder became a convert to the Christian faith, but could not prevail on his wife to follow him, and she, in consequence, separated herself from him, carrying away her child, a boy of seven years of age. Narayun Ramchunder, anxious to recover possession of his child, instituted a suit against his wife before the principal, Sudder Ameen, which decreed in his favour. An appeal of the mother to the judge of Ahmednuggur reversed the decision, on the ground that the father had become an outcast among the Brahmins, which was, however, ultimately confirmed by the Sudder Court, at Bombay, under the Act xxi., 1850, which provides that any law or usage that inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property by reason of his or her renouncing the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law.

CALCUTTA.—The Church has sustained a great loss by the death of the Rev. A. W. Street, Senior Professor at Bishop's College, Calcutta.

MADRAS.—The progress of the Missions in the diocese of Madras is most encouraging. The Rev. A. F. Cœmmerer makes the following report of the Mission of Nazareth, Tinnevely :—

“The Nazareth Mission comprises at present seventeen villages. Fourteen of these are within two miles of my residence, so that, except in the monsoon, I have every thing calculated to make the work of superintendence easy ; while six of them consist entirely of Christians, that is, every one in them has either been baptized, or is preparing for baptism. Such a state of things in any village is of the greatest advantage, for it enables the Missionary to carry out his plans and improvements more effectually than he would otherwise be able to do ; and such congregations are invariably the most orderly and better behaved of any.

“On the list of the baptized I have 656 men, 715 women, and 999 children ; and on the list of the unbaptized there are 432 men, 466 women, and 704 children, making in all 3972 souls under my care. I can report favourably on the present religious state of my district. It is, perhaps, more satisfactory and cheering now than at any previous period. Although the ill-conduct, and insubordinate and unsanctified spirit manifested, for the last six months, by a few unhappy individuals belonging to the Nazareth congregation, have been the source of much pain to me, still I see abundant cause for thankfulness in the success which has accompanied my labours during the past year. The Sunday

services are as fully attended as before, and what is more pleasing, are better appreciated, and the word of God, preached and expounded, is not only listened to, but, I have reason to believe, is, by the blessing of God, grafted inwardly in the hearts of many of my hearers."

Accounts of an equally interesting and encouraging nature have been received from the Nangoor district.

AFRICA.

EGYPT.—A few English travellers have, through great exertions, raised subscriptions to complete the unfinished and rapidly decaying church of St. Mark, at Alexandria. Materials in wood and iron for the roof of the church have been dispatched by a vessel about to sail for Alexandria.

ROMISH MISSIONS.—A Roman Catholic Mission, under the Jesuit Ryllo, left Cairo in 1847 to ascend the Nile, and subsequently went to Dongola and Chartum the capital of Soudan. Ryllo having died, M. Knoblecher, one of the Missionaries, has returned to Europe for help, which has been promised to him in a private audience by the Emperor of Austria; and he next goes to France.

The Pope has formed a Vicariat Apostolic of Caffraria or of Port Natal; and M. Allard, one of the order of Oblats at Marseilles, has been consecrated Bishop for the Mission, and has left accompanied by several priests. "They will have to combat Protestantism, which has taken prior possession," says the "*Ami de la Religion*."

AMERICA.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—The Bishop of Newfoundland has returned to St. John's from his protracted visit to Bermuda. His Lordship is about to set out on a Missionary voyage to the Labrador coast. The Report for 1850 of the Fredericton Diocesan Church Society shows an income of 707*l.* arising from annual subscriptions, in addition to 65*l.* interest on funded property. The Bishop has issued a circular letter to the Clergy, fixing June 15th for a general celebration of the Third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. On March 16th, the Bishop of Montreal held his first Ordination in the Cathedral.

The Church in Newfoundland is about to claim a share in the Educational grants from which it is now excluded.

At a recent meeting of the Clergy of the Church of England, and delegates from various parishes and townships of the diocese of Quebec, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That the Bishop and Clergy of the diocese of Quebec, and laity of the same, being represented by the delegates attending, by desire of the Bishop, the anniversary meeting of the Diocesan Church Society, do solemnly protest against the alienation of the Clergy Reserves for any other than their original purpose, and do hold the same to involve a violation of the principles of the British Constitution, a dangerous infringement of vested interests, a departure from the pledges virtually

given by Act of Parliament to the Church, and a most injurious deprivation of means provided by the pious munificence of the Imperial Government for the extension of religion, and specially for fulfilling the great and solemn duty of preaching the Gospel to the poor.

2. That no class or condition of persons in this province can be endangered in estate or conscience, by the maintenance of this religious property for its original purpose.

3. That any measure framed with the view of diverting this property from its original purpose, is to be regarded as erroneous in its original principle, and fraught with alarming evils to this diocese in particular, inasmuch as the settlements, opened from year to year, within the limits of Lower Canada, and especially within that portion of it which constitutes the diocese of Quebec, afford no adequate resources whatever for the support of the ministry of the Gospel among the inhabitants,—who, if deprived of the benefit of such an endowment, will be left as sheep without a shepherd, and will present a spectacle of reproach to a Christian country.

A fourth resolution provides for petitions to the Provincial Legislature, as likewise to the Queen and the Imperial Parliament, embodying the substance of the above resolutions.

The Romanists have, in the diocese of Quebec, 220 priests in charge of 120 parishes, 20 missions, and 3 seminaries, containing 43 theological students, and 700 seculars. The brothers of the Christian Doctrine have 1500 children in their schools. Seven girls' schools are held by nuns of *Nôtre Dame*. Two convents of Ursulines, and another convent, receive 610 girls. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, established in 1837, has 16,000 members.

The Bishop of Guiana held an Ordination at Georgetown on March 2nd.

UNITED STATES.—The Bishops of Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and New Jersey have invited the members of the Church in their several dioceses to join in celebrating the Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The unadvised, but well-meant letter from Presiding Bishop Chase to the Archbishop of Canterbury has drawn forth a protest from the Bishop of Maryland. Bishop Otey, of Tennessee, has arrived in England, seeking to recruit his health.

We learn that the Third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has been generally observed in the Episcopal Churches. On Monday, the 16th of June, at New York, we learn from the "Churchman :"—

"About seventy of the clergy of New York and its vicinity were assembled—those in surplices occupying the portion of the chancel without the rails and the upper part of the nave, while those in gowns filled several pews in the middle aisle, which had been reserved for that purpose. There were also present the faculty and students of the General Theological Seminary, and of our Alma Mater, Columbia College, the Vestry of Trinity Church, and many others of the laity distinguished for their zeal in Church affairs. The 'devout sex,' as

usual, filled the greater part of the magnificent building, and the aisles were crowded with those unable to find seats."

The service was conducted by eight of the clergy, and the Rev. Dr. McVickar delivered "a highly appropriate discourse of one hour and thirty-five minutes in length, listened to with unwearied attention and intense delight." The Holy Eucharist was then administered, 3222 dollars being collected at the offertory for missionary purposes.

Among the various answers received by the Archbishop of Canterbury in reply to the circular relative to the Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that from the Bishop of Vermont is remarkable on account of the suggestion which it contains for the convocation of a general synod of all the Reformed Catholic Churches. Speaking of the communion between the English and the American Churches, the Bishop observes :—

"For my own part, I would that it were much closer than it is, and fervently hope that the time may come when we shall prove the reality of that communion in the primitive style, by meeting together in the good old fashion of synodical action. How natural and reasonable would it seem to be, if, 'in a time of controversy and division,' there should be a council of all the Bishops in communion with your Grace! And would not such an assemblage exhibit the most solemn, and (under God) the most influential aspect of strength and unity, in maintaining the true Gospel of the Apostles' planting, against the bold and false assumptions of Rome? It is my own firm belief that such a measure would be productive of immense advantage far beyond that of any secular legislation.

The "New York Churchman" gives an interesting account of a meeting of the clergy of the diocese of Vermont during the past Lenten season, for the purpose of organising a permanent diocesan conventional system, embracing in its terms of membership all the clergy of the diocese. A committee of three was appointed, who, having withdrawn for an hour, returned and presented a draft of a constitution and by-laws, which were unanimously adopted, subject to the approbation of the Bishop, since, we presume, obtained, as the report is now made public. Its first article is "This Convocation shall be composed of the Right Rev. Bishop and all clergymen of the P. E. Church in canonical connexion with the diocese of Vermont."

The Convention of Connecticut elected on June 11th the Rev. J. Williams, D.D., President of Trinity College, Hartford, to the office of Assistant Bishop. The numbers in the House of Clergy were seventy-three to fifteen, the laity eighty-seven to fourteen. The consecration of Dr. Payne as Missionary Bishop for Cape Palmas, West Africa, was appointed to take place at Alexandria on July 11th. On May 29th, the Rev. J. L. Breck, and his brother Missionaries, laid the foundation of a third church in Minnesota, at Stillwater.

A notice signed by "Philander Chase, Bishop of the P. E. Church in Illinois," summons a special Convention of that diocese, for the election of an Assistant Bishop, on account of the "age and infirmities"

of the present Bishop, "the latter having been greatly increased by late sickness, and subsequent serious accidents, quite disabling him for the discharge of his duty of visiting distant places, and administering to the wants of the scattered flock of Christ committed to his charge."

Considerable excitement has been produced in New York by the Popish Archbishop, Dr. Hughes, making a violent attack from the pulpit upon European democracy, the freedom of the press, and popular opinion. He declared that the tendency of the popular mind in Europe was to revolution, anarchy, and bloodshed; he attributed the flight of the Pope, and the assassination of Rossi, in 1848, to a democratic conspiracy, having for its object to evoke a spirit of revolution among the people. The conclusion to which he came, that "all republican institutions had this natural tendency," has caused a great commotion among the citizens of the transatlantic republic.

Father Mathew has been preaching during July last at Pittsburgh, where the Popish Bishop, by way of example to his flock, solemnly took the pledge. The Bishop's example was followed by a large majority of those present, more than 600 of whom took the pledge at the altar rails. Father Mathew had administered the pledge to 3400 people since his arrival in the city.

The American journals announce some new revelations to the Mormon Church. The portion of the golden plates withheld from Joe Smith, have, so goes the story, been exhibited mysteriously to Elder Orson Hyde. An extraordinary act of "ecclesiastical discipline" was performed at Beaver Island, on the 6th ult., a person named Thomas Bennett being taken out and shot through the body with five rifle bullets and thirty-eight buck shots. His brother Samuel was also shot, but not killed. This was done by a party of about fifty Mormons. The greatest excitement prevailed.

A letter from Ohio gives the following account of the doings of the Mormonites:—"On our way to and from the Convention, we were compelled to spend part of two days at Detroit, Michigan. At the time we were there, two very important criminal trials were going on in that city, one in the Circuit Court of the United States, and the other in the Supreme Court of the States. In the former, one Strong, a Mormon prophet, with a large number of his subjects, were being tried for such crimes as the following:—Interrupting, forcibly, the United States mail; passing counterfeit money; and murder. For want of proof, they were finally acquitted. Soon after the death of Smith, the founder of the sect, this Strong gave out that the prophet had visibly appeared to him, and formally constituted him his (Smith's) successor. By this means, Strong drew after him several thousands of 'the Latter-day Saints,' and settled them on Beaver Island, in one of the upper lakes. Just before his arrest, his followers had formally crowned him as supreme sovereign of the world, and as God's viceregent on earth; swearing not only absolute subjection to him, but, by solemn oath, dissolving all allegiance to all other earthly 'principalities, potentates, powers,' and governments of every kind."

SOUTH AMERICA.—The Government of New Grenada has expelled the Jesuits. Laws have since then been presented to the Congress, and adopted, by which ecclesiastical immunities are rejected, and the Clergy are made subject to the civil tribunals, the nomination of Curés is given to the parishioners, and the chapters are placed on small incomes. On the publication of the law, the Archbishop of Bogota and the Bishops protested against it, and the former published a manifesto announcing to the Roman Catholics his reasons for declining to obey the law. The Minister replied that the law was law, and must be obeyed. A collision then took place. The Vicar-general received an order to transfer to the Civil Court the first matrimonial cause that might occur, which he formally declined to do. And thus for the present the matter rests.

AUSTRALASIA.

SYDNEY.—We were compelled to omit, in our last number, the important Resolutions of the Synodical Meeting of Bishops held at Sydney. We now print the Report, only omitting the signatures which are attached to its leading divisions.

Report.—The Metropolitan and Bishops of the Province of Australasia, having, by the good Providence of God, been permitted to assemble themselves together in the Metropolitan City of Sydney, on the 1st day of October, in the year of our Lord 1850; and having consulted together on such matters as concern the progress of true Religion, and the welfare of the Church in the said Province, and in the several Dioceses thereof, did agree to the decisions and opinions contained in the following Report.

I. Objects of the Conference.—We, the undersigned Metropolitan and Bishops of the Province of Australasia, in consequence of doubts existing how far we are inhibited by the Queen's Supremacy from exercising the powers of an Ecclesiastical Synod, resolve not to exercise such powers on the present occasion.

But we desire to consult together upon the various difficulties in which we are at present placed by the doubtful application to the Church in this Province of the Ecclesiastical Laws which are now in force in England, and to suggest such measures as may seem to be most suitable for removing our present embarrassments; to consider such questions as affect the progress of true religion, and the preservation of Ecclesiastical order in the several Dioceses of this Province; and finally, in reliance on Divine Providence, to adopt plans for the propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen races of Australasia, and the adjacent islands of the Western Pacific.

We request the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Newcastle to act as our Secretary, and to embody our resolutions in a Report, to be transmitted to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland.

II. Canons of A.D. 1603-4.—We are of opinion that the Constitutions and Canons agreed upon with the King's Majesty's licence, in the

Synod begun at London A.D. 1603, and published for the due observation of them by His Majesty's authority, under the Great Seal of England, form part of the established constitution of our Church, and are generally binding upon ourselves, and the Clergy of our respective Dioceses.

Where they cannot be literally complied with, in consequence of the altered state of circumstances since the enactment of the Canons, we are of opinion that they must be, as far as possible, complied with in substance.

We concur also in thinking that a revisal and fresh adaptation of the Canons to suit the present condition of the Church is much to be desired, so soon as it can be lawfully undertaken by persons possessing due authority in that behalf.

III. *Future Synods and Conventions, Provincial and Diocesan.*—We are of opinion that there are many questions of great importance to the well-being of the Church in our Province, which cannot be settled without duly constituted Provincial and Diocesan Synods.

Without defining the exact meaning of the word Synod, as used in the Church of England, whenever the words "Provincial Synod" or "Diocesan Synod" shall be used in the following resolutions, we understand a body composed of one or more Bishops, with representatives chosen from among the Clergy, meeting at such times and in such manner as may not be inconsistent with any Law of Church or State.

We understand the Functions of Provincial and Diocesan Synods to be these:—

1. To consult and agree upon Rules of practice and Ecclesiastical Order within the limits of the Province or Diocese.

2. To conduct the processes necessary for carrying such rules into effect. But not to alter the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, or the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures.

(2.) *Subdivision of Dioceses, and Consecration of Bishops.*—1. We are of opinion that it appertains to a Provincial Synod, with the concurrence of the Diocesan Synod, from time to time, to decide upon plans for such subdivision of Dioceses as may be necessary for the more efficient discharge of the Episcopal duties, and to recommend those plans for adoption in accordance with the Laws which shall be in force at the time.

2. We submit that no subdivision of any Colonial Diocese should be determined on in England without previous communication with the Bishop of that Diocese, in order that the proposed measures may be laid before the Diocesan and Provincial Synods, before they be finally adopted.

3. We would further express our opinion, that if the Provincial Synod should recommend a Colonial Clergyman for appointment to fill a new or vacant See, the recommendation should be favourably considered by the authorities in England, and that the person designated to such See should, in conformity with ancient practice, be consecrated by the Metropolitan and Bishops of the Province, unless grave inconvenience be likely to ensue.

(3.) *Provincial and Diocesan Conventions.*—1. We are of opinion that the Laity, acting by their Representatives duly elected, should meet in Diocesan and Provincial Conventions simultaneously with the Diocesan and Provincial Synods, that the Clergy and Laity may severally consult and decide upon all questions affecting the temporalities of the Church, and that no act of either order relating thereto should be valid without the consent of the other.

2. That any change of Constitution affecting the whole body of the Church should be first proposed and approved in the Provincial Synod, but should not be valid without the consent of the Provincial Convention.

IV. *Church Membership.*—We acknowledge as Members of the Church of England all persons, who, having been duly baptized with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are conformable to the Doctrine, Government, Rites, and Ceremonies, contained in the Book of Common Prayer; it being understood that they are entitled to claim at the hands of its Ministers the rites and ceremonies of our Church, so long only as they shall continue conformable to the extent above required.

By a Member of the Church of England in full communion, we understand every one, who, being conformable as aforesaid, is a partaker of the Holy Communion, as required by the rules of the Church.

While we would leave the Synods and Conventions which may hereafter be appointed, to fix the qualification of electors, we would express our decided conviction that all persons elected to serve as members of Diocesan and Provincial Conventions should be members of the Church in full communion.

V. *Discipline.*—(1.) *Bishops and Clergy.*—In consequence of statements which have been made in various places, of the arbitrary power possessed by Bishops to suspend or revoke, at their own discretion, the licences of Clergymen, we disclaim all wish to exercise any such power; and we are of opinion, that in all cases of doctrinal error, or other Ecclesiastical offences, the Bishops of the Province should be the Court for the trial of a Bishop, and that the Diocesan Synod should be the Court for the trial of a Presbyter or Deacon; and that the Metropolitan and the Bishop of the Diocese respectively should be ex-officio Presidents of such Courts, either in person, or by their Commissaries.

Further, it would appear to be necessary that any Bishop or other Clergyman suspended or deposed by due sentence of the Court, should be legally incapable of continuing to hold possession of any Church, Chapel, Stipend, House, Glebe, or other temporalities, which he may have held by virtue of his office.

We are also of opinion that the form of procedure in all cases of Appeal requires to be defined.

(2.) *Laity.*—Bearing in mind the wish expressed in the Communion Service, that the godly discipline of the Primitive Church may be restored, we are of opinion—

1. That it is the duty of every Church to seek, by spiritual admonitions, to reclaim those of its members who are living in notorious sin.

We therefore hold it to be the duty of every Clergyman having cure of souls, privately to admonish all evil livers among those committed to his charge, "as need shall require, and occasion shall be given." We would also remind the Lay Members of the Church, that the Clergy are required by the Rubric to repel from the Holy Communion all persons who are living in sin so open and notorious as that the congregation is thereby offended, and who, after due admonition, shall continue impenitent, and without amendment of life.

Provided always that every Minister so repelling any shall give an account of the same to the Bishop of the Diocese within fourteen days after, at the farthest. And we are of opinion that it is the duty of the Bishop earnestly to admonish every person so repelled to qualify himself by repentance for re-admission to Holy Communion.

Until the establishment of a form of process by a Provincial Synod, with the concurrence of a Provincial Convention, we are of opinion, that in cases where all spiritual admonitions have failed to reclaim members of the Church who are living in notorious sin, it may become the duty of the Bishop, with the aid and concurrence of his Presbyters, to pronounce such persons excommunicate, so far as to release any Clergyman from the obligation to use the burial service, if they should die without sufficient proof of repentance.

But, remembering the solemn charge which we have received at our consecration, to "bind up the broken, to bring again the outcasts, to seek the lost, to be so merciful as not to be too remiss, and so to minister discipline that we forget not mercy," we are of opinion that it is our duty, as in every case, so especially in those which have been here noticed, to use faithful and affectionate admonition, before we proceed to any strict exercise of the discipline of the Church.

VI. *Status of Clergy.*—1. We desire to express our opinion, that no Clergyman who shall have been duly appointed and licensed to any Church or permanent cure of souls, should be removable therefrom, except by sentence pronounced, after judicial inquiry, before the Diocesan Synod.

2. That this rule should not apply to those Clergymen who have been appointed and licensed by the Bishop to any charge expressly understood to be of a temporary nature.

3. At the same time we consider it to be most desirable in the present state of the Church of England in our Dioceses, that candidates for Holy Orders should devote themselves to the service of the Church in that willing spirit, which would induce them to place themselves at the disposal of their Bishop for some definite term of years, and leave to him the responsibility of appointing and changing their station during such period.

VII. *Liturgy.*—(1.) *Division of Services.*—We are of opinion that the Bishop of each Diocese, as Ordinary, has a discretion to authorize Clergymen, in cases of necessity, to divide the morning service, by using either the Morning Prayer, the Litany, or the Communion Service separately; but that each of the services so used should be read entire.

(2.) *The Administration of Holy Communion.*—In parishes where the number of communicants is very great, the Communion Service may be used separately, and the Lord's Supper administered at an early hour, besides the usual administration at the morning service.

In places where there is no morning service, the administration of the Holy Communion may be in the afternoon, if necessity so require.

When the Holy Communion cannot be administered in a Church, or other building duly licensed for the celebration of Divine Service, it may be administered in such places as necessity shall require.

(3.) *Occasional Services.*—We are of opinion that no Clergyman has authority, at his own discretion, to abridge or alter any of the occasional services of the Church.

(4.) *Rules for Service on Saints' Days falling on Sundays, &c.*—Should a Saint's Day fall on Ash-Wednesday, Good Friday, or Easter Eve, or on Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, Whit-Sunday, or Trinity Sunday, or on Monday or Tuesday in Easter and Whitsun weeks, the Lessons, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for those days are to be used.

When a Saint's Day shall fall on any other Sunday, the Lessons of the Saint's Day (unless they be from the Apocrypha) are to be used, and the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Saint's Day, with the Collect for the Sunday.

(5.) *Of Persons for whom the Prayers of the Congregation are desired.*—It is convenient that the names of the persons for whom the prayers of the congregation are desired should be mentioned either before the Litany, or before the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, as the case may be.

The words, "especially those for whom our prayers are desired," may be inserted in the Litany in their appropriate place.

(6.) *Thanksgiving Service.*—It is convenient that the names of the persons who desire to return thanks should be mentioned before the General Thanksgiving.

The words, "particularly to those who desire now to offer up their praises and thanksgivings for thy late mercies vouchsafed unto them," may be used for persons who have not been specially prayed for.

(7.) *Offertory.*—We are of opinion that no Clergyman can justly be suspected of holding opinions at variance with the sound teaching of the Church, in consequence of his complying with the Rubric, which directs "that upon the Sundays and other Holy Days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the General Prayer [for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here on earth], together with one or more of the Collects, concluding with the Blessing."

(8.) *Sponsors.*—Being aware that the Clergy have felt the great importance of having duly qualified Sponsors at Holy Baptism, we recommend that the most earnest endeavours be used by them to convey correct impressions upon that subject to their several flocks, in the hope that suitable persons may be in all cases provided to discharge the duties of that office.

(9.) *Marriage.*—(a.) *Within prohibited Degrees.*—Inasmuch as it is directed by the 99th Canon, that "no person shall marry within the

degrees prohibited by the laws of God, and expressed in a Table set forth by authority, in the year of our Lord God, 1563;" we are of opinion that any Clergyman of the Province, who shall solemnize matrimony between persons so related, will be acting in violation of the Law of the Church.

Referring also to Canons 26 and 109, and to the Rubrics prefixed to the Communion Service, we are further of opinion that persons so marrying within the prohibited degrees are liable to be repelled from the Holy Communion until they have repented, and be reformed.

(b.) *Of Persons neither of whom belongs to the Church.*—We are of opinion that Ministers of the Church of England ought not to solemnize marriage between persons neither of whom is of our own communion, except in cases where the marriage cannot, without extreme difficulty, be solemnized in any other way.

(c.) *Irregularly Solemnized.*—While we recognise the validity of all marriages contracted in conformity with the laws of the State, provided that they be not contrary to the laws of the Church, we would earnestly impress upon all members of the Church of England the duty of having their marriages solemnized according to the rites of the Church, and in no other way.

(d.) *Caution to be used.*—1. We desire to draw the attention of the Clergy to the necessity of exercising due caution before they proceed to solemnize marriage.

2. We therefore recommend that the banns be thrice published, except in case of marriage by licence, once at least in the licensed place of worship which is nearest to the residence of the parties desiring to be married.

3. And that the Registers of Marriage, Baptism, and Burial be accurately kept, and copies sent at the times required by Law.

(10.) *Churching of Women.*—We are of opinion, from the Rubric at the end of the service for the Churching of Women, that that service is not intended to be used for persons who are living in such a state as would justify the Minister in repelling them from the Holy Communion.

(11.) *Ministering to Dissenters.*—We are of opinion that the general principle of Colonial Legislation, by which the equality of all religious denominations is recognised, releases the Clergy of the Church of England in these colonies from the obligation to perform religious services for persons who are not members of our own Church.

VIII. *Holy Baptism.*—As Bishops engaged in the charge of extensive Dioceses, and debarred from frequent opportunities of conference, we do not presume to think that we can inform or guide the judgment of the Church at large; but at a time when the minds of pious and thoughtful men are in perplexity, we cannot remain altogether silent, nor refrain from stating what we believe to be the just interpretation of the Creed, Articles, and Liturgy of the Church of England respecting the Regeneration of Infants in Holy Baptism.

We believe Regeneration to be the work of God in the Sacrament of Baptism, by which infants baptized with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, die unto sin, and rise again unto righteous-

ness, and are made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.

We believe this regeneration to be the particular grace prayed for, and expected, and thankfully acknowledged to have been received in the baptismal services.

We believe that it is the doctrine of our Church that all infants do by baptism receive this grace of regeneration. But remembering the words of our Lord instituting the Holy Sacrament of Baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20), which enjoin that they who are baptized are to be made disciples and to be taught, we are of opinion that whensoever an infant is baptized, an assurance ought to be given at the same time on its behalf (by some one or more baptized persons) that it will be brought up in the faith of Christ.

We do not recognise in the infant itself any unfitness which disqualifies it from receiving in baptism this grace of regeneration, for our Lord Jesus Christ does not deny his grace and mercy unto such infants, but most lovingly doth call them unto Him.

We do not believe that unworthiness in Ministers, Parents, or Sponsors, hinders this effect of the love of Christ.

We believe that a wilful neglect of the means of grace does not prove that the gift of regeneration was never received; but in those who so fall away after baptism, we believe that the consequence of their having been regenerated is to aggravate their guilt.

Finally, we would express, First, our cordial and entire agreement with the Articles and Formularies of our Church, in their plain and full meaning, and in their literal and grammatical sense. Secondly, our willing disposition to accept and use them all in the manner which is appointed; and, with especial reference to our present subject, to carry on the work of Christian education in the firm belief that infants do receive in baptism the grace of regeneration. Thirdly, above all, we would express our unfeigned thankfulness to Almighty God for the gift and preservation of these inestimable blessings.

W. G. SYDNEY.

AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE.

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

W. NEWCASTLE.

F. R. TASMANIA.

Holy Baptism.—Upon this subject the Bishop of Melbourne preferred to state his views as follows:—

The doctrine of our Church concerning the nature and efficacy of Holy Baptism may, in my opinion, be stated in the eight following propositions.

1. Regeneration is that operation of the Spirit of God upon the heart, which produces a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness. By regeneration we are made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.

2. Baptism is the sacrament of regeneration, which is the particular grace prayed for, expected, and thankfully acknowledged to have been received in the baptismal service.

3. The work of regeneration is wrought in all, whether they be

adults or infants, who receive baptism rightly (Art. xxvii.), but in none others. (Art. xxv.)

4. The Church, in her office for the baptism of infants, and in that for the baptism of adults, uses the language of faith and hope, and is not to be understood as declaring positively a fact which it cannot certainly know, viz. that every baptized infant, or every baptized adult, is regenerate.

5. The statement put into the mouth of a Catechumen, that he was in baptism made a member of Christ, &c., is to be understood in the same qualified application as the declaration which almost immediately follows, that by God's help he will do as his godfathers and godmothers had promised for him, and that he heartily thanks his heavenly Father that He hath called him, &c.

6. Repentance and faith are required of those who come to be baptized, but the Church is silent as to the fitness, or unfitness, of an infant, who is incapable of repentance and faith, for receiving regeneration in baptism.

7. The unworthiness of a Minister does not take away the effect of baptism, either in the case of adults or infants. (Art. xxvi.)

8. Parents are no where mentioned in the Articles, or in the baptismal service; but infants are baptized, because they promise repentance and faith by their sureties. These sureties or sponsors are to be duly qualified persons; and no one is to be admitted godfather or godmother before the said person so undertaking has received the Holy Communion. (Canon 29.) The Church, however, has not positively affirmed that the unworthiness of sponsors disqualifies an infant for receiving the grace of baptism.

The truth of the following four additional propositions may also, I think, be gathered from the Scriptures, and is perfectly consistent with the general tenor of the Articles and Formularies of our Church, viz. :—

9. Sponsors, who themselves repent and believe, may and ought to expect most confidently the grace of regeneration for the children whom they bring to be baptized.

10. While the Church may, and ought to, use the language of faith and hope respecting all infants brought to be baptized, impenitent and unbelieving sponsors are not entitled to expect any blessing from an ordinance which they only profane.

11. Children who have been baptized are to be taught to regard God as their Father, and to love and trust in Him as having redeemed them by his Son, and sanctified them by his Spirit,—to pray that being regenerate, and made the children of God, by adoption and grace, they may daily be renewed by the Holy Ghost (Collect for Christmas Day), to consider the guilt of any sins which they may commit against God, as aggravated by their having been baptized, and brought up in the faith of the Gospel.

12. Our own personal repentance and faith are the only sure evidence of our being spiritually the children of God.

Having thus stated my own views of the doctrine of our Church

concerning Holy Baptism, I would unite with my Right Reverend Brethren in expressing—

1. My cordial and entire agreement with all the Articles and Formularies of our Church in their plain and full meaning, and in their literal and grammatical sense.

2. My willing disposition to accept and use them in the manner which is appointed; and (with especial reference to our present subject) to carry on the work of Christian education in the firm belief that infants do receive in baptism the grace of regeneration.

3. Above all, my unfeigned thankfulness to Almighty God for the gift and preservation of these inestimable blessings.

C. MELBOURNE.

IX. *Education.*—1. *Schools.*—We cannot incur the responsibility of seeming to countenance any system of erroneous, defective, or indefinite religious instruction by incorporating ourselves with the Boards, either general or local, which have the regulation and superintendence of schools so conducted.

But wherever a Church of England School cannot be established, the Clergy, after communication with the Bishop, should consider it their duty to remedy, as far as possible, the evils or defects of any schools to which Church children may be sent by their parents.

2. *University.*—We are of opinion that the establishment of the University of Sydney may promote the growth of sound learning; and may in many ways assist the Collegiate Institutions of the Church of England in our respective Dioceses.

But while we are not unwilling that the Students in our Diocesan Colleges and Schools should compete with all other classes of Students in such public University examinations, on general literature and science, as may be established by a Senate, appointed under ordinance of the Colonial Legislature, we should decidedly object to any University system which might have the effect of withdrawing from our own Collegiate rule the Students educated in our separate Diocesan Institutions.

X. *Australasian Board of Missions.*—The objects of the Australasian Board of Missions are twofold—Domestic and Foreign.

1. *DOMESTIC.*—The conversion and civilization of the Australian Blacks.

2. *FOREIGN.*—The conversion and civilization of the Heathen races in all the Islands of the Western Pacific.

The difficulties to be expected in this work, perhaps to a greater extent than in other Missions, are—

1. The low state of barbarism in which these races now are.

2. In the Australian Blacks the unsettled habits of the race.

3. The multiplicity of languages and dialects throughout the whole field of operations.

4. The unhealthiness of many of the Australasian Islands in certain seasons of the year, especially from January to April.

These peculiar difficulties must be met by a plan of Missionary action deviating in many respects from the practice of other Missions.

1. The low state of barbarism in which these races now are seems to require that a select number should be brought under the most careful training at a distance from their own tribes.

2. The unsettled habits of the Australian Blacks require the same corrective, and further suggest the necessity of providing religious instruction for them rather by means of visiting Missionaries than by fixed Mission stations.

3. The multiplicity of languages makes it necessary to conduct instruction in some one language common to all, which must be English.

4. The unhealthiness of many of the islands makes it advisable that Missionary action should be carried on rather by long visits of the English Missionaries during the healthy season, than by the occupation of permanent Mission stations.

W. G. SYDNEY.

AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE.

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

C. MELBOURNE.

F. R. TASMANIA.

W. NEWCASTLE.

NEWCASTLE.—On the 14th of November, and shortly after the breaking up of the Synod of Bishops at Sydney, the members of the Church in Newcastle diocese were gratified by a special visit from the Bishop of New Zealand, who, in company with the Bishop of Tasmania, attended a very numerous public meeting at the Court-House, East Maitland, for the purpose of setting on foot a General Church and School Fund for that diocese. Allusions to the recent Synod were very eloquently made by the latter Bishop, who dwelt at length on the importance of combining in any scheme of Church government the due co-operation of the laity, "correcting," as his Lordship said, "an error too frequently made, as if the Church included none but the clergy and bishops, whereas the laity formed by far the largest portion and without their hearty aid and co-operation no work for the advancement of the Church could proceed. He appealed to his reverend brethren to throw themselves cordially on the laity for assistance, being satisfied from his own experience that they would always be found ready and willing."

ADELAIDE.—The "Adelaide Observer" gives an interesting account of Bishop Short's visitation at Christchurch, North Adelaide, in January last, when his lordship delivered a charge, in the course of which he stated that, acting on the powers given him by letters-patent, he had constituted a Dean and Chapter, to assist him with advice, and act as a Court Spiritual for the trial of an accused brother in the ministry; and he had the happiness of knowing that other bishops had recorded their opinions that the combined action of synods of the clergy and conventions of the laity is necessary for the development and efficiency of the Church in these colonies.

OCEANIA.—Letters received at Barcelona announce the progress made by Spanish missionaries in the isles of Oceania. They speak of the erection of many Roman Catholic episcopal sees as at hand, one of them for the Sandwich Islands.

BORNEO.—It is in contemplation to erect an episcopal see at Borneo.

THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1852.

ART. I.—*Memoir of Edward Copleston, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff, with selections from his Diary and Correspondence, &c., by WILLIAM JAMES COPLESTON, M.A., Rector of Cromhall, Gloucestershire, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 8vo. pp. 347. J. W. Parker, West Strand.

THE career of a man, who, by diligent cultivation of his intellect, by strenuous and sustained exertion, and by force of moral character, has, without the aid of adventitious circumstances, raised himself to a high position in Church or State, is always a gratifying subject for contemplation. Such a career was that of the late exemplary and popular Bishop of Llandaff.

Among the readers of the "English Review," some septuagenarians are still living, who remember the deplorable state, into which the examinations for the degree of B.A. at Oxford had fallen towards the close of the last century. It had sunk into a mere form of the most useless and unworthy description. Most thankful acknowledgments, therefore, on the part, both of Oxford itself, and of the British public at large, were due to those earnest and energetic men by whose persevering endeavours this disgrace was shaken off, and who gave the first impulse to that system of exertion and mental cultivation, which at present pervades so large a portion of the resident members of the university of all ages. There may, possibly, be still some things which require correction and amendment; and in so large a number of young men, brought together from almost all classes of society, many will always be found, who are unmindful of the high object of an university education, and who, with a boyish recklessness, are too little attentive to what is required by the character of a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian. But the observation of all persons acquainted with Oxford, will bear us out in affirming that there has been very great and marked improvement, both in the morals and in the studious habits of the undergraduates, and in the well-directed and unwearied labours of their tutors: labours carried on under a high and proper sense of the responsibilities of their office. To this improvement, something, no doubt, has been contributed by public opinion, but, certainly, it is mainly to be ascribed to the alteration in the system of examination for the bachelor's degree, to which we have alluded. We believe that we are correct in stating that among the heads of houses, who

were promoters of this most important reformation, a prominent place is to be assigned to Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, and to Eveleigh, Provost of Oriel. Of the masters of arts who worked under them, one of the most earnest and indefatigable was Edward Copleston, who, as he assisted in forming the original examination statute, so he also took his share in carrying it into execution; the names of Copleston and Phillpotts appearing in the list of examiners, for its first two years, 1802 and 1803. The details of the examination statute have subsequently been, in several respects, altered and improved, but this was the first step; and the lists of honours in each successive year, given in the "Oxford Calendar," furnish a most interesting record. It is gratifying to see how many of those who thus obtained their first literary distinction, have been raised in after life to high rank and commanding influence both in Church and State.

The character of the late Bishop of Llandaff, and his literary and professional career, present so many points of strong interest, that we hailed with much pleasure the "Memoir" which stands at the head of this article. His nephew, by whom the memoir has been prepared, was well qualified for the task, both by his own classical habits, as a *some-time* fellow and tutor of Oriel, and also by his constant intercourse with his uncle through life, and, above all, by his possession of the Bishop's private journal and other papers:—

"Having before me," he says, "a carefully kept diary, and a variety of letters, kindly supplied, I have made it my chief object to select and arrange them, giving but few of my own sentiments, and leaving the subject of my Memoir to speak, as far as possible, for himself."

The course thus adopted by Mr. Copleston was judicious, and we do not hesitate to say that he has executed his task very successfully. Attached as he was to his uncle, and grateful for unvaried, almost parental kindness, he simply and unaffectedly places before the reader, the materials for forming a correct estimate of the moral character, the tastes and feelings, and the literary attainments of the subject of his memoir, without any undue approach to flattery or panegyric.

Edward Copleston was born on the 2nd of February, 1776. He was the eldest son of John Bradford Copleston, rector of Offwell, in the County of Devon. The family of Copleston seems to be one of the oldest in the kingdom, according to the old saw;

"Crocker, Crewys, and Copleston,
When the Conqueror came were at home."

The rector of Offwell, an accurate and accomplished scholar, was for many years in the habit of receiving into his house a cer

tain number of pupils, among whom, from time to time, were numbered members of many of the principal families in Devonshire and Cornwall. There were, for instance, six Bullers under his tuition at the same time. It was under his father's roof, that were laid the foundations of that sound scholarship, by which Edward Copleston was afterwards distinguished. In 1791, at the age of fifteen, he was elected to a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and in 1793 obtained the Chancellor's Prize for a Latin poem, of which the subject was, "*Marius in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium.*" This poem he recited amidst the splendours of an installation, that of the Duke of Portland. One of the leading features in Copleston's character throughout life was the warmth of his family affections, a pleasing instance of which, as well as of his own unaffected joy at his success, is given in the letter which announced it to his father.

"My dear Father,

"I am happy to inform you, that your expectations with regard to my getting the university prize are verified. This morning I received the enchanting news, and I have taken the earliest opportunity of imparting it to you. Indeed, one of the greatest sources of pleasure to me, from so distinguished an honour, is the thought of the satisfaction you will feel as well as all the family. I have just been to Mr. Crowe, the public orator, who has paid me the most flattering compliments. I know you will excuse this slovenly and short letter, and impute it to the flurry of my spirits, which you will easily believe are rather agitated at so unexpected an event; and indeed it almost appears to me like a dream. I am so impatient that you should be informed of this, that I almost fancy every line I write retards your seeing my letter. And I am convinced no other intelligence after this can be any ways interesting to you. I will write again in a day or two, and be more particular; at present I can only add my duty and kindest love to my mother, love to my brothers and sisters,

"And I am, my dear Father,

"Your ever dutiful and affectionate Son,

"E. COPLESTON."

In the year 1795, Edward Copleston was elected to a fellowship at Oriel, under the following remarkable circumstances. Several candidates had offered themselves for examination, but not one of them appeared to come up to the required standard. The provost and fellows, accordingly, sent to Corpus with an intimation to Copleston, who, we believe, was at the time ill in bed, that if he would become a candidate he would be elected. The flattering invitation was, of course, complied with. In the following year, his probationary year at Oriel, Copleston gained the Chancellor's Prize for an English essay on Agriculture; his friend and *late*

fellow-collegian, Phillpotts, having obtained a similar distinction the year preceding. For his Essay on Agriculture Copleston received the thanks of the Board of Agriculture, communicated through their President, Sir John Sinclair. In the year 1797, his twenty-first year, Mr. Copleston undertook the responsible office of college tutor; and about the same time became captain of a company in the regiment of University Volunteers, during the alarm occasioned by the threat of invasion from France. To his military duties, during the continuance of the alarm, he applied with his characteristic energy and precision.

"Mr. Copleston," says his nephew, "was at this period, and for many years after, a person of very active and vigorous habits—*e. g.*, in his diary for 1798 I find the following entry: 'July 6.—Walked from Oxford to Offwell with my brother: to Marlborough in one day.' And again: 'Walked from Oxford to Upton—the first twenty-two miles in five hours.' The next year," continues the Memoir, "is marked by his first introduction to Mr. Ward, afterwards Lord Dudley and Ward, who entered at Oriel in the October term, 1799, as Mr. Copleston's private pupil. This academical connexion ripened into friendship, and led to an intimate correspondence of many years."

If we are not mistaken, this introduction was effected by that noble-minded, high-principled, and talented man, the late Lord Lyttelton. There is an entry in the diary for this year, 1799, which mentions an incident now, happily, of rare occurrence:

"January 12.—Robbed by two mounted highwaymen, on my return to Oxford with Mr. Woolcomb and Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Mant, between Uxbridge and Beaconsfield."

There was a thick fog at the time, and the three scholars had practical experience of the correctness of the poet's assertion,

"*ληστῇ δ' ἔτι πυκνὸς ἄμεινον.*"

In the year 1800, having just completed the twenty-sixth year of his age, Mr. Copleston was elected Poetry Professor, as successor to the amiable and accomplished Hurdis. In the following October he read his inaugural lecture, the first of a series of thirty-five.

"It must be matter of regret," says his biographer, "that the whole plan of these lectures was not finally completed. Nevertheless, the 'Prælectiones,' as they stand, will never cease to delight those, who can appreciate clear development of principles, just criticism, discriminating delicacy of taste, and, perhaps, above all, Latinity of pure and brilliant water."

In a letter written to his friend, the Rev. J. Penrose, towards the close of his professorial course, the professor thus expresses himself:—

"My poetry lectures bring a greater trouble with them than you can well imagine. The search for apposite examples, after one's principles are well settled, is more laborious and harassing than any other employment I have yet engaged in. My own experience in this case has brought to my knowledge a circumstance in the constitution of my own mind, humiliating enough, although it is probable others may not feel it to the same extent—that is, when I am reading through a book, with a view to catch examples illustrative of one principle, none present themselves to my mind which are applicable to another. Hence the labour of composing lectures is multiplied beyond all ordinary calculation; to which must be added the constant secret persuasion, that by perseverance and further search something better might be found."

In another letter to his friend Darnell, he says,

"I will mention my own favourite lecture, of which if you do not approve I shall be greatly disappointed. It is the thirty-third, 'ON ANTIQUITY AND PROPHECY,' as materials for affecting the imagination. You and P. will be amused at the idea of my having Madame de Stael here as a *lioness*. It was not so, but very near it. Ward was going to give her a letter to me; but thinking, very justly, that it might be more plague than pleasure, he abstained. Sir James Mackintosh I have become acquainted with, through the same introduction, and find all that has been said of his wonderful powers, especially in conversation, not beyond the truth. He is the readiest and the most pleasing talker I know—perfectly unassuming,—free from pedantry, and, what is a still rarer virtue, free from the apprehension of being thought a pedant; so that his conversation is enriched by all the stores of his reading, without stiffness, and without ostentation."

It is hardly possible to give a more accurate description of the conversational powers of Copleston himself. He was fond of conversation, and excelled in it. When presiding in the common room at Oriel, whether as senior tutor or as dean, he was willing and able to converse agreeably with the various guests who were introduced to it, whether men of high talent, as Sir Walter Scott, his friend Leydon, or Mackintosh himself; or men of science; or quiet country gentlemen. In the days of stage-coaches this facility in conversation procured him several valuable acquaintances. For instance, returning in a stage-coach from Essex, he found a well-informed fellow-traveller equally disposed to be sociable. The conversation turned upon the East Indies, and was carried on with animation and mutual satisfaction. When drawing near to London the provost said, "I owe all my information respecting India to the books of Sir John Malcolm." "I am Sir John Malcolm," said his companion. When, upon parting, the provost gave to his agreeable fellow-traveller his card, "Provost of Oriel," we have heard that the gallant soldier, newly returned to

England, was not a little puzzled as to the meaning of this designation.

Being, in 1806, appointed senior Treasurer of his college, Mr. Copleston bent the energies of his active mind towards effecting an important change in its financial arrangements; with what good results may best appear in his own words, in his diary.

“Obtained the consent of the college to a plan for improving its revenues, by borrowing fines, instead of taking them from the lessees at renewals, and increasing the reserved rents instead.—N.B. Being continued six years in the office, contrary to the usual custom of electing for one year only, succeeded in establishing this plan, by means of which the income of the college has been trebled, all its debts liquidated, and the estates better tenanted.”

To his execution of this college office may be referred the following anecdote, given in a pleasing letter to his biographer, by an attached and talented pupil¹:—

“A remarkably astute elderly man of business, who had made a large fortune on the Stock Exchange, was asked by a neighbour, how he had sped as to the renewal of the lease of an important part of his estate, held under Oriol College. ‘Why, not so well as I expected,’ was the answer. ‘I thought I should get a pretty easy bargain with a mere learned, bookish fellow, like Copleston; but I was rather taken aback, I confess: he is as well up to the value of land and money as I am myself, and seems acquainted with every acre of the property.’”

In 1807 Mr. Copleston published that exquisite *jeu d’esprit*, “Advice to a Young Reviewer,” in which, lively wit and playfulness, are combined with accurate observation and sound judgment. This little pamphlet was, we believe, immediately occasioned by an ill-natured article in a monthly periodical upon the little volume of poems by his friend and brother-fellow, Mant²—poems addressed, for the most part, to his own relations and to his Oxford friends. At all events, we are glad to see it republished in the appendix to the volume now before us.

The “Advice to a Young Reviewer” was followed in 1809 by “Logic defended; or, the Examiner examined:” a pamphlet marked by similar keen remark and liveliness, not unmingled with cutting sarcasm. A member of the University, of considerable, though not accurate, attainments, and a good deal connected with the literature of the day, had put forth a book entitled “Logic made Easy,” in the advertisement to which he mentioned, as a

¹ John Hughes, Esq., of Donnington Priory, who obtained the Latin Verse Prize in 1810, and recited the Poem on Lord Grenville’s Installation.

² Successively Bishop of Killaloe and of Down and Connor.

recommendation, that, "during two years, he had been one of the Public Examiners in the University of Oxford." Copleston, finding that the book, thus recommended to the young and unwary, contained errors

"Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the vale
In Vallombrosa,"

felt that, in justice to the University, it was important that those errors should be exposed. In the outset he says to his reader,

"I only entreat of you patient and impartial attention. Take the book I am examining, and compare it with my book, page for page. If I accuse the writer falsely in a single instance, read no farther, but cast my book into the fire, and condemn it to eternal infamy."

And again :

"If he has done what he could to degrade us, can he complain, if, in our turn, we make him an object of derision? For my own part, I feel more prone to anger than to laughter when employed in this task; but ridicule, though a weapon for the use of which man is deeply responsible; (and if ever I employ it against truth, or reason, or humanity, or religion, may my right hand forget her cunning!) yet it is sometimes necessary, in serious affairs, to keep alive the attention of the reader, and to refresh his spirits."

* * * * *

"Towards^a the end of the year 1809, the Chancellorship of the University became vacant by the death of the Duke of Portland, when three candidates appeared to contest the honour of succeeding him: Lord Grenville, Lord Eldon, and the Duke of Beaufort. The recent agitation of the 'Catholic question' had created great excitement, and raised a strong feeling in the University against Lord Grenville, as an avowed friend to 'emancipation.' It should be remembered, too, that Lord Grenville was at this time deprived of court favour and excluded from the cabinet, so that the chances were apparently much against him. Nevertheless, Mr. Copleston espoused with generous enterprise the cause of that candidate, of whose moral and intellectual qualifications he was best assured. Conscious, also, of a widely extended influence over the most intelligent portion of the University, he gave himself the more freely to the encounter; and notwithstanding all the weight of official influence, and all the strength of old Tory prejudices arrayed against them, he and his friends succeeded in placing Lord Grenville in the vacant chair. The election took place 14th December, 1809, when the numbers were—for Lord Grenville, 406; for Lord Eldon, 393; for the Duke of Beaufort, 237. The following letter from the successful

^a Word for word from the Memoir.

candidate sufficiently shows that, in my notice of Mr. Copleston's exertions upon this occasion, I have not over-rated them :

“ ‘ Sir,

“ ‘ Dropmore, Dec. 16, 1809.

“ ‘ I feel myself bound to take the earliest opportunity of expressing to you my particular acknowledgments for the essential services I have received from you during the late contest, but more especially for the manly and dignified paper published by my committee, in answer to the libels circulated against me. I shall always feel that this publication reflected honour both on my cause and on myself; and I am confident it must have been of essential advantage in the contest. You will very greatly oblige me by letting me have the pleasure of seeing you, either here or in town, whenever you have leisure, that I may express to you personally the very strong obligation under which I feel myself to you.

“ ‘ I am, Sir, with great truth and regard,

“ ‘ Your most faithful and obedient servant,

“ ‘ GRENVILLE.’

“ While the circumstances of this whole proceeding were such as to place Mr. Copleston beyond the suspicion of selfish motives, they opened to him a connexion which afforded him for many years that pure enjoyment which was most suited to his nature. The refined and intellectual society of Dropmore, where he became a welcome and frequent guest, was an atmosphere that he delighted in; and the noble host himself being a scholar of the most exact taste, all Mr. Copleston's pleasures were enhanced by that mutual sympathy, which congenial minds can alone feel. The following is from a letter to his father, soon after this election was decided :—

“ ‘ I am heartily glad that all this is over, and that I am returned to more peaceful occupations. But it is a satisfaction to feel that we have never practised any but the most legitimate acts of warfare. I am in hopes also that I have not made a single enemy, or lost a single friend, in the business. After all, I do not participate in the feelings of those who called it a political triumph; I have never viewed it as a political question. Our adversaries artfully availed themselves of that handle, and I rejoice to see that they are defeated. Lord Grenville is, I believe, among our public men, most firmly attached to the Church from a sense of religion, and his ‘ Catholic’ measures I am convinced will not be renewed. He is quite at liberty to act in that respect according to his own judgment, as every statesman should be, without being fettered by pledges for or against them. We have now at our head what we ought to have—the ablest and the most learned nobleman in the kingdom; a firm friend to the established Church; a sincere Christian; a man of the most correct private life; and a determined anti-Gallican and anti-philosophist.’ ”

Lord Grenville was well read in English divinity. He had requested his learned and excellent friend, Bishop Cleaver, to chalk

out for him a course of theological reading, and a more judicious or competent guide he could not have had.

In 1810, Mr. Copleston resigned his office of college tutor, which he had held thirteen years, and, upon his retirement, received a gratifying proof of the attachment of his pupils in a present of plate, far exceeding the ordinary measure of such testimonials.

In this year and the beginning of the next, appeared the three replies to the calumnies of the "Edinburgh Review." In these spirited pamphlets there is, of course, a little that is personal, and much of a merely temporary interest; but there is in them so much sound sense and discrimination, so much insight into the philosophy of language, so much nice and accurate verbal criticism, and all conveyed in a style of such manly vigour and purity, and often with so much genuine eloquence, that we know few books which a scholar would peruse with more gratification. While triumphantly repelling the unjust and unprovoked attacks upon Oxford, and inflicting merited chastisement upon its assailants, it is pleasing to see how ready Mr. Copleston is to give honour where honour is due, and to pay homage to well-directed learning and talent. For instance, near the outset of the first reply, after observing that the most moderate services in literature, if unpretending and not wholly barren, may be allowed to save the author from "the keen edge of scorn and ridicule, and strong invective;" he goes on to say,

"That powerful enginery should be reserved for offences of deeper guilt and more serious mischief than mere dulness, for the grovelling reptiles of quackery and obscenity, for the foul deformed monsters of malice, sedition, and impiety. . . . And to the immortal honour of the editor of that journal be it spoken, HE has employed HIS OWN unrivalled talents, if rumour says true, most frequently in that service. And by these manly efforts in the cause of virtue he has raised to himself a monument that will outlive the memory of those occasions which awakened them, and will continue to command our admiration long after the clamours of his enemies have been hushed, and even the well-grounded complaints of injured men have been forgotten. And thus again, at the conclusion of the 2nd chapter, I do believe that if he (the editor) had been aware of its (the article on Falconer's Strabo) containing half the *ignorance*, or one tenth part of the *falsehood* which has been pointed out, he would have rejected it with disdain. In his own writings I discover a tone of mind far superior to such baseness—a vigour of intellect, indeed, which should make him cautious how he measures others by his own standard—and a correctness and dignity of moral sentiment, which I respect even in an enemy."

In a similar spirit he commences his reply to Professor Playfair.

"In the 22nd number of the 'Edinburgh Review' is a masterly analysis of La Place's *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*; which no one, I will venture to say, has read without feeling respect and admiration for the writer of the article, and gratitude for the distinctness with which he has brought home to his mind, reasonings of the most abstract nature, upon the grandest and most sublime of all subjects. It is impossible to praise it too highly; but in proportion to the homage we feel disposed to pay to uncommon talents, is our vexation at finding a powerful and enlightened mind, equally with the rest of his brethren, debased by a mean and unmanly prejudice."

After deducting what is merely of temporary interest, the book abounds in passages of great and enduring value, such, for instance, as the defence of classical education,—the account of the studies pursued at Oxford, and of the manly discipline of the University, the remarks on Aristotle and Lord Bacon,—and the profound observations on the use of the subjunctive mood. Several of these passages, we are glad to see, are given in the Appendix to the Memoir; but we have no hesitation in saying that every scholar who has succeeded in procuring a copy of the work, has gained a valuable addition to his library, a book richly deserving a place on the same shelf with Bentley's *Dissertations on Phalaris*. The following letter, says our biographer, from Lord Grenville, contains much valuable remark and no unmeaning compliment:—

"Sir,

"Camelford House, Feb. 15, 1810.

"Nothing but the pressure of other avocations could have prevented me from sooner thanking you for the publication which you had the goodness to send me. So able a vindication of the character of the University, and, what is still more important, of the cause of truth and learning, could not but be highly acceptable to me. And if my wishes do not deceive me, your perspicuous statement of the course and direction of the studies pursued at Oxford, is likely to be of permanent and extensive benefit in the elucidation of a subject very generally misapprehended. The Edinburgh Reviewers would think me quite hardened in the prejudices of my youth if they heard me avow, that even you have allowed more weight than is, in my judgment, due to the popular objections against cultivating with unceasing assiduity the habit of composition, and particularly in Latin verse. Language, as is now well understood, is the best instrument, not of reasoning only, but of thought. The strength and health of the mind must, as you have well illustrated it by the case of bodily exercises, be best promoted by that practice which gives most facility, grace, and precision in the use of that instrument; nor would it be difficult to show, either by the same analogies of bodily exercise, or by close and philosophical reasoning, that such faculties are more readily and more certainly improved by composition in verse than in prose, and in a dead language delivered down to us in models of classic excellency, rather than in that which is of daily and familiar use.

I am well aware that I am only urging the same opinions which you have yourself expressed. But I carry them, perhaps, still farther than you appear to do; and instead of regretting the prevalence, lament the comparative disuse of those very things which those critics consider as most evidently superfluous. Allow me once more to repeat my thanks to you, and to assure you of the high regard and esteem with which I am, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

While thus energetically battling with one set of reviewers, Mr. Copleston was at the same time entering into literary engagements with the more friendly critics of the south, as appears from a letter to his father, dated 13th January, 1811.

"The employments which have detained me here are various. One of them is that which you guess—a contribution to the 'Quarterly Review.' Much communication has passed between me and the editor (Gifford) on that subject. I never saw him; but in consequence of our having common friends, and frequently corresponding, our style is that of strict friendship. He has sent me several things to examine and report upon, most of which I have had to reject as unfit. The duty of the editor of such a work I now perceive is more fatiguing and vexatious than I had ever even imagined."

In the year 1812, Mr. Copleston read his last lecture as Poetry Professor, and published the collected series in the year following. To the volume is prefixed a graceful dedication to Lord Grenville, which, together with Lord Grenville's acknowledgment, is given in the Memoir. About this time, Mr. Copleston was invited by Dr. Randolph, the Bishop of London, to become one of the Whitehall preachers; the compliment being accompanied by the honorarium of a prebendal stall in St. Paul's Cathedral—a dignity without emolument, but gratifying from the manner in which it was offered.

In a letter to his father, dated January 29, 1814, he says:—

"My visit to Dropmore was not prevented by the weather. I went there on the 18th, the day on which the great fall of snow was in this part of the kingdom. From the time I entered the house to the 23rd, there was no possibility of going outside the door without treading in deep snow, and, in fact, I did not stir out once. There was an agreeable party within, the house very warm, containing every luxury that furniture can supply; and, what with billiards and books, the time was filled up as pleasantly as one could desire."

After some pleasing and characteristic remarks upon his host, he continues:—

"Lord Grenville sent me in his carriage to Maidenhead. When I

⁴ Lord Grenville gained the Latin Verse Prize (Vis Electrica) in 1770.

came there no chaise was to be had, and I was obliged to come on outside a coach. It was the first day after an interval of four that the coach had travelled; and such was the state of the roads, that with great difficulty and much peril we reached Benson that night, twelve miles short of Oxford. Once we were upset completely; all the outside passengers, seven in number, tossed over the hedge, happily, into a deep bed of snow, and not the slightest injury done to any one. But, as the dusk came on, our journey was most hazardous; the people on horseback whom we met answered the anxious inquiries of the coachman by advising him not to proceed; but the day was near its close, and it seemed too late to return. We were then, six miles from Benson, obliged to leave the road, and drive over ploughed fields, for at least five miles, often full gallop, for fear of being benighted. The coachman declared he knew nothing of the way, and was guided only by a coach before us. Once, owing to some accident in the harness, we were obliged to stop, lost sight of our leaders, and the man exclaimed, 'We are lost!' Upon our talking of walking, he strongly dissuaded it, and I believe with good reason; for it is impossible, without experience, to conceive the change in the whole aspect of the country, especially after daylight; the cold in the meantime intense, and the snow so deep, that we could not have advanced two miles on foot from mere fatigue. This, I believe, is the immediate cause of fatal accidents in snow. Persons are soon exhausted who attempt to walk; they lie down, and never rise again. Under all these circumstances, we at length reached Benson, about six P.M., chiefly in consequence of having fetched up our way by a gallop till we got in sight of the leading coach, and that over ground which might or might not be passable for a coach—no one knew. We came on next morning to Oxford—a procession of six coaches—having traversed the fields again about four miles, and passed a flock of wild geese feeding, which took no notice of us, so severe was the weather."

In 1814, Mr. Copleston visited the Continent, and, after spending some days in Paris, being joined by Mr. Ward³, of New College, proceeded to Switzerland and Northern Italy. Several of the letters which he addressed to his friends during his tour are given in the Memoir, which are very interesting, being full of accurate observation and graphic description, mingled, as occasion served, with classical reminiscences. Within two months after Mr. Copleston's return from the Continent, the headship of his college became vacant by the death of Dr. Eveleigh, and it devolved upon Mr. Copleston, as Dean, to announce the vacancy officially to the assembled fellows.

"We have lost," he said, "in our late provost, not only a bright example of piety, worth, and benevolence, but each of us has lost a friend, while the college has lost an experienced and conscientious

³ The late exemplary Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, now Dean of Lincoln.

governor ; one who conducted its concerns for three-and-thirty years with singular uprightness and fidelity ; and who preserved its harmony uninterrupted, even among differences of opinion, by his own candour and invariable mildness of temper. In every question that divided the Society, it was evident to all that his sole endeavour was to discharge his conscience. There was no mixture of pride, of obstinacy, of love of power : no impatience of opposition ; no separate interest or selfish motive ever intruded into his dealings with us. He displayed at all times a respect for the judgment of others, a readiness to compare opinions, and a liberal disposition to concede, whenever he thought his conscience not involved in the support of his own judgment."

What follows may be considered of general historical value to all those who take an interest in the well-doing of the University of Oxford.

" I should think the part I am now attempting still more incomplete, if I failed to speak of a public service rendered by him of much greater magnitude, more comprehensive in its design, and, I may add, beneficial above all others in its execution—the reformed system of examination for degrees, in which it is well known he was mainly instrumental, and to which he devoted a great part of his time and thoughts when the plan was first proposed. Of all who are now present, I believe I am best able to say how anxious he was for its adoption, and what pains he took to overcome the inertness and prejudices of many who were adverse to its introduction."

And then, after mentioning Dr. Eveleigh's offer of pecuniary rewards to successful candidates, he concludes :—

" The offer was declined : but from that moment the work was taken zealously in hand ; and if any individual can with propriety be named as its author, to him, I firmly believe, is that praise justly due."

It was almost a matter of course that Mr. Copleston should be called upon to fill the vacant provostship. A requisition was addressed to him by the fellows of the college, one only being absent, requesting him to allow himself to be put in nomination by them as their provost, and to accept their cordial and unanimous suffrages.

Among the requisitionists we find the names of Davison, the author of the profound and masterly " Discourses on Prophecy," preached as the Warburtonian Lecture ; Whately, now Archbishop of Dublin ; Tyler, the late zealous and indefatigable rector of St. Giles's, and canon of St. Paul's ; Keble, the poet of the " Christian Year ;" Tierney, now Master in Chancery ; Charles Edward Grey, now Governor of Jamaica ; and Hawkins, the worthy successor of Dr. Copleston in the headship.

"On no occasion within my remembrance," says one of the fellows, in a letter to Mr. Copleston's father, "has there been so marked a concurrence of opinion in the University at large."

The election to the provostship of Oriel was followed by a diploma degree of D.D., of which the provost says, in a letter to a much-valued friend,

"At the proposal of the President of Corpus Christi College, the degree of D.D. was yesterday conferred on me by diploma; the instrument has just been presented to me by the Vice-chancellor, and it is drawn up in terms which can never be repeated by my own pen. It was granted unanimously, and in a very full house; so that I have at least a proof that my conduct in Convocation (though often unwelcome to the prevailing powers), yet has not prejudiced them against me, or made them think me a prejudiced or unworthy member."

In 1816, Dr. Copleston revisited the Continent, in company with the two Duncans of New College—those two admirable brothers, who, for a long series of years, devoted their money, their time, their varied talents, and their extensive attainments in science and literature, to the improvement of the moral habits of the poor, and to the promotion of science and the cultivation of artistic taste in their own University. The letters which he wrote to his family during this tour are full of interest, of acute observation, and accurate description. If our extracts from the Memoir had not been already so copious, we should have been much tempted to have given his well-expressed and sagacious remarks—remarks fully verified by the events of 1830—upon the unnatural and incongruous political union between Holland and Belgium.

In 1819 Dr. Copleston published his two letters to Sir Robert Peel; the first being entitled, "A Letter, &c., on the Pernicious Effects of a Variable Standard of Value, especially as it regards the Condition of the Lower Orders and the Poor Laws;" the second, "On the Causes of the Increase of Pauperism, and on the Poor Laws." A third edition of the first letter was very soon called for, in consequence, partly, of the favourable mention made of it in the House of Commons. Mr. Wellesley Pole having remarked, in the course of debate, that he had read pamphlet after pamphlet about bullion and cash payments, but was never the wiser, Mr. Tierney, who followed, said he would recommend the honourable member one more (giving the title of the first letter), which he had himself read that morning; and, although he did not know the author, he knew it reflected honour (whoever it might be) upon the University of Oxford. Sir J. Mackintosh paid a still more pointed compliment, in the same

place, when he said, in a subsequent debate, that, "although the author concealed his name, he could not conceal his talents." A similar attestation was given two years afterwards (March 19, 1821) by Mr. Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton: "With respect to the national debt, at the time the subject was discussed before, a pamphlet was written by Dr. Copleston, which was undoubtedly one of the most able that has appeared on the question. Some arguments were there placed in the most prominent and striking points of view." Much of the substance of these letters is to be found in vol. xxvii. of the "Quarterly Review." The two following entries in the diary have an obvious connexion with the same subject:—

"May 12, 1821.—Interview with Mr. Peel and Mr. A. Baring on finance. April 8, 1822.—Interview with Mr. Huskisson, by appointment, on finance."

Similar entries occur afterwards.

It is very seldom that it can be expedient to place before the public, from a private diary, the inward religious feelings of the writer. The concluding entry for the year 1820 is, however, we think, not improperly given:—

"The whole of this year has been one of the happiest of my life, not, I believe, in consequence of any fortunate events, or unusual pleasures, but from improved health. Gracious God! when I compare this year of my life with the year 1815, how thankful ought I to be for the blessed change! Grant that the religious thoughts and resolutions which were my chief support and solace during that period of suffering, may not pass away and be forgotten in the time of my rejoicing! Grant that I may grow in grace as I advance in years, and that I may have reason to say, with every returning year which it may please Thee to add to my life, 'It is good for me that I have been in trouble!'"

Having ventured to give this extract from the diary, we must be allowed to give one more of a somewhat different description, but very characteristic of the writer:—

"January 1, 1821. On the 1st of January in the year 1800, I found myself possessed, after all demands, of 21*l*. Upon making a similar estimate this day, after an interval of twenty-one years, I reckon my whole property (including furniture, plate, books, wine, pictures, &c.) at not less than 20,000*l*. Yet, I *trust* there has been no sordid saving; and I am *sure* there has been a great deal of useless and injudicious expenditure. So greatly have I prospered, according to this measure of worldly success, &c."

In the year 1821, Dr. Copleston published the "Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination; being the substance

of Four Discourses preached before the University of Oxford; with an Appendix on the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England." It may be inferred from its subject, that, in order to derive benefit from this important publication, it requires to be read with steady and continued attention. Perhaps one of its most valuable portions, or adjuncts, is the "Essay on Analogy and Analogous Writing." An interesting circumstance was connected with the appearance of the book. Mr. Sandford, (afterwards Sir D. Sandford, Professor of Greek at Glasgow,) had, at Oxford, taken a first class degree, and obtained the prize for the English Essay. When he stood for a fellowship at Oriel, he was unsuccessful. This seems to have occasioned some exacerbation of temper, and not long after, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, Oriel and its Provost were attacked (if our memory is correct) by name. More than two years had passed when the Provost was agreeably surprised by receiving the following letter:—

"Sir,

"College of Glasgow, Dec. 22, 1823.

"Though I have too much reason to fear that a letter with my signature may not be acceptable to you, I cannot refrain from giving the simple expression of my gratitude, for a very essential service you have rendered me. My mind (as I suppose, at some season or another, must be the case with all serious thinkers on religious subjects,) had been much agitated by the mysterious questions of predestination and election. Till lately, I confess with shame, I had not read your book on this topic. The recent perusal has put an end to my doubts and hesitations—I hope for ever. The very work, which, when unknown to me, I dared to mention in a slighting manner, has thus, under Providence, been the happy instrument of removing all my hesitations, and yielding peace to my disquieted thoughts. You will, perhaps, receive with indifference this tardy atonement for former petulance and error. But great will be my satisfaction if, to the other members of the University, with whom my sincere confession of a heavy fault has reconciled me, I shall be enabled to add the name of Dr. Copleston.

"I am, &c.,

"D. K. SANDFORD."

Dr. Copleston's answer must not be omitted:—

"Dear Sir,

"It was far from a feeling of indifference with which I read your letter. A testimony so frank, and so powerful to the usefulness of a treatise, must naturally give its author sincere pleasure. But besides this, I should be sorry and ashamed to be thought insensible to the kindness of your communication.

"Whatever pain may have been caused by any former exercise of your pen, be assured that this letter has had all the healing influence you could have intended or desired. In common with your academical

friends, I had always admired your talents, and this proof you have given of a generous heart, makes me hope that I may hereafter be included in that number, and that some time or other I may have an opportunity of testifying my esteem in person.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully and sincerely,

"E. COPLESTON."

Sir D. Sandford's letter in reply is interesting, but we have not space for it. Alluding to this correspondence in a letter to a friend, (Dec. 28, 1823,) Dr. Copleston says,

"Among the letters that I found here last night, was one which surprised and gratified me more than any I ever remember to have received. It was a frank and very respectful apology from Sandford of Glasgow, for the virulent attack made on me, in the 'Edinburgh Review,' about two years ago. He has, I find, written a similar letter to Longley of Christ Church. He also expresses much gratitude for the satisfaction he has derived from the perusal of my sermons, which, he says, has relieved his mind from doubts and distractions which had long harassed him. Such occurrences as these are, I confess, to my feelings the most cheering and delightful."

Many of our readers will, we think, be interested by the following entry:—

"July 8, 1824.—Dined at Mongewell. The Bishop (Barrington) was ninety on the 26th of last May, yet he is cheerful, polite, and even active. Sat at the head of his table; was attentive to every body; walked without a stick, and without support; and after dinner read a letter without spectacles."

The 15th June, 1826, was kept as a jubilee at Oriel, to celebrate its five-hundredth anniversary from the foundation. The Provost preached on the occasion at St. Mary's a sermon, (which was published,) and presided at the dinner in the library, at which were present 140 guests. The following month he received a letter from Lord Liverpool, offering to him the deanery of Chester, into which he was installed on the 5th of September. One of the most gratifying circumstances attending this preferment was, that it brought him into frequent social intercourse with his bishop, Dr. Blomfield. In many respects they were like-minded men. Both were distinguished classical scholars; both were sound and well read theologians; both were conscientiously earnest in attending to the duties of their holy profession; and, moreover, both were frank and candid, and without reserve. They were frequent companions in their rides and walks, and were mutually pleased with each other. On the 5th of November he

preached in his cathedral a sermon on the origin and growth of corruptions in the Church of Rome. Dr. Copleston's sentiments on what was called "Catholic emancipation," had often been misunderstood and misrepresented. He was always anxious to separate, as widely as possible, the religious from the political part of the subject. Alluding to this question, he says in his sermon,—

"If such be the caution requisite for those who think some restraints upon our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects essential to our own security, still graver is the duty of those who seek to remove them altogether, and still more solemn should be the warning addressed to *them*, not to bend religion to their political views; not to represent the difference as slight or unimportant between the pure doctrines of our Church and that spurious mixture of fraud, of fable, of priestcraft and superstition, with which the Church of Rome has corrupted and overlaid the Gospel."

The sermon was published on the request of the bishop and prebendaries. During the short time that Dr. Copleston held the deanery of Chester, he found an occasion for exercising his usual munificence by erecting at his own expense—at a cost of 600*l.* and upwards—a stone screen to separate the parish church of St. Oswald, originally the south transept, from the main body of the cathedral; an act of munificence recorded by the parishioners on a tablet.

On the 30th of November, 1827, Dr. Copleston received a letter from Lord Goderich, offering him the bishoprick of Llandaff and the deanery of St. Paul's, both vacated by the translation of Bishop Sumner to Winchester. As when he gained the Latin Verse Prize, in 1793, so now on the present occasion, the first impression of Dr. Copleston was to write to his revered and beloved parents. His letter may be given:—

"Oriol College, November 30, 1827.

"My dear Father,

"My letter from Chester was written to announce an improvement in my health, which I was sure you and my dear mother would be glad to hear of. I am just arrived in Oxford, and find awaiting me a letter from Lord Goderich, offering the bishoprick of Llandaff and the deanery of St. Paul's, an offer which, notwithstanding the mixed emotions it raises of awe and apprehension, yet cannot be declined. The letter has been lying here one day, and, besides answering it, I have to write a multitude of others this evening. This, however, is the *first*, which you will allow me now to finish.

"Your dutiful and affectionate son,

"E. C."

This letter is in the Memoir followed by another, giving his father some account of his consecration at Lambeth, and his feel-

ings on the occasion ; and also by his farewell letter to the dean and fellows of Oriel, accompanied by a formal resignation of the provostship. The congratulatory letters of Lord Grenville and Sir Robert Peel, will be read, we are persuaded, with much interest. The consecration sermon was preached by his attached and warm-hearted friend, Mr. Tyler.

On February 14, 1828, the bishop took the oaths and his seat in the House of Lords, and in the following month attended repeated meetings of the bishops to consider of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. On April 22, he spoke in the House of Lords for the first time. At the Oriel jubilee Dr. Copleston had mentioned and lamented his inaptitude for extemporary speaking ; and we have understood that his speeches in the House of Lords were not, in general, successful. This inaptitude, probably, was occasioned, partly, by constitutional diffidence, partly, by excessive fastidiousness with respect to appropriate language, and partly from his habit of seeing both sides of a question so strongly as to prevent his bringing either of them forward with sufficient prominence and vividness. In August of that year the bishop commenced his residence in his diocese at Llansanfraed, a rented country-gentleman's house, lately occupied by Bishop Sumner, and before him, we believe, by Bp. Van Mildert. In a letter to his friend, Mr. John Duncan, written in November, he says :—

“The whole of Monmouthshire is interesting. Last week I employed in exploring the southern part of it, making unexpected parochial visitations (which I take to be much more useful than formal ones), and examining the state of churches and schools. The churches are, many of them, in a state of squalid neglect ; the ancient character suffered to be lost ; and a mean sort of patchwork substituted for decayed mullions and windows. In one particular I have been inexorably severe—the destruction of ivy and other vegetation in towers and the walls of churches. There are quite ruins enough in Monmouthshire to serve for young ladies' sketch-books, without making a building destined for religious service subservient to such a purpose. Besides this objection, I hold it to be a gross and palpable error in taste to cherish ivy (which is the emblem of neglect and decay) in places which ought by their aspect to excite other associations.”

At the Oxford Commemoration of the year 1829, the bishop was a guest in his old home, the provost's lodge of Oriel, and preached the Radcliffe sermon. In his diary, July 7, he speaks of “having spent a week most delightfully in the quiet enjoyment of scenes long endeared to me, and of the society of my oldest

and best friends." The only alloy of this quiet enjoyment was the uproarious noise of the theatre, which appears this year to have been extravagantly indulged. Much of the latter part of the summer was occupied in visiting the churches and schools of his diocese. One entry mentions no less than eight churches visited the same day. The bishop was at this time an active horseman, and was thus enabled to acquaint himself with many remote corners of his diocese that would otherwise have been scarcely accessible to him. Of the usefulness of such visitations by the bishop in person we give a single instance :—

"October 18.—Attended Lanarth church, and found the late alterations very objectionable, as *giving the poor* worse accommodation than before. Required the churchwardens to correct this."

Several very interesting extracts from the diary are afterwards given, for which we must refer our readers to the Memoir itself. The following, on the accession of William IV., may be deemed of historical importance :—

"1830. Sunday, July 4.—At St. James's Palace, at two o'clock, with the archbishops and bishops, to be presented to the king. After kissing hands in the closet, the king addressed us in a speech of about ten minutes, declaring his firm attachment to the Church of England, and his resolution to maintain all her privileges. He adverted to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, which he regarded purely as a political question, not in any degree intended to weaken the Established Church, or to encourage popery. He frequently repeated his sentiments of love and esteem for the Church of England, and declared that he wished the heads of the Church to be present when he received the sacrament at the commencement of his reign, to mark in the strongest manner his veneration for it, and to assure them of his fixed determination to support and defend it," &c.

We must next allow ourselves to give an entry of a private character :—

"Sunday, July 18.—Preached at Offwell: present, my father and mother, and most of his sons and daughters. It was on July 20, 1800, that I preached my first sermon, and in the same pulpit, before many of the same audience."

The following April he attended the remains of his revered father to the grave, and saw them deposited in a vault prepared by him twenty years previously.

At six o'clock in the morning of October 8, the bishop voted against the second reading of the Reform Bill. This gave occasion

to a calm, argumentative letter from Lord Goderich, which is given in the Memoir, together with the bishop's reply.

July 4, 1835.—The bishop attended the installation at Cambridge. In a letter to a friend, he says:—

"It is true that I was at the Cambridge installation, having been asked by Lord Camden. In the year 1796, Phillpotts and myself made an excursion of a week from Oxford, in a gig hired for the purpose. We saw all the sights—it was the time of commencement; heard the prizes, viewed scornfully their ceremonies, criticised their colleges, and returned by another route to Oxford. This was thirty-nine years ago. I had not visited Cambridge since, although my companion had; and to me it was singularly interesting to find myself, after the long interval, again on the spot, sitting by his side, both of us bishops, and both admitted together to the same academical honour."

We trust that we shall not be thought guilty of indelicacy if we give an extract from the diary of February 4, 1840, referring to two prelates still living:—

"Debate on the Socialists. Admirable speech from the Bishop of Exeter, luminous, eloquent, forcible, full of matter; the arrangement masterly; the tone sometimes solemn, sometimes animated, energetic, and bold; the reasoning correct and vigorous. His self-possession is wonderful as is his command of language, considering that he has not the practice of a lawyer, or of a man in office; yet in these respects he surpasses them all. The Bishop of London also spoke in his best manner. He always brings out original thoughts, bearing well upon the subject. His diction the readiest, the purest, and most correct of any speaker⁷. The Bishop of Exeter carried his point, an address to the queen, without a division. The ministers completely beaten."

The following November—the Romanists having consecrated a cathedral at Newport with great pomp—the bishop preached twice against the errors of Romanism, having previously given public notice of his intention so to do. He was listened to in a crowded church with most profound attention, and afterwards published the sermon under the title of "A Pastoral Address to the Inhabitants of Newport."

The bishop had for many years of his life suffered much from occasional and long-continued fits of illness, and now began to feel his bodily strength considerably impaired. Having mentioned this in a letter to his excellent chancellor, he says:—

"When I speak of decay of physical powers, it is not that I repine,

⁷ In a subsequent letter (p. 78), alluding to his own speech on the Jew Bill, he says, "the Bishop of London (*qui nil molitur inepte*) was great on this occasion, as he always is, but no report can do him justice."

or am distressed by it, only it has come rather more suddenly upon me than I expected. Two or three years ago, after recovery from illness, I could ride at a good trot or canter for many miles, and walk some hours in a day, not only not fatigued, but exhilarated by it. Now I feel my limbs stiff and aching after an hour's exercise, however gentle, and I can no longer look to a walk as a ready and sure recreation after any weariness of reading or business, or any cares and molestations."

This is followed by a cheerful mention of his journey to Southampton, to witness Colonel Pasley's operation on the Royal George.

In the year 1841 the bishop lost his only-surviving brother, who was seized with apoplexy while on his way to church on July 19, and died on the 20th. The bishop's letters on this melancholy occasion are strongly indicative of the warmth of his family attachments, and of his calm, unostentatious piety.

Writing, in 1844, to his friend Duncan, he says :—

"Last evening, at L—'s, I had a very amicable argument with Lord M— on the *wrongs* of Ireland, as he called them, and the excuses they furnished for the turbulent and rebellious spirit of the Irish. The rest of the company listened to us, and, I believe, felt I had the best of it; for the burden of my song was,—' Their wrongs have been in a progressive course of redress for the last sixty or seventy years, and yet, in proportion to our good treatment has constantly been their increased violence and rancour. And now that they have nothing left to complain of, they say we repudiate the connexion. This is not a generous, but a servile spirit (as I told him), to behave worse in proportion as we behave better and kinder.' "

In an extract from the diary, December 31, after expressing his thankfulness for having been blest with good health, and, consequently, good spirits, and speaking of the rapid increase of the infirmities of age, he says :—

"Being now nearly sixty-nine, I cannot expect an increase of vigour, and must be content, for the remainder of my life, to give up the pleasure of bodily exercise, in walking as well as riding. To me this is a greater loss than to most men; yet I am thankful for the continuance of so much real happiness."

June 16, 1845. The bishop spoke against the third reading of the Maynooth Bill, and moved its rejection, and on the 17th entered a protest against the measure. The leading heads of the protest, which was signed by the Bishops of London, Winchester, Chester, and Cashel, and by three lay peers, are clearly and strongly expressed :—

“Dissentient :

“1. Because I hold it to be contradictory to the first principles of the Reformation, to provide for the establishment of an order of men to be educated for the express purpose of resisting and defeating that Reformation, &c.

“2. Because the most unbounded toleration of religious error does not require us to provide for the maintenance and growth of that error, &c.

“3. Because this measure has a tendency to raise in the public mind, a belief that religious truth is a matter of indifference to the State,” &c.

This year the bishop sustained a very heavy loss and severe affliction, by the death of a much-valued friend :—

“August 13th.—Set out this afternoon for Llandaff, to attend the funeral of my dear and noble-minded and most lamented friend, Bruce Knight, who has been my chancellor, my examining chaplain, my active, kind, judicious, and conscientious coadjutor in the administration of the diocese for nearly eighteen years.”

In a letter to a friend, he says of the same excellent man ;—

“In addition to his virtues and amiable qualities, I hardly ever met with such a combination of various talents and intellectual attainments as he possessed, and, what is still more rare and admirable, such entire freedom from vanity and self-sufficiency. He never appeared to think himself superior to other men. Though cast in the finest mould, he always maintained an intercourse with society, as if he had no claim to distinction. His benevolence, too, was of the most exalted kind, founded on pure religious principle, which was the habitual guide to his conduct.”

Several very judicious and interesting letters from the bishop are afterwards given, particularly one to his nephew, Mr. John Copleston, on the education of his eldest son. In the last letter (July 1849) given in the Memoir, he says,

“Most keenly do I feel the Psalmist’s reflection on old age—‘Yet is our strength then but labour and sorrow.’—My hope is that the quiet and repose, so essential to my well being, will not be misinterpreted, or expose me to the suspicion of laziness or indifference.”

From this time the failing state of the bishop’s health became more and more apparent to those about him. We will not dwell upon the last sad weeks of protracted and suffering exhaustion ; they were soothed by the presence of his two nieces, who had for some years been accustomed to form part of his household, when at Hardwick. Shortly before his final release, he received the

sacrament with his two nieces, and said, after the conclusion of the holy rite :—

“ I expect soon to die, and I die in the firm faith of the redemption wrought by God in man, through Jesus Christ, assured that all who believe in Him will be saved.”

On Sunday the 14th he breathed his last, and was buried in Llandaff cathedral on the 23rd, followed to his grave by a large concourse of real mourners, lay as well as clerical. Never perhaps had the death of a bishop of our Church occasioned more general, or more genuine heart-felt regret among those who had been under his pastoral care.

After recording the funeral of the bishop, the writer of the Memoir gives a very interesting letter from Mr. P. Duncan, containing some of his “recollections” of his friend, during a long series of years. This is followed by an extract from the eloquent and affectionate funeral sermon preached by Archdeacon Williams. One short passage of this sermon we must be permitted to place before our readers :—

“ Of his liberality it would be difficult to speak in adequate terms. It was abundant and overflowing. No public work in the diocese lacked his ample and ready aid, while his private charity was exercised in the same large and generous spirit, and marked with the most kindly and delicate attention. To the duties of his diocese he was entirely devoted—to these he gave his time, his talents, and his substance. His best record, however, will remain in the altered condition of his diocese ; its various institutions fostered and improved, its pastors multiplied, its churches increased in number, its means of education continually enlarged. These will speak far more eloquently than any words of ours the praises of him whose death we this day record. He died full of years and honours, enjoying, as he himself said, full confidence in the redemption of Christ.”

A touching instance of his kindness, in saving a poor and old clergyman from imprisonment, by the payment, unknown to him, of a debt of 140*l.*, is given by Sir Thomas Phillips in the very important and valuable paper, contributed by him in the appendix. Sir Thomas has no wish to keep out of sight the income derived from the deanery of St. Paul's, but says,

“ It is however, due to him to record, that with an episcopal income which did not average 1000*l.*, he expended in a single year, in occasional donations and subscriptions, public or private, connected with his diocese, and wholly distinct from claims elsewhere, 1332*l.*, while, throughout his episcopate, the whole income derived from his see was never equal to his expenditure within its limits for objects of Christian benevolence.”

The paper of Sir T. Phillips is full of valuable statistical information relating to the diocese, and records the increased number of churches, of parsonage houses, of resident incumbents, of Church services, and of schools. It gives also portions of several of the bishop's charges, selected with great judgment, and possessing much general interest. In the charge for 1836, are some observations upon the necessity of a clergyman's being able to address his parishioners in Welsh, in a Welsh parish. In 1847, he says,

"Certainly, I mean to be strict in requiring a knowledge of Welsh, before instituting or licensing a clergyman to a parish in which that language, in any material degree, prevails."

This determination involved the bishop in controversies with lay patrons, who desired to nominate clergymen ignorant of the Welsh language, in parishes in which it was important that the ministrations of the Church should be performed in the native tongue; and in the latter part of his connexion with the see he rebuked, in his place in parliament, the Lord Chancellor of England (Cottenham), for seeking institution in Welsh parishes for two clergymen, one of whom was wholly unacquainted with Welsh, and the other of whom did not possess sufficient acquaintance with the language. On every vacancy, whether the patronage was in the bishop or in the dean and chapter, the benefice was conferred either on a native of the diocese, or on a native of some other part of Wales who had laboured in the diocese.

At the end of the volume is given a list of the bishop's publications, among which are six papers contributed to the "*Quarterly Review*," the first in 1811, the last in 1825.

From the numerous extracts which we have given, and the remarks which we have made, our readers will be enabled to form their own estimate of the general character of the *Memoir*. The bishop's letters, and the notices from his diary of his social intercourse with the most distinguished literary men of his time, will be found, we think, full of interest, bearing the impress, as they usually do, of a powerful and well-informed mind, and of a kind, candid, and liberal spirit. Rapid as is the whirl in which every thing seems to move around us, we still hope that the name of Copleston will not pass away into oblivion, but that his high and varied talents and attainments, and his exemplary discharge of the duties of the several offices which he successively filled, will be long held in grateful and honoured remembrance.

In addition to the extract from the funeral sermon by Archdeacon Williams, we must be permitted to give the eloquent and affectionate tribute to his memory, which, from the pen of an

accomplished laymen in his diocese, appeared in a provincial periodical :—

"Surely few writers of his day have clothed manly sense, sound philosophy, and various learning, in a style at once so polished and so vigorous ; or have furnished, within the same space, so many specimens of pregnant thought, compact reasoning, and felicitous illustration. His unassuming manners while among us made us forget that he, who seemed so ready to listen, and so desirous to learn—who smiled at our sallies, and encountered our arguments on equal terms—had quelled with his single arm the united efforts of the Edinburgh Reviewers, and had been pronounced, by no less an authority than Sir James Macintosh, to be ' the only writer of our time who has equally distinguished himself in paths so distant from each other as classical literature, political economy, and metaphysical philosophy.'

"From the time of his elevation to the Bench (1827) to his death, the bishop ceased to apply his mind to any subjects but those involved in his sacred office ; and his published works henceforth consisted entirely of sermons and charges. Both bear the impress of undiminished vigour—of tempered earnestness—of affectionate solicitude for the welfare both of the pastors and their flocks," &c.

And again :—

"Great as were his abilities, immense his attainments, and noble and beneficial the use he made of them, it is not for his learning, his genius, or his intellectual power, that the memory of the departed prelate will live longest in the hearts of those who had the happiness of knowing him ; it is for the unaffected kindness of his nature—it is for his unbounded charity, ministered with so unsparing a hand, and in streams so copious, as to create a wonder from whence such large supplies could flow—it is for that sunshine of benevolence, which warmed every thing that approached it—for the manly uprightness and noble sincerity of his character—for the humility with which he bore his honours, and exerted his superiority—for the constancy and tenderness of his friendships, and his eagerness to honour virtue and cherish merit wherever found—it is for these qualities of goodness, rather than greatness, that Dr. Copleston will long be loved, wept, and honoured by hosts of mourning friends and disinterested admirers."

Among the many important and interesting passages which Sir Thomas Phillips has selected from the charges published by the bishop, the following (from that in 1839) is so applicable to the present state of the controversy with the Romanists, that we cannot do wrong if we give it a place in our pages :—

"I would entreat you, my reverend brethren, not to disparage your Church, or give encouragement to those who disallow it, and break from it, by yielding, even in name, to their pretensions. To bestow

the title 'catholic' upon the Romish Church, as contradistinguished from our own, is practically injurious, not only with uneducated people, but it has actually been employed in controversial argument as a proof of their superiority and of our recent origin. To speak of theirs as the old faith, or the old religion, and of the Protestant confessions as a new form of Christianity, has an equally injurious tendency. The truth, as you well know, is, that *ours* is the old faith. Let us, however, drop altogether the distinction of old and new, and adopt that of *genuine* and *corrupt*. There is but one faith, one religion, one Church, from the beginning; that Church has been for ages grossly corrupted by the influence of popery; and it has been more or less reformed and restored to its original purity by Protestants in different parts of the Christian world. We of this land have accomplished the work more thoroughly, and yet more temperately, than any other nation. Let us cherish this great and glorious work as our dearest possession," &c.

ART. II.—*The Life of Francis Lord Bacon. By the Rev. JOSEPH SORTAIN, A.B. of Trinity College, Dublin.* Foolscep 8vo, pp. iv. 300. London: 1851.

THE English nation has been charged with paying a kind of fanatical worship to Shakspeare as a poet, and to Bacon as a philosopher. At least, if men must be in some sense idolaters, these are two noble idols. And if in either instance the homage has been excessive and indiscriminate, in the case of Bacon this distinction is to be drawn,—that while his philosophical genius has called forth a profuse admiration, his life and character have been subjected to the severest scrutiny.

It is to his life, rather than to his philosophy, that the pages of Mr. Sortain which now lie before us have been mainly, if not exclusively, devoted. He surveys it under the aspect in which it would naturally present itself to a comprehensive and enlightened, but sincerely religious mind. He therefore feels himself compelled on many important points to pronounce sentence of condemnation, not unmingled, however, with a profound and Christian pity. To temper justice with mercy is evidently his aim: but the glory of the philosopher does not so dazzle his eyes with its effulgence, as to make him blind to the faults of the political aspirant, the statesman and the judge; or to prevent him from drawing the lesson, that intellectual pre-eminence is no safeguard against moral downfall, and only serves to render it more awfully conspicuous.

The view in which Mr. Sortain has regarded his subject has tended to invest it with a fresh interest, familiar and almost exhausted as it is. After what he truly calls in his Preface "the earnest and loving defence of Basil Montague, the equally earnest but indignant criticism of Macaulay, and the calm and dignified arbitration of Lord Chief Justice Campbell," a considerable amount of entertainment and instruction may still be derived from his own volume. It is a valuable addition to the previous records of one who stands in the first ranks, if not absolutely foremost, among the men who have made England illustrious: and it is worthy of the reputation which Mr. Sortain has achieved for himself in other departments of literature. It communicates little, perhaps, of quite new information; for there was probably little to be communicated. But it takes, we think, an impartial and just estimate of Lord Bacon's character, and "points

moral" of his life in a most impressive manner. The style is uniformly appropriate to the topics which come under discussion; and rises, when there is occasion, to a serious and touching eloquence. Now and then in the earlier parts of the work, and in one passage towards the conclusion, Mr. Sortain, when he finds his historical materials scanty, has drawn upon a vivid imagination. We do not mean that he has falsified, in the slightest degree, any known or ascertainable realities; but simply that where the known realities happen to be very few, as during Bacon's residence at Cambridge, he has attempted to supply the deficiency by an ideal, though attractive picture. We allude to this mode of composition, because it is becoming common: and Mr. Sortain, perhaps, ought not to bear the censure, when we could point to other writers who are far greater sinners in this particular than himself. In the absence of facts, they have almost treated us with what may be styled imaginary biographies. Instead of contenting themselves with what a man did, they have proceeded to detail what he "might, could, would, or should" have done. But this practice is never to be commended; if it be allowed to pass with applause, or without notice, it may be a snare to all biographers who are to come, and the most perilous snare to those whose intellects are the most active: it is scarcely a legitimate way of creating interest: at least, it belongs to the domain of fiction, rather than to a narrative of the actual; and the sober muse of history will not permit much indulgence of the fancy.

But we must return to more immediate considerations. It is painful to concur—yet concur we must—in the judicial award which has been passed upon Lord Bacon by all dispassionate investigators, whether native or foreign, from the earliest down to the latest; and which is not now, we apprehend, likely to be reversed. The mind, it is true, can dwell with satisfaction on his ordinary deportment, and on many features of his domestic and private life. He is represented as courteous in manners, affable of speech, mild and placable in temper, and exempt from all taint or suspicion of libertinism. Nor is it an undue leniency to suppose that it must have been something more than mere graciousness of demeanour, or mere capaciousness of understanding, which could not only draw from the pen of a man like Ben Jonson the most glowing panegyric, but inspire his heart with a reverential and almost enthusiastic attachment. Yet when Bacon's character is assayed by any strict test, how abundant do we discover to be the dross and the alloy which are mixed up with it; how terrible the diminutions from its solid and sterling worth! How is the lustre tarnished, how does the bright gold become

dim ! Alas ! throughout the annals of mankind, there occur few passages so dark as the darker parts of Lord Bacon's personal history.

Nor is this all. It is an observation of more than one historian, that in some critical junctures of their lives, many great men have departed from their proper character, and seemed to be no longer themselves. We should be glad to have even this excuse to offer for the too notorious circumstances connected with the active career of Lord Bacon, and his intercourse with his contemporaries on the stage of public affairs. But here the misfortune is, that few redeeming points are discernible amidst the repulsive mass of venality, corruption, and moral cowardice. The turpitude is not the exception. That he rendered some important services to the state in his political and legal capacity not even his enemies could deny. His vast abilities and his far-reaching wisdom could not quite fail him, or be untrue to him, when he had no private ends to promote. But we speak of his conduct when personal temptations assailed him, and personal triumphs glittered in his vision. The stains upon it are such as to make us blush and weep for humanity ; and they run through its whole tissue. In seeking and in holding office, he was guilty of the same faults. He was to Raleigh what he had been to Essex. He was in the reign of James what he had been in the reign of Elizabeth. His weaknesses accompanied him from his youth to his old age.

In another respect, too, Bacon was most unhappy. These weaknesses were of a kind, which the world is readiest and sternest to brand with ignominy. His vices were not even generous and splendid vices. His were not the irregularities and errors into which brave men are betrayed by a fiery temperament and strong passions. His were not the mistakes which arise from an inordinate and misdirected devotedness to a person or principle, and with which, on that account, the kind and earnest can have sympathy. Neither were they the rash, headlong, brilliant indiscretions which men, and women almost more than men, can encourage by their indulgence : the failings which are half regarded with affection, as "leaning to virtue's side." His offences were just those which least of all captivate the imagination, or enlist the feelings in their favour. They were mean crimes for mean objects. Mean crimes ; for they were the offspring, not of hasty impulse, but of cold and sordid calculation ; for mean objects ; for, as a public man, Bacon was ambitious ; but his was not the large and commanding ambition of a Richelieu, or a Ximenes, or a Chatham, or even of a Wolsey. It was a poor ambition for mere office or mere wealth. He could tamper with his conscience, and descend to the lowest sollicita-

tions and manœuvres, he could almost eat the dirt, to obtain a pension or a few smiles at court, or to be made solicitor-general. For such paltry and selfish aims, he could do worse than submit to a hundred indignities, he could be false to the most munificent of benefactors, the most sincere and delicate of friends; he could repay with treachery and ingratitude the very patrons whom his flatteries had courted, and blend with an abject adulation of the prosperous a vindictive persecution of the fallen. We might pardon his angry collisions with the rude and overbearing yet intrepid Coke; but we cannot pardon his sycophancy towards Villiers, or the perfidious malignity of which Essex was the victim!

Among the extraordinary exhibitions which humanity has made of itself from age to age, we know of none more calculated to fill us with a melancholy astonishment. History affords examples of thousands of men,—Lord Strafford, for instance,—whose good and bad qualities seem to spring out of the same root, and where each may be said in some measure to partake of the nature of the other. There has been a terrible unity and consistency of character, even in the greatest criminals. Constitutional impetuosity or hardihood, and an ungoverned intensity of will, have oftentimes imparted vigour to the understanding, and at the same time magnitude and daring to the depravity. We can understand such cases. We can understand, though we cannot defend, the excesses of Mirabeau. We can understand how voluptuousness and licentiousness can be combined with magnificent powers of eloquence and logical reasoning. But the character of Bacon appears at first sight one of startling and irreconcilable contrasts. The poet Young, breathing in his "Night Thoughts" a gloomy disdain of the world, and occupying his days with thoughts of preferment, or the philosopher Seneca, uttering his moral precepts about the nothingness of all external possessions, while he was amassing a vast fortune by usury, is but a faint type of the contradictions which he presents. It is very difficult, therefore, to obtain the key to his whole being; though, perhaps, the nearest approximation to a true solution is, that he was self-seeking without being bold or firm, that he contrived to unite a quenchless desire for the prizes of public life with a want of courage in the midst of its struggles and its dangers. With a temperament not robust enough for the rougher trials of the world, he was ever anxious to play a prominent part in scenes for which he was unfitted. He perpetually placed himself in a false position, where even his successes were fatal to him. He sometimes seems, at any rate, to have absolutely two distinct natures, which co-exist, but cannot amalgamate; to be like two rivers that run side by side, and

within the same banks, but without blending their waters. As the philosopher becomes the politician, as contemplation turns into action, as Bacon steps out of his closet into the arena of the world, many of his finest endowments seem changed into their opposites; amenity and kindness forsake him; his words are steeped in gall, and an envenomed rancour shocks us with its bitterness. How strange is it to behold scientific aspirations of a surpassing nobleness and grandeur associated with a cupidity which is without one mark or vestige of a magnanimous disposition! How strange is it to conceive of Lord Bacon passing in the same day from the composition of the *Novum Organum* to the vile and vulgar intrigues of a timeserver and a place-hunter;—from the sublimest and most comprehensive studies which distinguish a sage, to the hypocrisies and arts which disgrace a parasite! How strange is it, that he should feed his soul with the expectation of undying renown, and the hope of conferring immense benefits upon his fellow-creatures, and yet surrender or fling aside all probity, all self-respect, all independence, all manliness, all truth, for the sake of supplanting a rival, or getting a wife with money; that he should be at once the reformer of the law in theory, and the corrupter of it in practice; himself perverting justice, while knowing and admonishing others how it was in peril of being perverted; the leader of improvement, and yet the defender of the foulest abuses; anticipating the merciful and enlightened wisdom of subsequent ages, yet clinging to the last shreds of half obsolete barbarity, in the torture of the wretched Peacham. The remark is only too correct, that Lord Bacon himself represents the persons whom he so forcibly describes; who are, "*scientiâ tanquam angeli alati, cupiditatibus vero tanquam serpentes qui humi reptant.*"

Two apologies have been offered for him. The one is, that we must not apply the standard of our day, when integrity and even disinterestedness are, to a certain degree, indispensable in public men, to a period when they were scarcely ashamed to vie with each other in servility and rapacity. The other is, that he was driven to peculation and the receipt of bribes by the load of debts and embarrassments which hampered him at every turn, and almost weighed him down with their humiliating pressure. His debts, too, it is urged, are the more pardonable, because he was so absorbed in vast speculations and designs, that he could not pay due attention to the minutæ of household management. Let these excuses avail as far as they will go. But, after all, the laws of morality are of invariable obligation, and a man like Bacon could not be ignorant of them. Again, the contraction of debts which there is no fair prospect of paying, is a dishonesty in

itself, and cannot be made a justification of other dishonesty. And although, under all the circumstances, we may regard the embarrassments which William Pitt, for instance, left behind him with a kind of respectful compassion, still a careful anxiety to regulate an establishment and be equitable towards tradesmen, can never be a discredit to the profoundest philosopher, or the most successful statesman. Or even if the passive delinquencies of Bacon, if his omissions with respect to the petty details of domestic duty, or to the discovery and punishment of the knavery of his servants, may be attributed to the pre-occupation of a full mind, busied with the mightiest cogitations,—if these negligences admit of palliation, what plea can be offered for those elaborate meannesses, those positive artifices and efforts, with which he fawned upon the unworthy, and hunted down the unfortunate. It remains beyond controversy, that we have to lament, not one great lapse under one great trial, but the absence of high-mindedness and rectitude in a multiplicity of transactions. We have to lament the astounding discrepancies, for a long series of years, between the aphorisms which we approach with veneration, and the proceedings from which we turn with disgust. We have to lament that, even for some time after his compulsory retirement, when the great seal had been wrested from his hands, he retained his hankering for the emoluments and honours which he had lost: though it is but justice to his memory to add, that, before the termination of his life, official dignities and court favours had no longer any charms for him; and it appears without affectation that he exclaimed, “I have done with such vanities.”

The rapid sketch which we have thus given of the character and conduct of Lord Bacon has, of course, no pretensions to originality. It is a mere abstract, or summary, of the particulars which are to be found at length in the pages of Mr. Sortain. To those pages our readers must be referred. We must conclude, as we began, our criticism, by stating that the biographer has not shrunk from his task; for he knew that he could not justify Bacon without sacrificing truth; and he felt that his office compelled him to expose errors which he might gladly have covered with an impenetrable veil. The veil, however, he has withdrawn, to use his own fine expressions, with “reverent regret and charitable awe.” “In giving his vote,” as he says, “to the verdict of *guilty*, he has had to do strong violence to himself; and his only comfort, after that which arises from the sense of having discharged a duty, is the humble hope that Lord Bacon may be more useful as a moral beacon than he has ever been, or can be, as an intellectual leader¹.”

¹ Preface, p. iv.

Mr. Sortain is right. As nothing can be more monstrous in itself, or more fatal to the true interests of mankind, than the belief or notion that splendour of intellect may confer a charter or licence for doing wrong; that sagacity, reach of mind, or, in other words, the more complete knowledge of the good, the true, the morally beautiful, is to enable a man to depart from it with impunity;—so no lesson can be more useful and more salutary, while none is more mournful and more chastening to our pride, than the renewed persuasion that mental power is compatible with moral imbecility, mental greatness with moral littleness; that majesty of thought is no adequate preservative against baseness of action; that the same man may be at once exalted to the highest pinnacle of fame, and sunk into the deepest abyss of degradation; may have bequeathed the largest legacy, and afforded the most ample scope, at once for the admiration and for the scorn of posterity; may have done the most both to raise and to lower human nature in our estimation.

It is in this twofold light that Lord Bacon stands out upon the canvass of history, or is as a statue placed upon a lofty and colossal pedestal, on which rest at once the brightest sunbeams of glory, and the darkest shadows of opprobrium. Such a spectacle may well teach us to be contented, as with lowlier acquirements, so with obscurer station. It is a sad thing for any one to be always, as it were, sitting to mankind for his portrait; to mankind, which cares far more for a faithful than for a flattering likeness. It is a sad thing for any one to be so historical a personage, that the records of his shame become as imperishable as the monuments of his genius. Happier, surely, would Lord Bacon have been, if the current of his philosophical projects had never been disturbed by the muddy tide of his political ambitions; if he had put forth his immortal conceptions with an untitled and an untarnished name.

But he made his choice, and must abide by it. This happiness, which he denied to himself in his lifetime, is now and for ever denied to him by the world. His words, his deeds, his memory, have become public property. Mr. Sortain has been constrained, therefore, to present to us the true lineaments of one who, among all men that have ever lived, has been, perhaps, the greatest instructor to his fellow-creatures by his writings, and the greatest warning to them by his example. He has presented them, however, candidly, and even tenderly; not as a man enviously rejoicing over the failings of the illustrious, but as a man to whom virtue is more sacred than genius, and the cause of right dearer than the reputation even of Lord Bacon.

His *literary* reputation nothing can destroy or shake. As we

place it, in imagination, side by side with his official career, we can only repeat, how awful must have been the transgressions which such merits can scarcely rescue from abhorrence ! how august the merits which cannot be crushed or hidden beneath such a burden of transgressions !

If our space allowed us, we might now turn from the personal story of Lord Bacon, and attempt the more pleasing, yet more difficult office of entering into some, at least, of the discussions which are connected with his philosophical labours. After all that has been done by Mr. Dugald Stewart, by Mr. Hallam, by Mr. Macaulay, by Mr. Basil Montague, by Dr. Whewell, by Mr. J. D. Morell, and others, in England ; as also by several French and German writers on the continent of Europe ; there yet, perhaps, remains room for an impartial and accurate examination of the characteristics of his philosophy, and of its influence upon succeeding times. The questions are not yet, perhaps, quite settled, whether and how far this philosophy is more valuable for its particular details or for its *general spirit* ; whether and how far the works of Lord Bacon are the great instauration of a new intellectual epoch, and himself the founder of a new intellectual dynasty ; whether and how far his *Organon* is an original instrument or method of research and discovery ; whether and how far it is applicable to the moral and metaphysical, as well as to the natural sciences ; whether and how far it is deficient, as taking too little account of *deduction*, and failing to discern its true nature and uses ; whether and how far, either in intention or in effect, it deals too exclusively with outward observation and analysis, with the objective side of knowledge, leaving abstract ideas and subjective principles too much out of sight ;—in short, whether and how far it places the empirical element in too prominent a position, and thus has generated a tendency to modern *sensationalism*, and what is now called *positivism*.

If we ventured upon these questions, we might be guilty of some slight heresies against the reigning belief : and, besides, it is unadvisable to treat them in a merely off-hand and peremptory manner, without being able to modify our opinions by the requisite explanations and illustrations.

On one point, however,—and it seems to us in these times an important one,—we are anxious to enter a kind of protest. Mr. Macaulay has said, and many others concur with him, that “two words form the key of the Baconian doctrine, utility and progress.” He considers Bacon as the philosopher of facts, the great apostle of experimental inquiry, the investigator whose method is practical and fructiferous, in opposition to those whose philosophy is sterile, because it wastes itself in empty theories and unprofitable disputa-

to have said something of his manner of writing by aphorisms in contradistinction to more continuous and formal argument. We might have been even glad to have briefly discussed his *style*, as he employed or changed it at different periods of his life, in his *Essays* so truly popular, or in his more imposing productions. This matter might claim notice, as the style of Bacon's philosophical works has been of late vehemently attacked in France, on account of its alleged want of simplicity and scientific exactness: nor is it unnatural that this fault should have been found by authors who are themselves deficient in depth of thought, in richness and loftiness of imagination, while they have been able to clothe their conceptions with a neatness and precision of language which the prose of no other nation, since the revival of literature, has yet perhaps attained.

But we are not invited to these topics by the present volume of Mr. Sortain; and it is better, therefore, at least to defer our observations, in the hope that on some future occasion we may again meet his name in connexion with that of Lord Bacon.

- ART. III.—1. *The Ordinance of Confession.* By WILLIAM GRESLEY, M.A., *Prebendary of Lichfield.* London: Masters.
2. *A Letter to the Parishioners of St. Saviour's, Leeds.* By the Bishop of RIFON. *With an Appendix.* Rivingtons.
3. *The Duty of English Churchmen, and the Progress of the Church in Leeds.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., *Vicar of Leeds.* Murray.
4. *Thoughts on Confession and Absolution.* By the Rev. THOMAS BOWDLER, M.A. Rivingtons.

WE remember, some years ago, reading a paper in a religious periodical, of which we forget the name, on the subject of "Confession," and the conviction at that time impressed itself very strongly upon our mind that that subject would, sooner or later, be the battle-field, so to speak, of the English Church. We foresaw that the time must, sooner or later, come when they, on the one hand, who merely then hinted¹, by the way, at the advantage to be derived by the "penitent" from the unburdening of the conscience in confession, and the reception of private sacerdotal absolution, would openly advocate the practice of private confession as the rule of life in the English Church; when they, on the other hand, who honestly and conscientiously believe, not that the practice of private confession is left an "open question" among us, but that its application is, clearly and advisedly, limited to certain special and particular cases; who believe, that to make that practice in anywise, and under any circumstances, the rule of life, is inconsistent alike with the plain teaching of Holy Scripture, the practice of the early Christians, and the formularies of the English Church; who believe that on this question, as on too many others, the Church of England differs from the Church of Rome, not simply in degree, but in kind; that our reformers intended not simply to render private confession voluntary, instead of compulsory, but also to hold it up to English Churchmen, as the exception and not the rule, as their medicine and not as their natural food;—we foresaw, we say, the time when such persons, in other words, when the

¹ Lest this should be misunderstood, it may be well to state that we are not alluding here to Dr. Pusey, although even his later writings develop his views much more clearly on this subject.

vast majority of the English clergy would be forced, whether they wished it or not, to take one side or the other; when the subject could not be evaded, but must be discussed on its merits, honestly and impartially, without fear, favour, or affection. That time has, (we believe we may say as regards the future well-being of the Church of England,) happily now come. There is no longer any room whatever for doubt, partly from the recent publications of Dr. Pusey and his immediate followers, partly from the revelations of recent perverts, that there is a systematic attempt in progress to hold up private confession as the panacea for all spiritual disorders—to represent it as, virtually, at all events, a necessary part of the Christian life, without which real penitence can scarcely be felt—without which true comfort can scarcely be realized—without which the earnest-minded Christian can scarcely be assured that, in spite of his short-comings, his deficiencies, and his continual backslidings, he yet is, by God's grace, *accepted in the beloved*, or may humbly hope, by constant perseverance to the end, to be made hereafter a partaker of *the inheritance of the Saints in light*. Our readers will remember that in a former paper² we thought it our duty to discuss, at considerable length, the recent writings of Dr. Pusey on this subject. We feel it right again to recur to the question, in consequence of the publication of Mr. Gresley's "Ordinance of Confession," a treatise written, as we gather from its date, well-nigh *pari passu* with our own paper, in which, from the very same premises, Mr. Gresley draws conclusions the most diametrically opposite to our own; in which, not simply is the practice of private confession held up as the greatest possible privilege to the Christian, under well-nigh every circumstance of life, but the qualifications of the Anglican "confessor" are broadly defined; the most minute directions given both for the priest who is to receive, as well as for the penitent who is to offer the confession.

If, in discussing this subject, we felt very great regret at being compelled to differ from one whose opinions we would, if possible, so gladly follow, and for whom individually we feel so sincere a respect as Dr. Pusey, that feeling is in a tenfold degree increased, at finding it necessary to differ from Mr. Gresley on this, or any other subject appertaining to the Church of England. In fact, in Mr. Gresley's case, it is not simply a feeling of regret, it is one of deep disappointment also. We were always afraid, sincerely as we believed that Dr. Pusey loved the Church to which he belongs—convinced as we were that he would never forsake her communion—that yet, in the hour of actual danger, when enemies

² English Review, No. xxx. June 1851.

from without and from within were threatening her very existence, Dr. Pusey, from his innate love of peace,—from his, under present circumstances, morbid yearning after unity—from his dislike of controversy, as such—would shrink from placing himself in the front of the battle; would hesitate to draw the sword, and, if need be, throw away the scabbard, in defence of the rights, the liberties, and the independence of the English Church against foreign invasion and domestic treachery. We feared that the innate regret with which Dr. Pusey would deplore, while recognising, the *necessity* of our Reformation, would prevent his appearing, in the hour of trial, as one of its vigorous defenders. Let the events of the last twelve months say whether these fears were well or ill founded. But we entertained a very different feeling, indeed, with respect to Mr. Gresley. Our earliest associations recognise him as, emphatically, the “*ENGLISH CHURCHMAN* ;” as one who, armed at all points, would defend the Church of England against all enemies; as one who, while regretting, as all earnest-minded Churchmen must regret, the necessity of the Reformation, would yet do all in his power to prevent Anglicans from ever lapsing into the “distinctive” errors which our reformers then, in accordance with the teaching, as of Holy Scripture, so of the Primitive Church, wisely and lawfully repudiated. Deeply, therefore, most deeply, do we regret the publication of the “*Ordinance of Confession*.” Sincerely grieved are we that they who believe that at the Reformation “the great change which the English Church made as to confession was, that it ceased to be voluntary,” should be able to appeal, in support of their opinion, to a name so respected among us as that of Mr. Gresley; that he should be identified with teaching which, we firmly believe, has, more than any one thing besides, been the cause of perversion to the Romish Communion.

But it may, perchance, be said, Do not your own admissions weaken, very materially, your own cause? Should not the adhesion of such a man as Mr. Gresley to the school of those who so strenuously uphold private confession somewhat shake your confidence in the conclusion to which you have come? We are not insensible to this consideration. We have, since Mr. Gresley’s book appeared, given to the whole subject a careful attention, and the result is, we are, more than ever, convinced of the soundness of the view we recently set forth on the subject. We are, more than ever, persuaded that, while the Church of England “allows,” she not only does not “enjoin,” but does not “recommend” private confession to any members of her communion, except to those who cannot without it “quiet their own consciences;” and, moreover, for that is, after all, the real question, that the Church

of England really means what her formularies say for her ; that the limitation in question is to be understood and interpreted in its strict and literal sense. We are firmly of opinion, that, to assimilate the practice of the English Church to that of the Church of Rome on this subject is not only to run directly counter both to the letter and to the spirit of our Reformation, but is to do the greatest possible damage to our own spiritual mother.

And we trust we need hardly say that, in speaking of perversion to Rome with reference to this subject, we have not the smallest notion of insinuating that Mr. Gresley is one whit the less sound a member of the English Church, in intention and feeling, because of the production of the work we have now to notice. Far, very far, be it from us to think of imputing, directly or indirectly, to such a man a tendency to Romanism or Romanizing. But we are none the less firmly convinced that no one subject has so much tended to unsettle, in the first instance, the minds of many who have left us, as the attempt to make, by a species of moral compulsion, private confession the rule of life in the English Church. Therefore do we so strongly regret the line Mr. Gresley has now taken. We fear that his book will be an occasion to many more to fall away. Many, we fear, will read it, who, eagerly seeking to apply it in practice, will find themselves exposed, in direct consequence of such application, to what they will consider unjust suspicion. Unable to endure the "fiery trial," which, for want of duly appreciating the spirit as well as the letter of our Church's teaching, they have heedlessly brought upon themselves, they will be, gradually and insensibly, induced to take refuge in that communion which fully recognizes and fully allows the practice of which they are such strenuous advocates. To use the able language of the Bishop of Oxford, "They will feel that their present position in the English Church is alien to her whole system. This feeling of unreality in more vigorous minds will produce discontent with their present position, then they will seek out a position where they may do unreservedly what now they do with reserve and clandestine constraint¹."

As Mr. Gresley has done us the honour to allude in a post-script to our former paper on this subject, a notice to which we very briefly adverted in our last number, we are naturally led to consider his treatise in a twofold aspect—first, on its own merits, and, secondly, as it bears upon the question, how far Dr. Pusey's teaching on this subject is, or is not, virtually identical with that of the Church of Rome.

¹ Charge, Nov. 1851.

And, in discussing Mr. Gresley's treatise, we are free from one difficulty under which we laboured to a considerable extent in our former paper. In discussing Dr. Pusey's writings, we were compelled to enter into a lengthened statement, to gather, by an induction of particular passages, how far his views really extended on this subject. The gist of Dr. Pusey's rejoinder to Mr. Dodsworth was, that he had never "enjoined," but, simply, when urged to do so, had permitted the practice of private confession. "I could not *enjoin* (*sic*) what the English Church leaves free. I recommended it to those who felt that their case needed it. Else, I have not given the impulse to it. It came from within⁴." Our task then was to prove that Dr. Pusey had, virtually, "enjoined" confession; that is to say, that all, without exception, who should be drawn within the sphere of his influence, would, as a matter of fact, if they carried out his teaching, habitually practise it. This, we think, is, to all intents and purposes, enjoining confession by moral force. But, be that as it may, we have, at any rate, no difficulty of this kind to contend with as regards Mr. Gresley. We have no reason to complain of want of openness and candour in his treatise. We devoted a considerable amount of time and thought to show that the English Church never "enjoins," and only sanctions, private confession in particular and specified cases. We were not a little surprised, therefore—and we readily admit, considering the writer, not a little startled—to find, in opening Mr. Gresley's treatise, the three first chapters thus headed:—"Confession sanctioned and ENJOINED by the English Church;"—"Confession ENJOINED before Communion;"—and "Confession ENJOINED to the sick!" With no inconsiderable degree of trepidation—we are speaking in all sincerity—we sat down to peruse the chapters in question. We are bound to say, in equal sincerity, that Mr. Gresley has, in our judgment, utterly and entirely failed in proving the position he has laid down.

Before, however, we proceed in our proof of this assertion, we must take an objection, *in limine*, to very much that is adduced by Mr. Gresley with respect to those who differ from the school to which he has, happily in this point only, declared his adhesion. Mr. Gresley seems to imagine that all who object to the indiscriminate recommendation of private confession must therefore, perforce, object to any thing like affectionate and private intercourse between a parish priest and his flock; must necessarily repel a penitent, who comes precisely within what we consider the law of the English Church; must harshly drive away one

⁴ Letter to Richards, p. 6.

who, not being able to "quiet his conscience" by the means the Church offers, comes to a priest to "open his griefs." Nay, more than this. We are charged in plain terms with being responsible for the ruin of souls who, but for our neglect, would have come to CHRIST, because we refuse to strain, as we assert, the plain and precise teaching of the Church whose ministers we are. We are such strong⁶ "partisans of a school," "so habituated to party views as to be unable to judge of things simply on their own merits;" and thus we leave the souls of our people to perish through our wilful blindness, our scrupulous obstinacy.

"Who," says Mr. Gresley, "with such a penalty before him—who, that had a true love for the souls of the brethren, would set himself against the use of any means of grace which have been sanctioned by the Church, and approved by the use of holy men, as efficacious for the great work of bringing souls to repentance? Surely, they who discourage or neglect such means of grace must be deemed responsible for the souls which might have been brought to repentance, but are not⁷."

And again:—

"And yet I would appeal to any bishop or priest, whether favourable or not to the practice, provided only he be sincerely anxious for the salvation of souls, whether, if a poor sinner came to him to open his griefs under any circumstances, he would have the heart to drive him from him, for the sake of his theory. I do not think that any truly Christian Minister would do so. It would be doing just as the priest and Levite did, when they passed by the wounded man. I feel sure that, practically, there is not a really earnest parochial Priest who would not at once accept the confession of one who came to him in humble penitence. And if he would do so in one case, the question is conceded; for if a hundred came, he would not reject them⁸."

Now we beg to tell Mr. Gresley on this passage, 1st, that he is very uncharitable in his supposition; and, 2ndly, that he is very illogical in his conclusion. What right has Mr. Gresley to suppose for a moment that they who refuse to wrest from their fair and legitimate use, as we say, the directions of their Church, are not fully as anxious for the souls of their people as they who, in our judgment, do so wrest them? What right has Mr. Gresley to set up the view which his school takes on this subject, as necessarily and certainly so correct that they who differ from it are thereby making themselves directly responsible in God's sight for the souls "which might have been brought to repentance, but are not?" What possible right has Mr. Gresley even to hint at

⁶ Of course we are not speaking here of ourselves, personally, as Mr. Gresley had not read our paper, when the first part of his treatise was written.

⁷ P. 2.

⁸ Pp. 14, 15.

any bishop or priest driving away the penitent, who came to him "to open his griefs," just because that bishop or priest cannot see any authority or reason, either in the nature of things or in the injunctions of the Church, for impressing on all men, whether they feel it or not, the virtual necessity of so coming? We give every credit to Mr. Gresley and to Dr. Pusey for an earnest love for the souls of all who are brought within the sphere of their ministration. We claim an equal credit for those who differ from them on this question; and we confess our surprise that Mr. Gresley should go out of his way to give utterance to insinuations altogether ungrounded.

But, moreover, Mr. Gresley's conclusion is most illogical. "Those," he says, "who are *prejudiced*^{*} against confession may still maintain that it is not to be practised except on the special occasions when it is enjoined." Mr. Gresley then wishes to show the unsoundness of this view. How does he do this? He says,

"I feel sure that, practically, there is not a really earnest parochial priest who would not at once accept the confession of one who came to him in humble penitence. And if he would do so in one case, the question is conceded; for if a hundred came he would not reject them^{*}."

Now what "question" does Mr. Gresley mean is here "conceded?" If he means the question as to whether the priest should or should not receive the confession of one spontaneously coming to him "in humble penitence," we beg to tell him that, as far as we are concerned, he is the only party who raises the question. There can be no doubt whatever as to the priest's duty, if he follow the plain directions of the Church. But if, on the other hand, Mr. Gresley means to say that, because a priest hears the confession of one, or one hundred, or one thousand, who come to him, not being able, by the means the Church offers, to "quiet their own conscience," therefore "the question is conceded," that all ought to confess indiscriminately, then is he guilty of as great a fallacy, as he who should draw an universal conclusion from particular premises. Because a priest is bound to receive all who come to him, therefore he at once concedes the question that all ought so to come!

And, moreover, we cannot but express our extreme surprise at the very striking difference between the treatise we are now considering, and those other admirable works by which Mr. Gresley has heretofore done such deservedly eminent service to the Church of England. Mr. Gresley announces a work headed "The Ordinance of Confession." Now inasmuch as the subject was one

* The italics are our own except when otherwise specified.

* P. 15.

which has excited some slight degree of interest during the last twelve months, a subject on which nearly every body, from the mob at St. Barnabas to bishops delivering their charges *ex cathedra* — (we must except by the way D.O.L., who, although ready enough to write *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, has hitherto prudently steered clear of this, to his party, rather ticklish question) — on which nearly every one has had something to say; we did expect when we saw Mr. Gresley's book announced, that supposing he took the line he has taken, which from his title we feared would be the case, he would do one of two things: we expected to find him either laying down the doctrine of the English Church, as he deemed it, from her formularies, and then, proving by historical testimony that such *must* be her teaching in the nature of things, that she could not, as an honest witness to catholic truth, teach any other doctrine than that which she had also received; or, conversely, having traced the subject in question through Holy Scripture down to the Reformation, then endeavouring to show that the doctrine held by the Church of England was the same as that which always had been held by the Church Catholic; that the rule of Vincentius, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, being a rule exactly applicable to private confession, therefore private confession must be, in the nature of things, the rule of the Church of England. Such, as every English Churchman knows, is the course adopted by Mr. Gresley when he demonstrates, against all comers, the validity of episcopal ordination, or the doctrine of "one baptism for the remission of sins;" and such therefore is the course we expected to find him adopting on the subject of private confession. To our great surprise we find nothing whatever of the kind. Mr. Gresley rushes at once *in medias res*. He lays down dogmatically the position that confession is "sanctioned and enjoined by the English Church:" but he gives not one single passage from Holy Scripture; he brings forward not one single extract from the primitive fathers to show that such *must* be the case, to prove that the Church of England *must* regard private confession as her rule of life, because the Primitive Church, in accordance with the teaching, direct or implied, of Holy Scripture, as a matter of fact, always did so regard it. Yet Mr. Gresley uses very grave language on this subject: he says in his preface, "To my brethren in the ministry, this book is particularly addressed; because on them rests the heavy responsibility of promoting or discouraging the use of confession." Surely then, if so "heavy a responsibility rests on us," we ought to have the very strongest possible ground shown us for taking either the one course or the other. Persons indeed who had not carefully considered the subject, might fairly assume, from the way Mr. Gresley has treated

it, that there was really no difference of opinion whatever respecting it, in the minds of "unprejudiced" persons—of all not bigoted to "party views." Mr. Gresley, we know, does not entertain this opinion, because he has quoted from writers, *in support of his own views*, many of whom have proved to demonstration that the doctrine that private confession *ought* to be the rule of life, is an unscriptural and uncatholic doctrine! We might, not unreasonably, draw a certain conclusion from this omission of Mr. Gresley's. We will not now do so. We simply invite his attention to it, requesting him, in his next edition, to do one of two things: either to prove the affirmative of the position we laid down in our former paper, that private confession, as the rule of life, was unknown to the elder dispensation, cannot be proved by Holy Scripture, and is not sanctioned by the teaching or practice of the primitive fathers; or else that he will honestly and manfully admit, that he has really committed himself to a paradox, viz. that the Church of England runs counter to Scripture and catholic truth.

But now let us see how Mr. Gresley establishes the truth of that proposition, which even Dr. Pusey did not venture to enunciate, that the Church of England *enjoins* confession¹. "The first occasion," he says, "is in the exhortation to communicate. All persons are strongly exhorted that they present themselves at the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with due preparation:" and then he gives a long extract from the first exhortation, putting in italics, as specially making out his case, all that part of it which is particularly addressed to those who cannot, by the means the Church offers, "quiet their own consciences." In several other places Mr. Gresley labours hard to prove that when the Church limits confession to those who cannot without it "quiet their own consciences," she does practically intend to include under this category well nigh all Christians of every sort and kind who desire to come to holy communion. As the "Dublin Review" very fairly puts it, with respect to Dr. Pusey, he practically makes the priest say to his flock, "If you have no scruples about going to holy communion, you ought to have them, and therefore ought to come and open your griefs." Now we have two objections to make to Mr. Gresley's conclusion, first, that it is incorrect in fact; and secondly, that it is injurious to the Church of England. First, then, we assert that the conclusion is incorrect in fact. In her anxiety to guard against any coming unprepared to holy communion the Church orders her ministers to read one of two exhortations "upon the Sundays, or some holiday, immediately preceding" its celebration. She lays

¹ Ordinance of Confession, p. 4.

down, in the first of these, certain minute rules, as "the way and means" whereby persons may suitably *prepare themselves* "worthily, and with faith, to receive that holy sacrament." She then provides that if, "*by this means*" any "cannot quiet their own consciences," then they shall come to God's minister and "open their griefs." Now before inquiring into what the means are which the Church offers her children, whereby "to quiet their own consciences," we would ask whether, taking the words of this exhortation in their plain grammatical sense, it is within the limits of possibility to suppose, that she intends to invite, not to say all, but the great portion of those to whom the exhortation is addressed, to "open their grief" by private confession. Would she not, in that case, have said to her children—"Inasmuch as I know that the means I have here provided will, in the great majority of cases, be insufficient; inasmuch as I know that there are very few, if any, who *can* quiet their own consciences by the use of them; therefore I have provided further means, to which I earnestly recommend you all to have recourse, which I know will be sufficient for the purpose." Surely such is the language a tender and careful mother, who held Mr. Gresley's views, would naturally use in such a case as this. Such is the language which the Anti-reformation Church of England actually *did* use, when confession was avowedly enjoined to all before Holy Communion. Such is the language which the Church of Rome uses now, consistent, in so doing, with herself, though, as we believe, consistent in error. But does the Reformed Church of England use language in anywise resembling this? No! She says, "If there be *any* of you, &c.," clearly and manifestly implying that in ordinary cases such persons would be the exceptions to the general body, that they would be but a part of those who heard the exhortation delivered. We say confidently, that it is a decided injustice to the Church of England, to suppose for a moment that she means what Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley say that she means. It is to suppose, not simply that she "palters with us in a double sense," but that she lays down a certain rule by which she never intends for a moment that her children should abide. We submit, with perfect confidence, that, if this principle of interpretation is to prevail amongst us, as a sound principle, then has Dr. Newman very great reason to complain that Tract Ninety was ever found fault with; then were Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley two very persecuted men.

Take an analogous case. The advocates of private confession are very fond of comparing the office of the priest and the physician. Now let us suppose a physician to be consulted by a patient: he takes an accurate view of his condition, and then

gives him *two* prescriptions. He says, "You are to use the first of these in general. If you find that your constitution is benefited, and your health improved, you may continue the use of it. If, on the other hand, you find yourself in no ways benefited by the use of the first prescription, *then* you are to have recourse to the second." He tells his patient, moreover, that he must be very cautious in the use of the second medicine, because *an indiscriminate use of it has, in many cases, been attended with most unfavourable results*. Now we put it to Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley, what would they think of the physician, who, if the patient should visit him again, should find that, without making even trial of the first prescription, he had been all along taking the second, and should then say to him,—“You have done exactly what I intended you should do. It is perfectly true I *told* you to have recourse to the second medicine, *only if the first should fail*; but I really intended that you should use it habitually?” We say that such a physician would be either an ignorant impostor, or a dishonest man. And we say of the Church of England that the means she prescribes for preparation before holy communion, are either sufficient or insufficient. If they be sufficient of themselves, then is there no necessity for private confession. If, in the generality of cases, they are insufficient, then is the exhortation nothing more nor less than a solemn mockery; for it lays down a certain rule with special provision for exceptional cases, and yet, practically, the rule is sufficient for nobody, but all ought to come under the provision made for exceptions. It may be perfectly true, though we do not think so, that the Church of England *ought* to recommend private confession as a preparation in all cases for holy communion; but to say that she does now, in her present exhortation, either enjoin or recommend it, as the rule and not as the exception, is a conclusion which we are surprised that such a mind as Mr. Gresley's could ever have drawn from the language she uses.

But we can arrive at the same point in another way. What really are the means the Church prescribes in the first part of her exhortation? Let us see whether they are really so comparatively insufficient, as the advocates of private confession do, in effect, make them. We think we shall find that our spiritual mother has not so treated her children, but that these means are, in all ordinary cases, if they are carefully used and diligently followed, all-sufficient for enabling those who adopt them to come to Holy Communion with a quiet conscience. She thus speaks on this point:—

“The way and means thereto is: First, to examine your lives and conversation by the rule of God's commandments; and whereinsoever

ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by word or deed, there to bewail your own sinfulness, and to confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if ye shall perceive your offences to be such as are not only against God but also against your neighbours, then ye shall also reconcile yourselves unto them, being ready to make restitution and satisfaction, according to the uttermost of your power, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other; and being likewise ready to forgive others that have offended you, as ye would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand: for otherwise the receiving of the Holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your damnation ²."

Now we would have our readers observe the very solemn character of the language here employed. We would have them notice how beautifully the "means" here provided harmonize with the directions given in the Catechism for preparation for Holy Communion. The young Christian is taught, in his earliest years, that it is "required of them who come to the Lord's Supper," that they should "examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life—have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death; and be in charity with all men." And so the Christian of more mature years is directed to the very same means. In both careful examination of the past life—in both an earnest purpose of amendment of life ³—in both a sincere faith in a crucified Redeemer, a humble trust in the merits of his cross and passion—in both an earnest desire to be in charity with all men, by frank acknowledgment of past offences, if any, against them. And yet we are now to be told that, as a general rule, a careful examination of our past lives; heartfelt confession to Almighty God; earnest repentance for past sins; faith in Christ, a living operative faith, producing sincere resolutions of amendment of life; and a spirit of love and charity towards our neighbours;—are, in the great majority of cases, altogether insufficient to attain the end proposed—are utterly inadequate to render him who diligently uses them meet to be a partaker of the spiritual blessings presented to him at the Lord's Table! We confidently submit that, if we impress upon our people the necessity of habitual and careful use of the "means" here prescribed, they will, in the very great majority of cases, be all-sufficient; that in well-nigh every instance, the most earnest-minded Christian, the humblest penitent, the man who most deeply feels his own unworthiness in God's sight, may, by their use, and by their use alone, qualify himself for a worthy reception of the Holy Communion.

² P. 4.

³ See the first part of the Exhortation.

But there is a further reason why we submit that the words used in our Exhortation cannot fairly be supposed to recommend private confession as the rule of life, to which, in our last paper, we inadvertently omitted to refer. It is well known that, in the First Book of Edward VI. "auricular and secret confession to the priest" is distinctly spoken of. Why should the compilers of the Second Book of Edward VI. have altered these words to our present form, if they had intended to make private confession the rule and not the exception? Mr. Gresley indeed demurs to the soundness of this argument, as do most of the advocates of private confession. Mr. Gresley thus speaks on this point:—

"But it has been said that we must look to the times when our Formularies were cast into their present shape, and we shall see that whereas in the First Book of Edward VI. confession was distinctly recognised, and provision made for its right performance; all that portion of our Formularies, except in regard to the special occasion above mentioned, has in the Second Book been omitted; and it is contended that when we take into consideration the known character and principles of the Reformers, the omission of the instruction is to be taken as a prohibition.

"I cannot admit the soundness of this argument. *In the first place, we are to take the Prayer Book as we find it—as Divine Providence has preserved it to us. We are to interpret it in its plain grammatical sense, not according to the supposed principles of any set of persons. We have too little knowledge of the precise circumstances of the compilation of the Prayer Book to judge what is the animus of its different portions, except from what we find actually contained in the book itself.*"

We have put the last few lines of this extract in italics, because, as our readers will see, they so remarkably harmonize with our own views. Mr. Gresley has placed in our hands the very strongest argument against himself. He has *said* just what we have said all along, that "we are to take the Prayer Book as we find it;" that we are to "interpret it in its plain grammatical sense, not according to the supposed principles of any set of persons." Our grand quarrel with Dr. Pusey and his school is that they will not *let* us "take the Prayer Book as we find it"—they will not *let* us "interpret it in its plain grammatical sense." They will put their own glosses upon it, false glosses, as we believe. They will make use of a principle of non-natural interpretation, which may make our formularies say pretty nearly any thing or nothing, at the discretion of the interpreter. We say confidently that the principle of interpretation of our formularies, adopted by many of those who deny baptismal regeneration, is precisely and

identically the same in kind with that used by Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley with respect to this passage of the Exhortation ; a principle which is doing incalculable mischief ; a principle which stands directly in the way of those who not only profess to take, but who really do take, our Prayer Book "as we find it," who will not interpret it in any other but in its "plain grammatical sense."

But is Mr. Gresley right in his conclusion with respect to this alteration ? We think not. We perfectly agree with him that we, at the present day, have nothing whatever to do with individual opinions, except in cases of disputed interpretation. It is nothing whatever to us what share Bucer, or Peter Martyr, or any body else had in this or any other alteration, if the language at present employed is definite and conclusive. So far we perfectly agree with Mr. Gresley. But we cannot agree with him that we are to take no notice of the alteration itself. We submit, on the contrary, that we are to deal with it as with any other naked historical fact. The alteration was made, and there must, in the nature of things, have been a reason for it ; and the only plain, common-sense view of the case is, that the alteration was made in order that private confession might be still less the rule of life in the English Church. It is quite open to Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley, when Convocation meets to revise our Prayer Book, *absit omen*, to get the original words back again, if they can. When they do so, we shall *then* have no right to refer to the Second Book of Edward VI. in support of our present views, any more than they have a right to refer to the First now. They would be perfectly justified *then*, in assuming that the alteration must have been made, because its makers wished private confession to be more general. We have a right to apply the same argument, *mutatis mutandis*, to the alteration of 1552. Take a parallel case. We need not remind Mr. Gresley of the alterations made in the "words of administration" in the Second Book of Edward VI., and in the revision under Elizabeth in 1560. Surely he will at once allow that the very solemn words of SS. Ambrose and Gregory, *The Body and the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life*, were left out of the Second Book of Edward for a *specific and particular reason*, and the latter part of our present form, *Take and eat this, &c.*, or *Drink this, &c.*, commanded instead of them. Does he doubt that the two forms were both enjoined to be used for an *equally specific and particular reason* ? and is not the fact of this alteration having been made a valid argument, on the one hand, against those who deny that we hold the doctrine of the Real Presence ; on the other, against those who assert that we, practically, uphold Transubstantiation ? Surely, if he allow this, which we feel sure he would not dream of disallow-

ing, he must allow that a precisely, in kind, similar conclusion may fairly be drawn from the mere fact of the alteration made in our Communion Office on the subject of confession in 1552.

But we must refer, next, to the second instance, in which, as Mr. Gresley says, private confession is "enjoined" in the English Church. We refer, of course, to the "Office for the Visitation of the Sick." Now here, as in the case of Holy Communion, the directions are most precise. There is nothing whatever left to the discretion of the priest. He is simply told, *Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter.* Now, surely, these words *have* a "plain grammatical sense;" surely they *do* admit of being interpreted literally; and sure we are, also, that no unprejudiced person, seeing them for the first time, would think of saying that every priest of the English Church was directed, in every case, to urge the sick person to a "special confession of his sins;" or would say that the Church, in giving this direction, deliberately considered that all persons ought to make special confession of sins, because, if their consciences were *not* troubled with some weighty matter, they, generally speaking, *ought* to be so troubled. And yet, in very truth, this is what Mr. Gresley's argument really comes to. We feel greatly pained at having to say one word on this point in opposition to Mr. Gresley, because we cannot but appreciate most highly the earnestness and anxiety for the spiritual welfare of Christian men which are so conspicuous in every page of his treatise. Still, we must say, in general, for space will not allow us to analyze his argument, we must say that Mr. Gresley's view *may* be sound; but it is not, and cannot be proved to be, by any fair principle of interpretation, the view of the Church of England. In opposition to it, we will lay before our readers the sober and common-sense interpretation of the rubric in question, which the Bishop of Ripon has given, in a letter to Mr. Minster, the late incumbent of St. Saviour's, Leeds, who seems to have urged, as nearly as possible, Mr. Gresley's view upon the Bishop. He says:—

"Then you have recourse to another argument (but the necessity of resorting to such a plea shows the extreme weakness of your cause), and you plead that the persons who come to you for private confession and absolution are *sick*—sick in mind and at heart; and, therefore, to be included among those to whom the Church will allow you to use the form of absolution for the Visitation of the Sick. That such persons are in a morbid state of mind is indeed most true; seeing that they fail to derive sufficient assurance of God's power and will to pardon them, when they hear the word of pardon and absolution pronounced in church by Christ's appointed minister, but must needs come and crave

that pardon in the closet and confessional of the priest. It is for you, as being, under Christ, the physician of their souls, to bring such persons to a more healthy state of mind, and to apply the fitting remedy to their morbid condition, instead of encouraging it, and thus teaching them to undervalue the public form of absolution prescribed by our Church³."

And here, before proceeding to examine the authorities whom Mr. Gresley has brought forward in support of his views on confession, we feel it right to express our regret at the very slighting way in which, throughout his treatise, Mr. Gresley has spoken of the actual state of the Church of England. We do not believe he intended this, but sure we are that, if a Romanist desired to gloat over the real or fancied deficiencies of the English Church, he could find no better guide to so doing, than Mr. Gresley's "Ordinance of Confession."

But it may be said, The only question ought to be, not, who may make use of the statement, but is the statement a correct one? We firmly believe that it is not. Twenty years ago Mr. Gresley's picture might have been correct, but we do think it is sadly overdrawn now. Mr. Gresley says, that we are not to suppose ourselves perfect. Doubtless; but surely there is no necessity for making ourselves out to be so very imperfect as Mr. Gresley describes us. We believe there is very great harm done in this way. Mr. Gresley says that "we," that is, the English Church, "are not to suppose that we are the model for the rest of the world⁴." But let us ask Mr. Gresley, If we are not the model for the rest of the world, in other words, for other Churches, how can we justify our present position, as a Church? Surely, if the Church of England be a Reformed branch of the Church Catholic, if she be doing the work God has placed in her hands; and we confidently submit that she is doing it now—surely she must be, with all her imperfections, and all her shortcomings—ay, and her children are bound to hold her up as such—she must be, as she is, a model for other Churches. Therefore we say that there is very great harm done by such a tone as Mr. Gresley has here—happily only here, adopted on this subject. It leads men to dwell upon the fancied excellences of other systems, to forget the real blessings they may find in their own. It *has* led many to join that communion which has been so studiously held up as their model of excellence.

And, as a matter of fact, Mr. Gresley's application of his theory is very erroneous. He says:—

³ Bishop of Ripon's Letter, p. 25.

⁴ P. 3.

"In the Greek Church, preaching is almost entirely neglected. In the Romish Church, the reading of the Holy Scripture is little encouraged. So it is with confession in our own. And as English Churchmen could bear testimony to the members of the Romish and Greek communions of the great value of frequent preaching, and of the comfort which the humble Christian feels from free access to the word of God; so could *they* show us undeniable evidence of the importance of confession'."

Here, again, Mr. Gresley himself supplies the opponents of his system with weapons ready made to their hands. Why, our very strongest secondary argument against indiscriminate private confession is, that the practice has utterly failed, speaking generally, in the Church of Rome! It prevails, to an unlimited extent, in Italy and in Spain: and what is the result? A state of morals which would disgrace heathenism, produced, we firmly believe, in a great measure, by the unlimited use of private confession.

"*Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret,*"

and we are convinced, that the moral and social evils, incidental to this practice, cannot, by any amount of caution, be prevented, in any thing like such a measure as shall justify its introduction, as a rule of life, among English Churchmen.

And here we cannot refrain from laying before our readers one or two extracts, from Dr. Hook's admirable Sermon, on that depreciation of the English Church, which is so prevalent amongst a certain party, only premising that these extracts are not directed against Mr. Gresley, but against more advanced disciples of the school he has, we trust only for a very brief space, recently joined. Dr. Hook speaks, as he always does, strongly, but not one whit more strongly than the occasion required. He says:—

"If self-laudation may be carried to an extreme, and if it terminated, with respect to the Church, in an indolent self-complacency; self-depreciation has, undoubtedly, now been carried to excess, and is leading to discontent, complainings, and even to apostasy, sending some to Pantheism and others to Rome.

"The error does not consist in our pointing out deficiencies and calling for improvement: but the great error consists in this, that, in the habit now formed of finding fault, men forget to dwell on the general excellence of that in which faults are found: they detect spots in the sun, and forget that to the sun they are indebted for light and life, and all the comforts they enjoy.

"We do not, then, blame a member of the Church of England when, pointing out, as he opines, defects in our discipline, or doctrine, or ritual, he proposes what he considers to be improvements, or even urges our spiritual rulers to seek a redress of grievances, imaginary or real. But we do complain, when, as at the present time, we find this done, with an attempt evidently malicious, by those who omit to act as our great divines in former ages were wont to do, and to remind the ignorant, who are ever ready to find fault, while they are too blind to discover excellences, that ours is, in the words of Bishop Beveridge, the best and purest Church on the face of the earth; the bulwark of the Reformation; the model according to which all other Churches, Popish and Protestant, should be invited to reform themselves; the *via media* between Rome and Geneva; the representative of primitive catholicism, and scriptural Christianity, as distinguished from Romanism; the nursing mother of saints; equally free from fanaticism and superstition; the glory and the blessing of our native land.

"Who will labour for the Church unless he loves the Church? Who will not be anxious for an opportunity to quit the Church, if he has accustomed his mind to dwell exclusively on her defects—defects, peradventure which exist only in his own imagination? We are impelled to faithful, continuous, and painful action, not by a cold calculation of what it behoves us, as a duty, to do, but by the generous impulses of dutiful and sometimes enthusiastic love*."

And again:—

"Here is the *via media*. But how is it now? We find those who are dwelling with malicious pleasure on the faults they imagine to exist in the Church of England without pointing out, at the same time, her superiority, notwithstanding those defects, whether real or imaginary, to every other religious community; palliating the corruptions of the Church of Rome without, at the same time, pointing out her deep and damning pollutions: they speak of the errors, if errors they be, of the Church of England as sins, and actually refer to the deep ingrained sins of the Church of Rome as if they were venial errors.

"It is not to be wondered at that weak brethren go over to Rome, when a portion of the religious press, and an influential part of it too, is in the hands of those who thus defame the Church of England, and repel any attack upon the Church of Rome; who hold up Rome as the model to England, instead of England as the model to Rome.

"And we must meet the evil by not only doing what is right, but by taking care also to let our light so shine before men that they may see it, and in the brilliancy of the light put to silence the ignorance of the foolish.

"'I am become a fool in glorying,' saith St. Paul; 'ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you; for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles.'

* The Duty of English Churchmen, pp. 10—12.

"If it were lawful, because necessary, for St. Paul thus to speak of himself; much more lawful is it for English Churchmen to speak in commendation of the very chiefest of the Churches*."

And now let us examine the "Testimony of English Divines in favour of Confession," which Mr. Gresley brings forward. Not, indeed, that he has given us much, if any, new matter on this point. There is a certain set of, we had almost said stereotyped quotations, which any one, who has gone at all deeply into the subject, knows perfectly well beforehand that he shall find adduced in any treatise recommending private confession as the rule of life. Of course this fact proves nothing whatever as to the abstract value of the quotations in question, one way or the other; but it does show that the current stock has been tolerably well ransacked; we may fairly conclude that no fresh authority of any weight can be brought forward. But, before considering the quotations themselves, we must make one or two rather important preliminary observations. We say, then, first, that, if these quotations were multiplied tenfold, if they were ten times as clear, as they who use them contend, they would have literally nothing whatever to do with the point at issue. For what is that point? Not whether the Church of England *ought* to recommend or enjoin private confession—not whether her great divines have, or have not, recommended the practice; but simply this—Does the Church of England speak at all with respect to private confession? and, if she does, does she speak clearly and decisively? If she does so speak, then *cadit quæstio*; then is the matter at once decided, so far as the obedience of her children is concerned. Of course there may be circumstances which, perforce, limit the positive application of this rule, but not so as to its negative aspect. It may not be in the Churchman's power to put in practice every thing enjoined in our Prayer Book; for which, by the way, they are mainly responsible who have overstrained our formularies; but it is in his power, and it is his bounden duty, not simply not to do any thing which she plainly forbids, but, more than this, not to do any thing which, in important questions, such as that we are now considering, she does not most plainly and positively order. This, as our readers know well, is no new theory invented for the occasion. In our number for March last, speaking on a somewhat kindred subject, we said, with respect to the "great divines of the seventeenth century," that, "much as we venerate the private character of these divines; much as we feel the obligation to them under which every English Churchman must lie; still we cannot consent to allow that indi-

* The Duty of English Churchmen, pp. 14, 15.

vidual practice is to be permitted to weigh, for a moment, against the language and spirit of the English Prayer Book¹." As we said then, so we say now,—Where there is a disputed point of rubrical interpretation these authorities are most valuable; but, where the Prayer Book speaks plainly, they are, if opposed to her teaching, of no value whatever, except it be with a view to getting our formularies revised by Convocation. We might fairly, therefore, say to Mr. Gresley, that we refuse to take any notice of his authorities, because, whatever else they may prove, they cannot, by any possibility, prove this—that private confession, as the rule of life, is enjoined, sanctioned, or recommended by the English Prayer Book; and, unless they prove this, they are simply *nihil ad rem*.

But there is another view of this subject. Granting that the authorities in question say all that their adducers maintain; what is the practical result? Simply this: Not that, when they wrote, the English Church, as a Church, advocated private confession; but that these individual writers advocated it, they being a very small selection from a very large body. They prove nothing whatever as to the general practice, but simply assert their own particular views. Just suppose a century to have elapsed from the present time. By that period great changes will have taken place. They who are English Churchmen in name, but Romanists at heart, will have gone, where they ought to have gone long before,—will have joined the Romish schism. They who, like Mr. Gresley, honestly believe that private confession *ought* to be the rule of life in the English Church, will have passed away, in the natural course of things, deeply and sincerely lamented by very many, who highly and conscientiously respected, while they felt constrained to differ from them; while the younger clergy of the present period, who now, from respect to their names, advocate their views on this subject, will have gone to their last account, having, after more matured experience, seen the folly and the danger, to use no harsher term, of straining beyond their just limits the formularies of the English Church. Such, we think—it may be that "the wish is father to the thought"—but still we do think, honestly and sincerely, that such will be the state of things with respect to private confession a century hence. Of one thing we most certainly feel assured, that private confession never will be—and a very heavy responsibility rests upon those who try to make it so—prevalent in the Church of England as a rule of life. Well, then, suppose, this being the state of things, that some persons endeavour, a century

¹ *English Review*, No. xxix. p. 127.

hence, to do what Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley are trying to do now,—endeavour to revive the practice of private confession. Might they not adduce extracts from their writings, and those of other persons, showing that the “divines of the nineteenth century” advocated private confession—very much more conclusive than any that are now brought forward? The advocate would not be able to show opinion only, but practice also. But yet surely, if our Prayer Book remain then as it is now—and it will be so, as far as this subject is concerned—what man of common sense would think of saying that, because Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley in 1851 held such and such opinions, therefore private confession ought to be in 1951 the rule of life in the Church of England, *non obstante* the repudiation of their views by all but a very small section of English Churchmen; *non obstante* the positive and unmistakeable language of the English Prayer Book?

The Bishop of Ripon admirably pressed this point on Mr. Minster:—

“If,” he says, “it really were, as you state, that the Church of England ‘strongly recommends’ such proceedings as yours, and if the passages from the learned divines whom you quote do really uphold the system at present pursued at St. Saviour’s in this matter, why have you not attempted to show how consistently they acted up to the principles of the Church, and their own principles; what respect they paid to the strong recommendation of their Church; what powerful precedent you have found in their ministerial life for assembling your flock, both young and old, periodically in your study, to pour forth, on their knees, their confession to you, and to receive from you the words of absolution? Surely the absence of all such precedent among the learned writers you quote, shows how erroneous is the interpretation you have put upon their language. For three centuries since the Reformation have the clergy of the Church of England, as a body, renounced this Romish practice of periodical private confession: and it has been reserved for a few young and inexperienced ministers in our day, to venture on this most perilous path without any direction or authority from their Church, which would not have failed to lay down wise and well-considered rules to guide her ministers in this most difficult of all tasks, had she ever intended them to receive private confessions, otherwise than under the special circumstances of rare occurrence above alluded to.”

But our readers need not suppose that we are really going to shelter ourselves under any plea of this kind. We purpose rather, once for all, to enter into a careful examination of these hackneyed quotations; and we think we shall then find that they do

² Letter to the Parishioners of St. Saviour’s, Leeds, pp. 25, 26.

not, in any way whatever, even taken as they stand, carry out Mr. Gresley's view ; and then, moreover, we shall show, in several cases, what opinions the writers in question really did entertain with respect to private confession.

Mr. Gresley quotes from Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Jewel—from Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Overall, Archbishop Usher, Wake, and Sharp—from Donne, Heylin, Bingham, Bishop Ken, Comber, Bishop Sparrow, and Bishop Tomline. Of course space will not allow us to go through these quotations seriatim ; we must content ourselves with proving our first position by two or three of the most striking instances. We shall say nothing whatever with respect to Hooker, Usher, and Bingham, having already given copious extracts from each of their writings in our former paper ; simply observing, by the way, that the editions of their works from which Mr. Gresley quotes must be very different from those we consulted, to warrant any thing like the notion that they favour Mr. Gresley's view of private confession.

Let us then take, as our first instance, Bishop Jeremy Taylor. He says :—

“That besides the examination of your conscience (which may be done in secret between God and your own soul), there is great use in holy Confession : which, though it be not generally in all cases, and peremptorily commanded, as if without it no salvation could possibly be had ; yet, you are advised by the Church, under whose discipline you live, that before you are to receive the Holy Sacrament, or when you are visited with any dangerous sickness, if you find any one particular sin or more that lies heavy upon you, to disburden yourself of it into the bosom of your Confessor, who not only stands between God and you to pray for you ; but hath the power of the keys committed to him, upon your true repentance, to absolve you in Christ's Name from those sins which you have confessed unto him³.”

Now who does not see that Bishop Taylor says here just exactly what the Church of England says in her Exhortation, *and no more* ? “If there is any one or more particular sin that lies heavy” upon the conscience, in other words, if the conscience cannot otherwise be “quieted,” then is private confession to be used. And, moreover, Bishop Taylor speaks, not, as Mr. Gresley does, of any sickness, but of “any dangerous sickness.” This is, we contend, just identically the view for which we have all along been contending : that private confession is only to be used within certain definite and well-ascertained limits.

³ P. 49.

Again Mr. Gresley quotes from Bishop Overall :—

“ ‘Confession of sins must necessarily be made to them, to whom the dispensation of the mysteries of God is committed. For so they which in former days repented amongst the saints are said to have done.’ ”

“ Again—‘ Venial sins, which separate not from the grace of God, need not so much trouble a man’s conscience. If we have committed any mortal sin, then we require confession of it to a priest ‘.’ ”

We cannot now refer to Bishop Overall for the context of these passages, but what *have* they to do with Mr. Gresley’s argument? The first simply tells us that confession, when made at all, must be made to a priest. Why, who ever doubted it? The real question is, When ought confession to be made? With respect to which, the Bishop, in this passage, says absolutely nothing. The second draws a manifest distinction between “venial” and “mortal” sins, with which we should judge that Mr. Gresley utterly and entirely disagrees.

Again, Mr. Gresley quotes from Archbishop Wake. We will take the liberty of quoting from him also, and from the same treatise, his Answer to Bossuet :—

“ The primitive Christians interpreting those places of St. Matthew and St. John, which Monsieur de Meaux mentions, of public discipline, and to which we suppose, with them, they principally at least, if not only, refer, at first practised no other. For private faults, they exhorted their penitents to confess them to God, and *unless some particular circumstance required the communication of them to the priest, plainly signified that that confession was not only in itself sufficient, but in effect was more agreeable to Holy Scripture than any other* ‘.’ ”

Let our readers say how far Archbishop Wake agrees in sentiment with Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley, who both refer to him in support of their views.

Turn we next to Archbishop Sharp :—

“ ‘Confession to a minister . . . is always lawful, and sometimes highly expedient ; and if people amongst us did more practise it, there is no doubt they would find both great comfort and great benefit thereby.’ —T. 5, Sermon. 11, 12, ed. 1734 ‘.’ ”

Now, in truth, if we wanted one authority who, more strongly than another, advocates our views on this subject of private confession, we should assuredly have recourse to this divine. We can only afford space for two extracts, although we had marked several more :—

‘ P. 50.

‘ Gibson, xii. 106.

‘ P. 52.

"And this [*i. e.* public confession] is that confession we so often read of in ecclesiastical writers, and which they so much urge as of necessity to repentance, viz. a public confession of crimes; not that private whispering of sins into the ear of a confessor, which the Church of Rome hath now brought into the place of it'."

And again:—

"If they could but produce one text of the Bible, wherein it did appear that this auricular sacramental confession of sins to a priest was recommended, either by our Lord or His apostles; or one text, wherein it did appear that it was practised by any Christian, either of the clergy or laity in any instance; or, lastly, one text, whereby it doth appear that it was so much as mentioned or thought on by the holy men of that time; I say, if they could produce any one text of Scripture for the proof of any of these things, they would do something. But we are sure they cannot."

"But to proceed further: as there is in Scripture no command, no practice, no mention of this sacramental private confession, so there is much against it. For the Scripture plainly prescribes other terms of forgiveness of sins, and assures us of pardon and the mercy of God, merely upon our confessing to God, and forsaking our sins, without any more ado. David certainly never dreamed of the necessity of auricular confession, when he spake these words in the thirty-second psalm, and the fifth verse: 'I acknowledged my sins unto thee, and mine iniquities have I not hid. I said, I will confess my sin unto the Lord; and lo! thou forgavest me the iniquity of my sin.' Upon his confessing his sins to the Lord above, his sin was forgiven. And, lest we should think that this was an extraordinary privilege vouchsafed unto him, and such a one as others were not to expect, he adds further, 'For this cause shall every one that is godly make his prayer unto Thee in an acceptable time.' (ver. 11.) To the same purpose St. John: 'If we confess our sins' (meaning to God, for to Him the whole context restraineth it) 'God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' (1 John i. 9.) And thus again; if we can gather any thing from any parable of our Saviour's, we may certainly gather this from the parable he makes of the publican and Pharisee that went together into the temple to pray, that, in order to the forgiveness of sins, God requires no more than an humble, sorrowful, and contrite heart, confessing what is past, and amending for the time to come, without respect to any external administration of confession to men'."

We submit confidently that it is mere child's play in Mr. Gresley to quote Archbishop Sharp as a supporter of his theory of confession.

Then comes Dean Comber. We will simply, without any com-

⁷ Works of Archbishop Sharp, vol. vii. p. 120.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 125—128.

ment, give the quotation, and leave our readers to form their own opinion upon it:—

“ ‘ With us it [confession] is restored to its primitive uses, for we direct all men to confess to God; but some, also, to confess their faults and reveal their doubts to the priest, especially in these three cases: (1) When we are disquieted with the guilt of some sin already committed; or, (2) when we cannot conquer some lust or passion; or, (3) when we are afflicted with any intricate scruples, particularly whether we may be fit to receive the Blessed Sacrament or no. If any of these be our case, then first we must choose prudently, preferring our own minister if he be tolerably fitted, or else we may select another that is prudent and pious, learned and judicious; or who may manage these weighty concerns gravely and privately, and dispatch it wisely and fully to our satisfaction.’ ”

And so with respect to good and saintly Bishop Ken. In his “ Winchester Manual,” from which Mr. Gresley quotes, he takes precisely the same ground which we have taken, the ground, viz. that the Church takes. He advises Philotheus, “ as the Church does,” to have recourse to spiritual guidance if, without it, he finds examination before Communion “ too difficult,” or “ is afraid he shall not rightly perform it,” &c.; advice most sound, but which does by no means show that Bishop Ken would have put the gloss upon the words of our Church which Mr. Gresley has put upon them.

We think then we have sufficiently shown that Mr. Gresley ought to have exercised very much greater care with respect to quotations. When his quotations are strongest, they are far from carrying out his views; while, in many cases, a further examination of the context shows, plainly enough, that the opinions of the authors in question, carefully drawn from their writings, are, in fact, diametrically opposed to those views.

That we might not break Mr. Gresley's order, we have reserved till last our extracts from Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, and Bishop Jewel. We find nothing in the Parker edition of Ridley on the subject; but we have no doubt whatever, if that excellent bishop were alive now, that he would support our views rather than Mr. Gresley's.

Mr. Gresley gives the following quotation from Cranmer:—

“ ‘ God dothe not speake to us with a voyce sounding out of heaven. But he hath given the keyes of the kingdom of heaven and the authority to forgyve synne to the ministers of the Church. Wherefore let him that is a sinner go to one of them: let him knowledge and confess his

synne, and pray him that, according to God's commandment, he will give him absolution, and comforte him with the word of grace and forgiveness of his synnes. And when the minister doth so I ought steadfastly to believe that my synnes are truly forgiven me in heaven¹."

Now Oranmer thus speaks in his "Questions and Answers concerning the Sacraments, &c.," 1540. The question proposed is,—

"What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven sacraments; so as, although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no? and in what wise spoken of?"

The answer is as follows:—

"Of penance also I find in the Scripture, whereby sinners after baptism, returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto his favour and mercy; but the Scripture taketh penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, *making no mention of private confession of all DEADLY sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined to him*²."

Surely Mr. Gresley scarcely ought to quote one who denies the necessity of confessing even "deadly" sins, in support of a theory which, practically, makes no distinction as to kinds of sin, but considers well-nigh all "deadly," and none "venial."

And let us see next how far good Bishop Latimer will fraternize with Mr. Gresley on this question. He thus speaks in Mr. Gresley's treatise:—

"But to speak of right and true confession, I would to God it were kept in England; for it is a good thing. And those which find themselves grieved in conscience might goe to a learned man, and there fetch of him comfort of the word of God, and so come to a quiet conscience, which is better and more to be regarded than all the riches of the world³."

Now in his sermon on the Epistle for the first Sunday in Advent, the good Bishop thus speaks of confession:—

"As touching confession, I tell you, that they that can be content with the general absolution which every minister of God's word giveth in his sermons, when he pronounceth that all that be sorry for their sins, and believe in Christ, seek help and remedy by him, and afterwards intend to amend their lives, and avoid sin and wickedness, all these that be so minded shall have remission of their sins; now I say they that can be content with this general absolution, it is well: but they that are not satisfied with it, they may go to some godly learned minister, *which is*

¹ P. 46.

² Parker edition, pp. 115, 116.

³ P. 47.

able to instruct and comfort them with the word of God, to minister that same unto them to their contentation and quieting of their consciences⁴."

Latimer appears here to have taken a view, new, we admit, to ourselves, but respecting which the words of our Communion Office allow of much being said, and which is held by the Bishop of Ripon, and sanctioned, in a measure, by Mr. Bowdler. This view is, that when the penitent comes to "open his grief" to the priest, he is to receive "absolution;" not, as in the Visitation of the Sick, by a specific form, but that the priest is to point out such passages of Scripture as may reassure his mind; is, by reasoning and praying with him, to speak peace and comfort to his wounded spirit. The Bishop of Ripon thus speaks on this point to Mr. Minster:—

"You plead, however, the exhortation in the Service for the Holy Communion as your further authority; but the passage you refer to does in fact contain the most direct refutation of your practice. For, in the first place, the passage alluded to applies to those only who cannot quiet their own consciences, in preparation for the Lord's Supper, by private exercises of penitence and faith, but *require* further comfort and counsel; and, instead of supplying you with any form of absolution of human composition, it directs you to afford them the benefit of absolution *by the ministry of God's holy word*, by pointing out to the troubled in conscience those numerous passages in holy writ, which give assurance of pardon and absolution to all who heartily believe, and truly repent; such, for instance, as the four texts which immediately succeed the absolution in the Communion Service⁵."

Let us hear Mr. Bowdler on this question:—

"The absolution is to be 'by the ministry of God's holy word.' Whether it is intended that the application of the inspired word should stand instead of any particular form, or that the absolution should be conformable to it, and grounded upon it, does not seem clear. The expression was introduced in 1552, and was therefore intended probably to guard more strictly against the Romish practice. Perhaps it might be agreeable to the intention of the Church, if the priest should address the person applying to him thus: 'You come to me as your spiritual adviser, for relief of your doubts, and quieting of your conscience; and this I have endeavoured to do, by setting before you, out of the word of God, His gracious promises of pardon and acceptance, and the gift of the Holy Ghost to the faithful for comfort and peace. And now, in the discharge of my office as a minister of Christ, I give you full assurance of pardon and absolution, thereby receiving you, as fitly prepared, by penitence and a quiet mind, to approach the Lord's table. God alone, the Judge of all, can forgive sins: I do not usurp His place

⁴ Parker Society, p. 13.

⁵ Letter to the Parishioners of St. Saviour's, Leeds, pp. 24, 25.

and high prerogative. But as it is appointed to me to stand up in the congregation, and at the Lord's table, to absolve and bless those (far worthier than myself, it may be, if personal worthiness were to be regarded) who have joined with me in confession of sin, so now, for your greater assurance of comfort and peace, I grant you, in God's name, remission of sins upon your penitent confession; believing, upon the word of his promise, that the sentence thus pronounced upon earth shall be ratified in heaven⁶."

Now two things are perfectly clear. First, that there is no specific form of private absolution given in our Communion Service, which is, to say the least of it, a very singular omission, if it be one; secondly, that the words of the Prayer Book are these: "That *by the ministry of God's holy word he may receive the benefit of absolution*, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience," &c. The question is an interesting one, and worthy of attention, though it is not one which at all affects either "confession" or the power of the priest to give absolution. "Opening of grief" will always include, at the discretion of the penitent, private confession; while the power of absolution is most fully conveyed in our ordinal, and distinctly recognised in our services. The only question will be, Is the priest directed, after the "opening of grief," to use a private specific form of absolution, or to wait till he uses the general public form at the celebration of the Holy Communion? The authority to receive confessions, and the power to absolve from sin, are, in both views, left untouched. The question simply is—and we should like to see that question temperately and fairly argued—as to when that power is to be exercised. Wheatly's opinion is very decidedly expressed. He says, that

"By the First Book of King Edward VI. *the same form of absolution* was ordered to be used in *all private confessions* (sic). But, in the review, our Reformers somewhat altered the expressions to show that *the benefit of absolution* was not to be received by the pronouncing of any form, but by a due application and ministry of *God's holy word*. So that all that the minister seems here empowered to transact, in order to quiet the conscience, is only to judge by the outward signs and fruits of his repentance whether his conversion be real and sincere; and if, upon examination, it appears to be so, he is then to comfort him with assurance that his sins are remitted even in the court of heaven, that he is restored to the grace and favour of Christ⁷."

And now it only remains to show how far that staunch defender of the Reformation, Bishop Jewel, can fairly be claimed

⁶ Thoughts on Confession and Absolution, pp. 13, 14.

⁷ Wheatly on Common Prayer, p. 437.

as supporting Mr. Gresley's theory of private confession. The following is the passage Mr. Gresley quotes :—

"Touching the third [private confession], if it be discreetly used, without superstition or other ill, it is not in any wise by us reprov'd. The abuses and errors set apart, we do no more mislike a private confession than a private sermon¹."

Now, in his treatise on the Sacraments Jewel thus speaks :—

"The other sort of confession, made unto men, I do not condemn. It may do much good, if it be well used. St. James commendeth it among the faithful: 'Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.' *He speaketh not of priest or minister, but of every one of the people.* That the priest should hear the private confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings; that every man should be bound to their auricular confession, it is no commandment or ordinance of God²."

And again :—

"By these testimonies of Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, and by the observation of Erasmus and Rhenanus, it may appear that this secret confession in the ear of the priest hath not been taken to be necessary; and that it is not of God's determinate appointment, but an ordinance of man³."

Again, in his controversy with Harding, Jewel thus speaks :—

"But I think M. Harding here by these words, 'prepare' and 'dispose,' meaneth private confession, which many have used as a rack of men's conscience, to the maintenance of their tyranny. Otherwise, the old fathers, notwithstanding sometimes they speak of confession, yet they require it with more modesty, and many of them require no such thing at all. Thus much I thought good to touch hereof, lest it should be thought *there is none other way for a man to prove and dispose himself, but only by auricular confession*⁴."

But now let us take the context of the very passage Mr. Gresley quotes; and, if we mistake not, our readers will say that in the quotation he has scarcely acted with his usual candour :—

"Three kinds of confession are expressed unto us in the Scriptures: the first made secretly unto God alone; the second openly before the congregation; the third privately *unto our brother*: Of the two former kinds there is no question. Touching the third, if it be discreetly used, &c. Thus much only we say, that private confession *to be made unto the minister is not commanded by Christ, nor necessary to salvation*⁵."

¹ Parker edition, pp. 1133, 1134.

² Ibid. p. 120.

³ Ibid.

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⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. p. 351.

In one respect and one only do Mr. Gresley and Jewel agree together. Mr. Gresley does not venture to say that "private confession to a minister" is "commanded by Christ;" but, assuredly, the whole tenor of his treatise tends to show, not in terms but virtually, that such confession is "necessary to salvation."

So much, then, with respect to Mr. Gresley's quotations. Our readers, we feel sure, will pardon us for having considered them at such length. The prestige attaching to Mr. Gresley's name rendered such a course necessary. Many will read his book, who, neither having the opportunity nor the inclination to examine the subject for themselves, will quote, in divers ways, the authors he has cited, as advocates, equally with Mr. Gresley, for private confession. That this is not so, we think we have demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt or cavil, in every one of the instances we have examined.

And now we have only space to devote a few words to Mr. Gresley's remaining chapters. He has one, abounding in very beautiful thoughts, headed, "Qualifications for the Office of Confessor." We only quarrel with one word here. If he had headed his chapter, "Qualifications for the Office of an English Clergyman," he would, *mutatis mutandis*, have given some most valuable hints to all that large body of men who are preparing themselves in earnestness and devotion, in faith and patience, in sincerity and self-denial, to do the Church's work, he would have given some most admirable directions how that deep and affectionate relation, which ever ought to subsist between a pastor and his flock, may best be promoted and best sustained.

But we feel bound to speak in very different terms indeed of the next chapter, entitled "Hints for a First Confession." This is, in truth, a tract, "written," as Mr. Gresley tells us, "by a different hand from the rest of the book." We feel much pained to say it, but yet we must say that the chapter in question is, more than any thing we almost ever read, alien, in letter and in spirit alike, to the teaching of Holy Scripture, of the Primitive Church, and of the Prayer Book of the Church of England. We venture to say, with the strongest confidence in the truth of the assertion, that if it were universally acted up to by the clergy of the Church of England, in a very few years all who did act up to it would have either joined the Romish schism, or their personal influence, speaking generally, among their flock, would be weakened to an inconceivably ruinous extent. We say, in perfect sincerity, that it most deeply pains us to make such a remark; but we should very ill discharge our public duty to the English Church, if we allowed any private feeling, any private considerations, to prevent us from making it. How the author of this chapter, be he who he may,

or the adopter of it, can henceforth maintain that, in their judgment, there is the slightest atom of real difference between the Romish and Anglican systems of confession, viewing the Anglican system as they view it, does indeed pass our comprehension. The priest is to take his place in his study, in his robes of office. The penitent is to kneel down, and, no matter what his or her past life may have been, no matter what the character of the sins, is to go through a clear, succinct, accurate detail of every offence committed from earliest childhood. No matter how revolting the details, the penitent must recount, the priest must listen. To prove this by extracts would be to give the whole of the chapter. We will do rather two things: we will give first a quotation from St. Chrysostom in opposition to it, and then we will show the practical working of the system as in actual operation very recently at St. Saviour's, Leeds. We give St. Chrysostom's words from our former paper:—

“St Chrysostom,” says Archbishop Usher, “of all others, is most copious in this argument. ‘It is not necessary,’ saith he, ‘that thou shouldest confess in the presence of witnesses; let the inquiry of thy offences be made in thy heart; let this judgment be without a witness; let God only see thee confessing.’ Again, ‘Therefore I entreat and beseech and pray you, that you would continually make your confession to God. For I do not bring thee into the theatre of thy fellow-servants, neither do I constrain thee to discover thy sins unto men; unclasp thy conscience before God, and show thy wounds unto Him, and of Him ask a medicine. Show them to Him, that will not reproach, but heal thee. For although thou hold thy peace, He knoweth all. Let us not call ourselves sinners only, but let us *recount our sins, and repent every one of them in special*. I do not say unto thee, Bring thyself upon the stage, nor, Accuse thyself unto others; but I counsel thee to obey the prophet, saying, Reveal thy way unto the Lord. Confess them before God, confess thy sins before the Judge, praying, if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy memory, and so look to obtain mercy.’”

Now let us show the practical working of this system. We quote from evidence taken by the Bishop of Ripon at the inquiry which resulted in five or six priests of the Anglican Church, formerly at St. Saviour's, Leeds, going over to the Romish communion. Our readers, for the sake of the grave importance of the subject, will pardon our polluting our pages with the under-mentioned details. M—— A——, the wife of ——, thus delivered her evidence in the vestry of the parish church:—

“‘I went to Mr. Beckett accordingly. He asked me my commandments. He asked me to think over what I had done, what sins I had

⁴ English Review, No. xxx. pp. 270, 271.

committed; and he asked me if I had been disobedient to my parents, and if I had ever been running out at nights, and caused my parents uneasiness on that account. He then asked me if I had had any indecent connexion with any young men, and if I had had any thing to do with any person but my husband, and if I had had any thing to do with my husband before I was married to him. I made a confession to him of such sins as I could remember to have committed⁵."

And again:—

"I never went to confession after the first time. I never came to holy communion except immediately after my confirmation. The reason why I did not do so was, that I had understood from Mr. Rooke that they did not admit persons to holy communion except they had previously confessed a day or two before. At the time I told my husband I had been to confession he was displeased, and I mentioned it to Mr. Rooke; he replied, I had no right to tell any body I had been to confession. I told him I thought we ought to tell our husbands every thing. He said, True, they should not be deceived; but confession was a thing we ought not to tell them—it concerned our souls, and not our bodies⁶."

"Every attempt," says the Bishop, "was made, but in vain, to invalidate the simple straightforward testimony of this person; and no imputation was ever cast upon her general integrity."

We will only add the conclusion the Bishop deduced from this evidence—the only conclusion to which he could justly have arrived:—

"From this evidence, I gathered,

"(1st) That Mrs. — offered herself as a candidate for confirmation in 1849, but never offered herself as a subject for the confessional.

"(2nd) That after a certain period of examination, she was directed by Mr. Rooke to go to Mr. Beckett for confession and absolution.

"(3rd) That Mr. Beckett received her under these circumstances, though not spontaneously offering herself, but being required so to do; and that he made her submit to confession, as well as to painful and indelicate questioning; that he then told her to kneel down, and that he would absolve her.

"(4th) That Mrs. — was told by Mr. Rooke that she ought not to tell her husband that she had been to confession; still less to tell him what had passed in confession.

"(5th) That Mr. Rooke pressed Mrs. — to go to confession, even after he knew that her husband disapproved of it.

"(6th) That Mr. Rooke pressed her on the subject of confession in such a way, as to leave her under the impression that she never ought

⁵ Bishop of Ripon's Letter, pp. 32, 33.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 35, 36.

to go to holy communion without going to confession to a priest previously ; and that, in consequence, she never went to holy communion more than once, through dislike of confession ?."

We venture to say confidently that, in the great majority of cases, similar results with respect to holy communion would follow a similar method of proceeding. Let private confession once be openly adopted by a parish priest as his ordinary rule ; let it be known that he recommends it to every one, if he does not enjoin it ; and, unless we very greatly mistake, the consequence will be that scarcely one person more will come to Holy Communion because of private confession ; while hundreds, who would otherwise have come, will absent themselves altogether, sooner than have recourse to that practice. And remember we do not speak of persons who would come careless and unprepared. We speak of earnest, sincere, humble-minded Christians, who would gladly and willingly avail themselves of the privilege of confidential communication with the pastor, would gladly receive from him spiritual comfort and consolation, but who will never be induced from a variety, doubtless, of mixed motives, to consider him as their "confessor." Now, we put it to Mr. Gresley, supposing this to be the case, does not quite as heavy a responsibility rest upon those who advocate, as upon those who oppose, the indiscriminate use of private confession ? We ask him, Is the end to be gained equal to the certain risk which must inevitably follow the systematic use of the means proposed ? Rather, if we may venture to do so, would we say to a parish priest, entering upon a new and untried field of ministration—Take your Prayer Book as it stands ; justify every thing you inculcate on your flock doctrinally from that Prayer Book. Set before them the nature and the high value of holy communion ; the great danger of receiving it unworthily ; the great privilege and blessing of a right reception. Show them, in your public preaching and in your private intercourse, how they may best use the "way and means" the Church offers for a due preparation. Show them that she appoints you to *bind up the broken-hearted*, to give the medicine of God's holy word to them that are spiritually diseased ; that it is yours, under God, to *proclaim liberty to the captives of sin* ; that it is yours, by leading them to Christ, to *open the prison doors* to them that Satan hath bound. Show them that you *watch for their souls*, as one that *must give an account* ; that, as you value the salvation of your own soul, so you anxiously regard the spiritual welfare of each one amongst them. Do this in a loving and faithful spirit, as *doing the Church's work and not your own* ;

⁷ Bishop of Ripon's Letter, pp. 35, 36.

and you will have no lack of faithful communicants, you will no need to set yourself forward as the Anglican "confessor; you will have no need to usurp the functions of that *Being whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom all creeds are hid*. You will have trial, and sorrow, and disappointment; but you will, in God's own good time, reap a rich reward of your patience and perseverance, if you but continue *faithful unto the end*.

But there is one passage of the "Hints for a First Confession," to which we must call our readers' very special attention. It is as follows:—

"There is no reason to debar yourself from holy communion preparing for the confession. You have not been debarred from it. It seems misplaced that you should now debar yourself, when you are seeking the fuller favour of God. I do not mean that a person should, for the deeper humiliation of himself, and out of a sense of unworthiness, abstain for a time from that heavenly food. But, naturally, when a person has been a communicant for many years, seems to be no reason why he should, as it were, excommunicate himself, when he is returned to his Father's house, and is wishing to make his confession more perfect. What is done in intent, and directed only in order to make it less imperfect, and more according to the will of God, God regards as done."

It may be remembered that, in our former paper, we made a remark of a very strong character, and if not a correct, a very charitable remark, that, in our judgment, Dr. Pusey had, more than any man living, unwittingly disparaged by his writings the Church's public forms of sacerdotal absolution. Now we come to the passage we have just quoted, as a justification of our remark—a justification as towards Dr. Pusey, if the chapter was written by him; and if not, at any rate towards the school of which, in this subject, he is the acknowledged head. For does this passage say? A penitent "preparing for confession" is yet directed to go, in the interim, to holy communion. If then, such a one must either be worthy, or unworthy, to receive that holy sacrament. If he is worthy to receive, he has no need of private confession. If he has need, *real* need, the Church's need, not Mr. Gresley's, to come to private confession, then surely he must be unworthy to receive. And yet he is "preparing for confession," and thereby acknowledging himself unworthy, asserting, by his own voluntary act that, at the time he has hitherto come, he has thereby only "increased his own damnation," such an one is still directed to

in the interim before private confession, to the table of the Lord! This is strange enough: but now mark how, by such advice the writer disparages our Church's public form of absolution. The penitent, knowing himself most unworthy, feeling that, *only by private confession and private absolution*, can his load of guilt be washed away, (if he thought otherwise he would not have recourse to them,) is directed to kneel down with the congregation, and hear delivered by God's priest a most solemn and comprehensive form of absolution from the guilt of sin, knowing perfectly well, all the while, that such absolution is to *him* utterly and entirely useless, is in fact nothing more nor less than, to him, a solemn mockery! If this be not to disparage, we are speaking of practice not intention, if this be not to disparage the public absolution of the eucharistic office, then we know not the plain meaning of terms. There is no getting out of this dilemma. The penitent either recognises or not the value of the public form of absolution. If he does recognise it, he ought to require no other. If he does not, he has no right to insult God's ordinance, and the Church's service, by hearing the public absolution declared, as if he did value it ever so highly; as if he really felt that it conveyed to him remission of sin, comfort and consolation to his vexed and wounded spirit.

We have devoted so much space to Mr. Gresley's treatise, that we have very little left to consider the remarks he has made in his postscript on our former paper. One or two observations, however, we feel called upon to make. And first we would say that we fancy we have by this time pretty well convinced Mr. Gresley, that while, in that paper, we spoke, and we trust we also shall ever continue to speak, "very respectfully of Dr. Pusey," we are very far indeed from "avowing our entire concurrence with him in principle"—that it is by no means the case, moreover, that "the simple difference" between Dr. Pusey and ourselves is in respect to the frequency of confession*. Our differences, both with Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley, lie far deeper than this. We so far agree that we each recognise the right, in priests of the English Church, to receive *spontaneous* private confessions, we each recognise the power, conferred at ordination, of declaring the absolution of the penitent. But there we stop. Mr. Gresley and Dr. Pusey would make private confession the rule of the Christian's life—we, the exception. They would persuade all to have recourse to it, as a most valuable means of grace—we would persuade none who did not, of their own free will, seek for and desire it; we would neither recommend, nor receive it, except

* Pp. 137—139.

within certain definite and acknowledged limits. They, as we conceive, strain the language of our formularies—we interpret them in their plain grammatical sense. We differ, not simply as to the “frequency” of confession, but as to the parties to whom confession should be allowed. Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley say that the Church of England “leaves her children free to open their griefs”—we say that *they*, practically, restrict that freedom; that *they* do *not* leave the children of the Church “free,” but, witness the case at Leeds, draw them on, by a species of moral compulsion, to private confession. Our difference is one of principle and not of degree: not as to how often a person may “open his griefs” if he desire it, but as to who they are, to whom the Church of England gives an invitation to do so.

But Mr. Gresley further says, that the “arguments and facts” we brought forward, “do not substantiate the charge that Dr. Pusey’s system is identical with the Romish¹.” Now Dr. Pusey himself allows that the *only difference* between the two systems, is, that in the one confession is voluntary, in the other compulsory. The question then is, is the difference here mentioned real, or only apparent? Let us see. We apprehend the practical working of the two systems is this: the Church of Rome says to her children, “If you do not privately confess, you will be prohibited from Holy Communion.” Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gresley say, assuming their system to be carried out in its entirety, “We do not force you to confess—you *may* come to holy communion without private confession—we enforce no penalty “except that,” we use Mr. Gresley’s own words, “*except that of losing the benefit which the proper and timely use of this ordinance would afford*”;² we enforce no penalty “except that” of losing the benefit which a devout participation in the Holy Eucharist would bring with it! Now we ask any unprejudiced person, Is there any real difference between the two systems? Nay, more than this, we assert deliberately that, admitting the soundness of Dr. Pusey’s theory; admitting that the value of private confession be so great, and that the Church of England recognises that value as Dr. Pusey says she recognises it, then is the Church of Rome very much more careful of the souls of her children, than Dr. Pusey and the Church of England. Surely, if it be well-nigh a moral certainty, that persons without private confession would receive little or no spiritual benefit from holy communion, then is it very much better to prohibit unconfessed persons from coming to the Lord’s table, than to allow them to come in an unworthy condition.

¹ P. 138.² P. 13.

Mr. Gresley indeed says that the difference is not simply apparent. The rule of the Church of Rome, that persons should confess "once a year at least" "implies," he says, "*periodical*" confession, and this "brings with it the danger of formalism, perfunctoriness, insincerity³."

Now in the first place Mr. Gresley hardly, we think, does justice here to the Church of Rome. That it should be "*periodical*" is surely not the essence, but simply an accident of Romish confession. Mr. Gresley cannot suppose that the Church of Rome intends deliberately to *limit* confession to once a year. She only says that the benefit of private confession is so great, that all her children shall come *at least* once a year; and we submit that, taking his view of the case, she is perfectly right in so doing. But, secondly, does a "compulsory" system necessarily bring with it "perfunctoriness and insincerity?" We can only say that if it does, then does Mr. Gresley condemn the Church of England. It is one of her plainest directions that "every parishioner *shall* communicate *at the least* three times in the year." If Mr. Gresley demurs to this rubric, then, but not otherwise, may he fairly object to the "compulsory" character of the Romish system of private confession.

But we would take higher ground than this. We think, taking Dr. Pusey's view of the value of private confession, that it is decidedly advisable to *make it periodical*. If harm attends this practice, that would be the fault of the "confessor," and not of the system. Surely it would be a desirable thing if every person in a parish could be *compelled*, of course we do not speak of legal compulsion, to come to church, even though the "compulsion" extended to only once a year. An earnest-minded parish priest might touch many a heart at that one visit to God's house, and many that "came to scoff," would, under God's blessing, come again "to pray." And so we think with regard to private confession that, if its value be so unlimited and its application also, then would the Church of England do well in ruling with regard to it, as she has already ruled with respect to communicating "three times a year at the least." That she has not so ruled shows, in our judgment, irrespective of the language of the exhortation before communion, that our spiritual Mother does not agree with the Church of Rome, with Dr. Pusey, or with Mr. Gresley, with respect to the ordinance of private confession. She leaves her children "free." They actually in the one case, virtually in the other, limit the freedom she allows.

But Mr. Gresley advances one very singular reason why we

³ P. 139.

have not proved any identity between the systems of Dr. Pusey and the Church of Rome. He says:—

“In the first place, to say, with our Church, that penitents, and those of tender conscience, should come to confession, is not to say that *all* persons should do so. There may be persons living in a state of grace, without any tenderness or scruple of conscience.”

Now how far Dr. Pusey will himself agree with Mr. Gresley here we of course cannot say. All we are concerned with is the statement that “there may be persons in a state of grace, *without any tenderness or scruple of conscience.*” We beg to ask, who are they? We require to know, What does Mr. Gresley here mean by “a state of grace?” We could understand the expression coming from a supralapsarian Calvinist, but we cannot understand it coming from Mr. Gresley. He who calls himself “one of God’s elect” may possibly, *on his own principles*, have no tenderness or scruples of conscience; but not so, surely, with any one really in “a state of grace.” Surely, rather, the more highly he advances in that state, the more highly he “grows in grace,” the more “tender” and the more “scrupulous” will his conscience become; the more anxious will he become, day by day, lest he should *have received the grace of God in vain*; lest, by any means, he should be “a castaway.”

And now we conclude this paper. We regret most deeply that we have been forced again to discuss so painful a subject. We have not sought the discussion—we regret most deeply the necessity of discussing it. We feel, however, that the view we have taken is one which is adopted by all those in whom the great majority of the English Church place especial confidence. It is a view adopted by the Bishop of our metropolitan city; by the Bishops of Ripon, Salisbury, and Oxford. It is the view, we are satisfied, the only view, which the Church of England warrants us in taking, and, therefore, the only view which, as her faithful children, we have a right either to adopt or to inculcate. We may safely leave the question now in the hands of English Churchmen, convinced, as we are, that bitterly will our spiritual Mother rue that day in which the principles a sense of public duty has compelled us to oppose, shall become, to any great extent, prevalent amongst our clergy. We would venture, in all humility, to use, in conclusion, the very forcible language of one who has most admirably enunciated the true doctrine of the Church of England—a doctrine at once Catholic and Protestant—on this important subject:—

"And now," says Archbishop Sharp, "I do appeal to all men that will impartially consider these things that I have now represented, whether their doctrine or ours have the better foundation; whether our doctrine be not much more agreeable to the Scriptures, to reason, and to the primitive practice; more tending to the ease, and peace, and comfort, and more to the edification of souls, than their doctrine is.

"Let all of us, therefore, when we find ourselves burdened with the weight of our sins, apply to God, and unburden ourselves of them by confession to Him. If we need either advice, or assistance, or direction, or comfort, we may call in the assistance of pious and discreet ministers; nay, we ought in prudence to do so, and we are wanting to ourselves if we do not. But still the confession that is necessary to the obtaining our pardon must ever be understood of confession to God. Whosoever humbly and sorrowfully confesses his sins to him, and endeavours to forsake them, such a man shall find pardon whether he confess to men or no.

"THIS IS THE PROTESTANT DOCTRINE, AND LET US ALL ADHERE TO IT, AND PRACTISE IT¹."

¹ Works of Archbishop Sharp, vol. vii. p. 133.

ART. IV.—*The Poetics of Aristotle. Translated by* TWINING.
Dublin: Curry. 1851.

IT is universally admitted that, in matters of mere mechanism, the most perfectly finished article which has the advantage of the latest improvements is most desirable in a practical point of view,—in a practical point of view, we say,—for, in a theoretical aspect, the case becomes quite different. We saw, for instance, the other day, and duly revered, the watch which Bishop Poor had, when he rebuilt Salisbury Cathedral; but we should much prefer a less historically distinguished time-piece for our daily companion and hourly monitor.

But though this principle holds good in things of a material, or even purely mathematical nature, it is not equally applicable to the achievements of moral science, or the productions of imitative art.

No new treatises could supersede the use of either the *Ethics* of Aristotle, or the *Analogy* of Butler; we should take up only to lay down unread an improved Homer, or a patent Shakspeare; and recoil with horror unutterable from a Raphael, revised up to the moment of publication,—or a Michael Angelo enriched with the newest inventions.

To those who require a reason for every thing, many reasons might be given for such a line of thought, such a course of action. With us, however, it is not merely a matter of conviction arrived at after a careful balance of *pro* and *con*; but it is a matter of feeling, of intuition. We deem the opposite view to be a species of moral and mental sacrilege.

One thing is certain, that no really great work of imitative art—we use the phrase in its widest signification—has ever been surpassed or equalled by those who have attempted to copy it.

But not only is there a peculiar and unattainable pre-eminence in the original *chefs d'œuvres* of imitative art in all its branches,—a pre-eminence arising from the fact, that none save the author can ever fully comprehend his own ideal; and that, consequently, every attempt at improvement *must* fail from the absence of that creative comprehension to which the master-piece owes its existence, its beauty, its meaning, its identity; but, even in subjects of a moral and metaphysical character, the works of original thinkers and great masters ought to be studied by those

who would become thoroughly versed in these sciences, or who would train and brace their own faculties to the achievement of any thing great or noble. There is a depth, a raciness, a reality, a force about these productions, which is vainly sought for in their modern *réchauffés*; and, to carry the culinary illustration out, there is just the difference between the ancient treatises and their modern successors, that there is between "the roast beef of old England," when it comes to table, reeking from the spit; and the same article, after it has endured the transforming process of being hashed or minced.

Yes; the greatest works of man's genius should be studied in their originals;—the richest streams of philosophy should be traced to their fountain-head,—not that we would condemn modern artists, or exclude modern essayists from our shelves, or our desks,—but that we would carefully keep them in their proper place; and, above all, scout the notion that any *Eureka* of modern manufacture is to supersede the staple commodities of other days.

Now, do not let it be supposed that we have any desire to underrate the minds or the proficiency of the age we live in,—the nineteenth century: it has its own exploits; it will leave its own memorials behind it; but let it be satisfied with its own laurels, fairly won, though not always gracefully or graciously worn; and let it not attempt to supplant by productions, however useful or laudable in their way, others which are entirely invaluable.

That which we have said with regard to imitative art, and moral science, applies with equal aptness to many kindred topics; and it is, therefore, with unfeigned and unalloyed satisfaction, that we welcome the pamphlet which stands at the head of our article.

With the laudable desire of reviving the use of Aristotle's *Treatise on Poetry*—as a handbook of criticism; and of introducing it into the common course of juvenile education—the Rev. Hugh Hamilton has reprinted Twining's translation in a large, clear, and handsome type, adding various illustrations, the fruits of his own careful thought and extensive reading. But let him speak for himself:—

"Aristotle," says he, "is probably the wisest of uninspired men. His *Poetics* are merely a fragment, but they contain so much good sense, that they have been the foundation of nearly all the criticism which has since appeared. I have reprinted Twining's translation (which has been long out of print), adding a few original notes, in order to bring the principles of ancient criticism before the pupils of the classical schools with which I am officially connected. My object therefore is

not to correct the text, or to explain difficulties, but to apply the sound sense of the wise man to practical use, and to show the truth of his statements from modern examples."

Mr. Hamilton has, however, omitted to mention two of the peculiar advantages of the present publication,—its size and cheapness—by striking out three-fourths of the notes, he has reduced the two volumes of Twining's Translation to a pamphlet; and has, by the same process, rendered it more easy of attainment.

Valuable as the *Poetics* are to all those who wish thoroughly to understand the subject of which they treat, they are more especially suitable as a class-book—the object for which they were originally intended. This is plain (we mean that they were intended originally as a class-book) from their manner as well as their matter—their pithiness, brevity, pregnant meaning, and in some parts obscurity, and from the prominence given in them to classification and division. We can indeed imagine the mighty master with the manuscript of this work in his hand, surrounded by an attentive auditory of the most intellectual and refined of the then rising generation, giving emphasis, accuracy, and the fulness of meaning to various passages by the tones of his voice, the expression of his countenance, or the gestures of his body—explaining at full length the more obscure or difficult portions of his treatise, and illustrating by numberless examples the rules which he has laid down. The *Poetics* are, in fact, like the notes of an extempore preacher or popular lecturer: some passages are written in full, others merely indicated; in some places the outline only is given, in others the heads or divisions with more or less of detail.

"My design"—thus commences the Greek lecturer, addressing the crowd of attentive listeners,—“My design is to treat of *POETRY* in general, and of its several species; to inquire what is the proper effect of each; what construction of a fable or plan is essential to a good poem; of what, and how many parts each species consists; and whatever else belongs to the same subject; which I shall consider in the order that most naturally presents itself.”

We have said that great as are the advantages derivable from even a solitary perusal of this manual, they will be much enhanced by the intervention of an able lecturer. We would add, which is also Mr. Hamilton's anxious wish, that the treatise ought, when possible, to be studied in the original. It is, in fact, a downright impossibility to make a *translation* of Aristotle, in the common sense of the word translation, *i. e.* the very best translations have, and must have, the same resemblance to the original

as a first-rate engraving has to the picture of which it is a copy. Still they are useful as helps towards the understanding of the originals—just as a map of London, or a ground-plan of the Great Exhibition, were of great service to those imperfectly acquainted with either the one or the other; but it would be equally consistent with truth for a man who had never left the Alps or the Wrekin, the vale of Chamouni or that of Llangollen, to imagine himself fully conversant with the mightiest of cities and its celebrated attraction, because he had carefully studied the plans in his possession, as for one who has read merely a translation of any portion of Aristotle's works to imagine himself really acquainted with the production of the Stageirite.

Having said thus much we proceed in the words of the translation before us, to give Aristotle's explanation of a phrase which we have frequently made use of—

"Epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyrambics, as also for the most part, the music of the flute, and of the lyre—all these are in the most general view of them, IMITATIONS; differing, however, from each other in three respects, according to the different means, the different objects, or the different manner of their imitation.

"For, as men, some through art, and some through habit, IMITATE various objects by means of colour and figure, and others again by voice; so with respect to the arts above mentioned, rhythm, words, and melody, are the different means by which, either single or variously combined, they all produce their IMITATION.

"For example; in the IMITATIONS of the flute, and the lyre, and of any other instruments capable of producing a similar effect, as the syrinx, or pipe, melody and rhythm only are employed. In those of dance, rhythm alone, without melody; for there are dancers who by rhythm applied to gesture, express manners, passions, and actions."

To those of our readers to whom the question may be novel, and who are unaccustomed to the style of Aristotle, these statements, especially the last, may appear unintelligible, or even absurd. But if we carefully examine the subject, we shall arrive at the same conclusion with our author.

There is throughout all the various kingdoms of the universe a vast, and in many cases, perhaps in all, a minute analogy which increases upon us as we advance in the investigation. And connected with this there is a mighty, an universal symbolism throughout the world of matter, by means of which the *seen* embodies, sets forth and represents the *unseen*. We spoke of these two laws as being *connected* with each other; we might have used a stronger term; for, in truth, the one is but the expression or application of the other. It is because all the various classes of

objects or actions, or processes, which are cognizable by the outward senses, do really and truly correspond with objects which are not so cognizable, that these various classes correspond with each other.

An analogous phenomenon occurs in mathematics which will illustrate our meaning. There is an universal analogy in certain cases amounting to identity between the various branches of *mixed* mathematics. Whether we treat of wind or water, wood or stone, mechanics or dynamics, there are certain resemblances; and these resemblances arise from the presence of a common element, viz. pure mathematics, of which all the affiliated sciences are but the expressions or modifications.

So is it in the *sensible* world around us, i. e. the world cognizable by the senses. The objects of sense are not indeed, as some would have us believe, unreal shadows; but, real in themselves, they are the representations, the correlatives, of things more real still,—the garments, so to speak, of invisible realities, whose nature or accident they indicate or express.

By tracing this law up to its Source, we shall learn that THE ETERNAL has written the hidden wisdom of the unseen world in the visible characters of HIS Creation; so that, when studying nature in a devout, and at the same time a philosophical spirit, we derive thence lessons of Divine truth.

The celebrated words of Shakspeare were indeed no metaphor or hyperbole, but the statement of a very important principle:—

“Books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones; and good in every thing.”

And here we must observe on the power of Christianity to open men's eyes and ears to the sight and sound of these mysteries.

Plato had represented Socrates as saying that he did not enjoy the beauties of nature because he was fond of learning, and could learn nothing from them. How different this sentiment from that of the great Christian philosopher already quoted—our own unrivalled Shakspeare!

In the present age Robert Montgomery has frequently and powerfully expressed the principle for which we are contending; no where with greater felicity than in those noble lines,—

“What men call Nature is a thought sublime,
The Infinite in forms of finite grace.”

It is not, however, merely in the world of nature, strictly so called, or in the creation, as it came or comes directly from God, that the analogy holds good,—that the law prevails. By

the operation of the same universal *fiat*, it comes to pass that all things which are not cognizable by the senses have their counterparts in things which are so cognizable: were it not so, we could neither express joy, or love, or sorrow, or hate, or hope, or fear, except by acts, or, at any rate, words. But, as words are the signs of ideas, so are many other things, such as tones, and looks, and gestures, signs of ideas; either full and perfect signs, or necessary complements required to perfect the otherwise imperfect sign; and they are so, in most cases, by a necessary correspondence and analogy, which is a law of their nature.

It appears clear, then, that sensible objects, and modes of sensible existence, and sensible processes, do naturally correspond with, and represent objects and modes of existence and processes which are *not* cognizable by the senses. And it necessarily follows from this that there should be, as there is, an analogy in the various departments of sensible existence, according to which, objects, modes, and processes of one correspond with, and, in a certain sense, resemble objects, modes, and processes, in another.

It was this analogy and this resemblance, which the great philosopher observed as a *fact*, and adopted as a *principle*, though ignorant of its source, for he was too wise to disbelieve simply because he did not fully comprehend that which irrefragable evidence had convinced him to be true: and it is on this ground that he promulgated his celebrated Theory of Imitation,—the foundation of his poetical system—and the only stable foundation upon which a system of correct taste and philosophic criticism can be formed.

He has called music an imitative art, and, however singular the expression may appear at first sight, we appeal to any one who has heard Handel's "Plague of Darkness," whether it is not correct. In many cases music *imitates* the feelings and passions, but in the celebrated instance just cited, and others of the same kind, music actually takes the place of painting, and imitates by *sound* the object of *sight*.

An unintentional corroboration of these views is furnished by Lord Byron in that exquisite line,

"The music breathing from her face."

And *feeling* the truth of that which he was unable to substantiate or explain, he has in a note appealed to the experience of his readers, requesting each to recall the most beautiful countenance which he had ever seen, and then to decide whether the expression were not applicable.

The expression is correct, though boldly poetical, and its correctness rests on the grounds which we have established. The

spiritual beauty of the highest order of loveliness, expresses the yet more perfect beauty of the invisible soul, its purity, its truth, its gentleness, its tenderness, its divine love, its high moral tone. Now all these things are elsewhere expressed by the power of music—music of the most touching, thrilling, and yet exalting nature. So that in truth the loveliness of the countenance, and the power of the music, were only two expressions of the same invisible and inaudible objects—two sensible forms of the same insensible reality—two material manifestations of the same spiritual agency. Hence their resemblance in thought, their identity in meaning. In fact, the visible and the audible are but two copious dialects of one universal language—that of *nature*; so that whatever is written in the one, may always be equally rendered in the other.

Let us produce a few more illustrations:—

We have gazed from the summit of a lonely hill over the undulating valley, and rich copse, and lofty headland, to the sleeping sea, slumbering in its rich robe of sunset—slumbering yet uneasily, as if visions of the coming storm disturbed its rest—yet all has been silent—not a breeze to stir the harebell at our feet, or rustle in the pinewood behind us; not a human voice to break the deep stillness of the scene, or a bird to raise its song or bend its flight through the calm, clear, golden sky.

And we have *felt* that the whole scene was *music*. Not only did form and hue embody sound, but silence itself seems rich melody.

Let us take another illustration:—

We have in a discursive, rather than in a studious mood, betaken ourselves to our library, and spent a desultory morning in perusing the poems of various authors, with some reference, perchance, to “the ungentle craft.”

Tennyson has at first met our inquiring glance, and we have spent a pleasant half-hour in his society. As page, however, after page has been turned over, we have been irresistibly carried in spirit to far distant climes—bright suns and brilliant seas have come back upon our imagination, till the stars have glittered over our heads in all the dazzling brilliancy of a southern sky—the measured stroke of the oar, its long sweep, its rapid rebound, its expected click in the rowlock have fallen upon our ear, whilst as the blade arose from the still waters laden with dewdrops, a shower of coruscating gems has glittered on our sight.

Fatigued with the dazzling effort and monotonous mannerism of this exquisite but not faultless poet, we have sought for change amongst the works of the departed—Byron may have lain near at hand, and as we traced the workings of his transcendent *genius*, his fierce passions, and his benighted spirit, our imagina-

tion has pictured itself amongst scenes of Alpine magnificence and dreary grandeur, till we have found ourselves on the shore of the mighty Atlantic, gazing upon the impending doom of a noble vessel, about to be driven on the pitiless rocks, by the resistless fury of the maddened surges, urged on by the incessant and continually-augmenting fury of this storm.

Wearied once more, we take up another volume, Gurney's "King Charles the First." Again the scene of our fancy changes, again we are wafted to a southern clime; but it is not the sea, though its surges are heard in the far distance, falling in the measured tones of nature's eternal harmony upon the soothed ear. We seem to sit, as we have often sat, in the shelter of one of those bowers where the granadilla trails its clusters of beauty over the rude trellis, whilst the solandra and datura spread their exquisite bells to the rich full moonlight—that rich full moonlight, which lies like the shadow of a holy spirit upon the whole visible creation; the air is mild and balmy, the scent of tropical flowers rises and falls again with the changing but gentle breeze; the stars shine with that deep intensity of light, which makes it difficult for one to throw off the idea that they are the actual manifestations of living intelligences.

Now, why is it that the perusal of these three poets should call up such scenes to our mind? Certainly not from any accidental association, but from a natural and necessary congruity in the several ideas, arising from that universal analogy of which we have spoken. Thus is it that the laborious and ambitious, the brilliant and antithetic Tennyson, finds his counterpart in the steady rower and the flashing tide. Thus is it that the noble but perverted, the gloomy and ill-fated Byron is fitly imaged by the goodly vessel in her agony. Thus is it that the graceful and gifted, the high-souled and truthful Gurney, finds his reflection in the serene and majestic beauty of that nature of which he is the priest.

We might multiply illustrations of this kind, but these will suffice. And we will therefore return for a short space to our author.

"The ΕΡΟΠΟΕΙΑ *imitates* by words alone or by verse; and that verse may either be composed of various metres, or confined, according to the practice hitherto established, to a single species. For we should otherwise have no general name which would comprehend the *Mimes* of Sophron and Xenarchus, and the Socratic Dialogues; or poems in iambic, elegiac, or other metres, in which the epic species of IMITATION may be conveyed. Custom, indeed, connecting the poetry or making with the metre, has denominated some Elegiac Poets, *i. e.* makers of Elegiac Verse; others, Epic Poets, *i. e.* makers of Hexameter Verse;

thus distinguishing poets not according to the nature of their IMITATION, but according to that of their metre. For even they who compose treatises of medicine or natural philosophy in verse, are denominated poets: yet Homer and Empedocles have nothing in common except their metre; the former, therefore, justly merits the name of poet; while the other should rather be called a physiologist than a poet.

"So also though any one should choose to convey his IMITATION in every kind of metre promiscuously, as Chaeremon has done in his *Centaur*, which is a medley of all sorts of verse, it would not immediately follow that on that account merely he was entitled to the name of poet. But of this enough.

"There are, again, other species of poetry which make use of all the means of IMITATION, rhythm, melody, and verse. Such are the dithyrambic, that of nomes, tragedy, and comedy: with this difference, however, that in some of these they are employed altogether, in others separately. And such are the differences of these arts with respect to the means by which they IMITATE.

"But as the objects of IMITATION are the actions of men, and these men must of necessity be either good or bad (for on this does character principally all depend; the manners being in men most strongly marked by Virtue and Vice), it follows, that we can only represent men, either as better than they actually are, or worse, or exactly as they are; just as in painting, the pictures of Polygnotus were above the common level of nature; those of Pauson, below it; those of Dionysius, faithful likenesses.

"Now it is evident that each of the IMITATIONS, above mentioned, will admit of these differences, and become a different kind of IMITATION, as it IMITATES objects that differ in this respect. This may be the case with dancing; with the music of the flute, and of the lyre; and also with the poetry which employs words or verse only, without melody or rhythm. Thus Homer has drawn men superior to what they are; Cleophea as they are; Hegemon, the Thasian, the inventor of parodies, and Nichochares, the author of the *Deliaid*, worse than they are.

"So, again, with respect to Dythyrambics, and Nomes; in these, too, the IMITATION may be as different as that of the Persians, by Timotheus, and the Cyclops, by Philoxenus.

"Tragedy, also, and comedy, are distinguished in the same manner; the aim of comedy being, to exhibit men worse than we find them, that of tragedy better.

"There remains the third difference,—that of the manner in which each of these objects may be IMITATED. For the poet IMITATING the same object, and by the same means, may do it either in narration; and that, again, either personating other characters, as Homer does, or, in his own person throughout, without change; or, he may IMITATE by representing all his characters as real, and employed in the very action itself.

"These, then, are the three differences by which, as I said in the

beginning, all IMITATION is distinguished; those of the means, the object, and the manner; so that Sophocles is, in one respect, an IMITATOR of the same kind with Homer, as elevated characters are the objects of both; in another respect, of the same kind with Aristophanes, as both IMITATION in the way of action; whence, according to some, the application of the term *drama* (i. e. action) to such poems."

Such is the commencement—such the foundation of that celebrated treatise, which, translated by Twining, has been given again to the world by the sound judgment and useful labour of the present editor. And we once more assert, that no system of criticism or taste can stand for a moment which is not based upon similar principles; and that no where can that science,—the science of poetical criticism,—be so advantageously studied as in the "*Poetics of Aristotle*." Other writers there are—useful in their proper place; but, as an elementary treatise, that now under consideration stands without peer or rival: nor can the wisdom which it teaches be obtained second-hand. We must go to Aristotle himself,—all other articles are counterfeits. Nor can this author be properly studied except in the original; and although, by dint of hard labour, the student may penetrate his meaning and learn his lore, yet the treatise (except to the really advanced scholar) is far more suited to the class-room than the solitary study.

The account which Aristotle gives of the origin of poetry is well worthy transcribing, tending as it does to establish the principle on which his system is based:—

"To IMITATE is instinctive in man from his infancy. By this he is distinguished from other animals, that he is, of all, the most IMITATIVE, and through this instinct receives his earliest education. All men, likewise, naturally receive pleasure from IMITATION. This is evident from what we experience in viewing the works of IMITATIVE art; for in them we contemplate with pleasure, and with the more pleasure the more exactly they are IMITATED, such objects as, if real, we could not see without pain; as the figures of the meanest and most disgusting animals, dead bodies, and the like. . . . IMITATION then being thus natural to us, and secondly, melody and rhythm being also natural (for, as to metre, it is plainly a species of rhythm), those persons, in whom originally these propensities were the strongest, were naturally led to rude and extemporaneous attempts, which, gradually improved, gave birth to poetry."

The limits within which we wished to confine this essay preclude us from any careful consideration of the treatise before us, or any minute exposition of the theory which we have advanced.

Were this not the case we could easily show the almost universal correctness of Aristotle's views, and the intrinsic excellence and therefore abiding usefulness of his rules; and, by a thorough investigation of the whole subject, demonstrate that not only in principle but in practice, not only in its essence but in its adjuncts, not only in its main scope but in its minutest decorations, poetry is wholly and solely an imitative art.

In conclusion, we earnestly urge upon all those who are desirous of improving their own taste, or of forming that of others, to betake themselves without loss of time to the study of Aristotle's *Poetics*, and heartily commend to their notice Mr. Hamilton's most seasonable pamphlet.

ART. V.—*Latter-day Pamphlets.* By THOMAS CARLYLE.

MR. CARLYLE is certainly a very popular author. No man has more completely possessed himself of the public ear : whatever subject he chooses, be it ever so remote or unpromising, his books are bought and discussed. In his hands the despatches of Cromwell, or the Chronicles of an Abbey, become popular works. He has attempted and achieved the highest triumph of modern literary popularity—the successful publication of monthly numbers. The sober tints of his *Latter-day Pamphlets* are to be seen by the side of the more ornamental frontispieces of Mr. Dickens and Mr. Thackeray. Nor is his influence disproportioned to his popularity. He is thought to have a special power of seeing into millstones. He has founded a sect. Punch was altogether persuaded that he is a prophet ; and, though Mr. Punch has since changed his opinion, the prophet, no doubt, retains more faithful believers ; and, if they cannot altogether comprehend his revelations, their faith is of course confirmed by the mystery. Implicit belief, like certain fungi, springs up with most vigour in the dark. Nor is this popularity undeserved. It is impossible to read any thing which he has written, without feeling at once that it is the production of a very powerful mind, determined to think for itself, and with extraordinary resources of expression to give them utterance. Whatever he says is at least his own. It runs fresh from his own mind, and has not lost its spirit and its flavour by being filtered through the brains of other men. Faults he has, many, great, and obvious ; and he is more popular because of them. No man has a keener sense of the value of a paradox. In an age wearied with the endless making of many books, with the monotonous repetition of the same opinions, he delights to present us with a contradiction of whatever is received. To protest against the peculiarities and foibles of his own time seems to be with him a second nature. To the peculiarities of our civilization he is like Faust's Mephistophiles : "the spirit who denies every thing." He pushes this spirit of contradiction to unheard-of lengths. To use the language of the ingenious author of *Eothen*, he scoffs at the very opera, and speaks lightly even of the ballet. Nay, we doubt if he entertains any very enthusiastic admiration for the Swedish Nightingale itself. This habit of contradiction he carries even into his style. He delights in inverting the recognised order of words : where

others place the noun first, he puts the verb. A vast number of his words are of his own invention. This language has been called "Carlylese," as being a new dialect; and specimens of it have been published, accompanied by a translation into the English language. These oddities have their use: their quaintness, if it sometimes offends the taste, is pretty sure to fix the attention of the reader; and he who desires to arrest the attention of an unwilling auditory to important truths, may be forgiven if he thinks himself licensed to use those means which he thinks necessary to his end. Yet such peculiarities, like all others when indulged, degenerate into extravagance, and even expose the writer to suspicions of charlatanerie. So habitual are Mr. Carlyle's *tours de force* in composition, so unlike are they to the ordinary dialect of other men, that one is reminded of Sir Toby's advice to Sir Andrew Aguecheek, that he should go to church in a *cinque a pace*, to show off the elegance of his dancing. He moves like a man walking upon his head; or rather, perhaps, as if by a perpetual series of summersets, turning incessantly heels over head. We admire his agility, but cannot help thinking that he would get better to his journey's end by the ordinary mode of locomotion. What is worst, this style is not with him altogether original; he has himself exactly described it in his account of Richter, who, as may be supposed, is one of his most especial favourites. And this, as it seems, by a species of prophecy; for, at the time of Mr. Carlyle's writing the following passage, he for the most part condescended to use the language of mortal, or, as Homer calls them, articulately-speaking, men:—

"He is a phenomenon from the very surface; he presents himself with a professed and determined singularity: his language itself is a stone of stumbling to the critic; to critics of the grammarian species, an unpardonable, often an insuperable, rock of offence. Not that he is ignorant of grammar, or disdains the sciences of spelling and parsing; but he exercises both in a certain latitudinarian spirit; deals with astonishing liberality in parentheses, dashes, and subsidiary clauses; invents hundreds of new words, alters old ones, or by hyphen chains, pairs, and packs them together into most jarring combination: in short, produces sentences of the most heterogeneous, lumbering, interminable kind. Figures without limit; indeed the whole is one tissue of metaphors, and similes, and allusions to all the provinces of Earth, Sea, and Air, interlaced with epigrammatic breaks, vehement bursts, or sardonic turns, interjections, quips, puns, and even oaths! A perfect Indian jungle it seems; a boundless, unparalleled imbroglio; nothing on all sides but darkness, dissonance, confusion worse confounded! Then the style of the whole corresponds, in perplexity and extravagance, with that of the parts. Every work, be it fiction or serious treatise, is embled in some

fantastic wrappage, some mad narrative accounting for its appearance, and connecting it with the author, who generally becomes a person of the drama himself, before all is over. He has a whole imaginary geography of Europe in his novels; the cities of Flachsensingen, Haarhaar, Scheerau, and so forth, with their princes, and privy-councillors, and serene highnesses; most of whom, odd enough fellows every way, are Richter's private acquaintances, talk with him of state matters (in the purest Tory dialect), and often incite him to get on with his writing."

Indeed, his style, which was at first very good English, though with some spice of quaintness, has become stranger and more eccentric in every new work, till it bids fair at last, if he goes on much further in the same direction, to be absolutely unintelligible. Yet, in the midst of all these extravagances, there is always a freshness and vigour which keeps the attention alive. We stare, we blame, and we read on. With the more important and solid qualities that attract popularity, Mr. Carlyle is abundantly provided. His sense of humour is strong. In his "*Sartor Resartus*" the whole life and conversation of the German professor who is its hero, his garret and his philosophy, his learning and his *gukguk* are excellently humorous. In the same book there is something exquisitely whimsical in his description of a fop as a cloth animal, living and having his being in cloth, like a clothes moth. A fop is, he says, the most modest and most easily satisfied of all men; for he solicits only your eye-glance, he desires nothing but that you should look at him.

Nor is his genius less suited to scenes of gloom and terror. Of these he has occasion, in his "*History of the French Revolution*," to describe many, nor has he fallen below the height of his terrible argument. His descriptions of two of the worst, because most deliberate of the crimes of the Revolution, the condemnation to death of Louis XVI. and of his queen, are instinct with that ghastly terror which clings to the deeds of that dreadful time. Without in any way violating the truth of history, he has most forcibly impressed on his readers those feelings of gloom and horror which the recital of acts prompted by the accumulated frenzy of passion in multitudes of men strikes into the heart. The fierce agonies of contending passions in a public assembly have hardly been more forcibly told than in his description of that long struggle in the Convention, which ended in the death-sentence of Louis. Or, what tragedy was ever painted in darker colours than those with which our author has clothed the condemnation of the unhappy queen? Victim, judges, accusers, all have on them the taint of the grave, they are already in the jaws of that fate which is so soon to devour them. Nor is he less powerful in narrative. No man better understands the art of

fixing the attention of his readers by minute details, without running into prolixity or weakness. Few more powerful or brilliant narratives can be found than his account of the taking of the Bastille, or of that frantic march of the Parisian mob upon Versailles, which made the French monarchy captive to a set of fish-women and market porters. His power in this respect is strikingly shown by his treatment of a subject in itself almost mean and ridiculous, the flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes. With such picturesque art it is described, that the reader feels as if he were himself travelling with that unlucky new "Berline;" he is ready to curse its unwieldiness as it lumbers up the hills; while he knows well what the result was, he almost suffers in his own person those alternate agonies of hope and fear which must have traversed the breasts of that devoted royal family. To the highest praise, as an historian, Mr. Carlyle, is fairly entitled; he has a real and hearty love of truth and accuracy. He always appears to have carefully read, and he takes care regularly to cite his authorities; nor does his great power of describing scenes ever seem to mislead him into substituting more striking or picturesque events for the sobriety of fact. He is fully persuaded that truth is, *taken on the whole*, more sublime and more interesting than any fiction. What is gained by brilliant and inaccurate writers in piquancy of detail is more than lost, as in painters unfaithful to nature, in that unity and breadth of tone which truth only can give. Nor does his accuracy or love of details at all interfere with his powers of philosophical generalization. He is peculiarly careful to direct the attention of his readers to those moral forces which are the great, though not always the most obvious causes of the great events of history. Shallow reasoners have often repeated that the French Revolution was produced entirely by "oppression," forgetting that in many other countries equally oppressed no such events have occurred; Mr. Carlyle carefully points out that the moving principle was throughout a real though strange fanaticism, the attempt to bring about a Millennium, upon the principles of a new Gospel according to Jean Jacques Rousseau, though much modified no doubt by the misgovernment which the French had endured. Indeed his tendency seems to be rather to exaggerate the effect of spiritual forces upon history, as where, in his edition of Cromwell's writings, he tells us that the civil war against Charles was not a political, but a religious movement. It was certainly both.

In the art of painting with words, Mr. Carlyle is a great master; the commonest village in Northamptonshire, or the dullest market town in Huntingdonshire, become interesting in his hands. As with certain painters the beauty of their representations makes us value their pictures of the least interesting objects, so the vigour

and clearness of his language make us read with pleasure his descriptions of the most ordinary and trivial things. He has the true mark of genius, the power of making common things interesting.

When such a writer had fairly possessed himself of the public ear, he was not likely to want popularity. Another powerful cause of the attention which he has excited cannot be passed over. We have already said that he is both by nature and habit a fault-finder. If "it is his nature's plague to pry into abuses," it is also to the great profit of his popularity. It is an observation of Hooker, that he who goes about to persuade people that they are less well governed than they ought to be, is very sure of an audience. We forget if he has added, as he well might, that such an orator is not likely to want matter. And while Mr. Carlyle thundered against shams, and flunkeyism, and gig respectabilities; all that great liberal party who are dissatisfied with existing things without any very clear idea of what they hope will replace them, applauded with delight, and rejoiced in so powerful an auxiliary in the great, holy, and liberal work of destroying something. So long as he shut himself up in generalities, and thundered against horse-hair officialities, and phantasm captains, all went well, and the party might flatter themselves with the hope that our author was a sincere and orthodox liberal. But those little knew Mr. Carlyle, who supposed that he was the man to attach himself to the tail of any party, or to swell the cry of any opinion. His habits of thought and his love of paradox would make it difficult for him to agree long with any set of men; we shall presently see that to what are now commonly called liberal opinions he has the most irreconcilable repugnance. As long as the oracle uttered mere vague rumblings, all was well; it condemned what existed, and the liberals could not conceive that any remedy could even be imagined except the ballot-box. But the oracle has lately begun to speak articulately; and, to the great consternation of the liberals, it has very plainly pronounced an utter and total condemnation of their whole theory. The confusion has accordingly been great. They deplore over him as a backsliding brother. Punch thinks that his prophet is mad. The delusion seems to have been altogether self-created. It requires no very diligent study of Mr. Carlyle to see that his whole theory of life and morals is so widely different from that of the ordinary run of the modern liberal school, that they may be almost said to be absolutely opposed to each other. In one word, he is a Stoic, and they are Epicureans.

We have not the smallest intention of attributing any thing like the Epicurean notions upon religious subjects to the vast number of respectable persons who hold democratic opinions; but it is

not the less certain that those opinions, as held in modern times, have historically proceeded from Epicurean views of human nature, and are philosophically founded on them so far as politics are concerned. A modern liberal may not improperly be considered as a political Epicurean.

The most learned of Romans, Marcus Varro, from the vast store of whose learning a few fragments have fortunately been preserved for the instruction of posterity, estimated that it was possible for mankind to be divided into two hundred and eighty-eight philosophical sects; not that so many had ever actually existed, but that the utmost subtlety could not split up the trunk of philosophy into any more minute ramifications. All these he reduced under two great heads, according to what each sect supposes to be the end of life, or, as it is technically called, the *summum bonum*, one being bodily ease and pleasure, and the other being explained not very perspicuously as a living in conformity with nature. The first of these is the Epicurean philosophy. And the modern theory which supposes bodily conveniences to be the sole end of the formation of men into political societies, is a political Epicureanism. The doctrine may perhaps be thus stated. If physical good be the chief end of man, it seems that to attain it he has only to follow his bodily instincts. Now these are nearly the same in all men; and therefore the administration of affairs, or, in other words, the pursuit of their own physical gratification, may be safely entrusted to all mankind. Moral training and discipline are not needed: all that is wanting is, that no erroneous opinions, no *superstitions*, should divert the mind from a single-eyed devotion to the comfort of the body; and these being extirpated, one man is as good as another, or very nearly so. Nor is it merely quite safe to entrust every man with an equal share in the government: it is positively unjust to exclude him; for if he is excluded, those who govern will no doubt take to themselves (as we in fact see that they generally do) a very unfair share of the good things of the world. Of course these opinions are not held either to their full extent, or in strict logical coherence, by more than a small part of what are commonly called liberals; yet this seems to be the philosophical theory which underlies the whole system, and upon which it was originally founded.

The French are never tired of reminding us that the modern democratic theory was first made popular by their *Encyclopædic* philosophers; they delight to call it *les idées françaises*, and their boast seems to be well founded. That the French Encyclopædists were thorough Epicureans will certainly not be questioned. Volney, one of the strongest intellects of the party, has composed a treatise on morals in the manner of a catechism, by question

and answer, in which he plainly lays it down that all virtue arises from a regard to the health and good condition of the body. According to this philosophy, no higher motive for action can possibly exist than the wish to avoid a stomach-ache. M. de Tocqueville, by no means an unfavourable witness to modern democracy, tells us that its tendency is to concentrate the passions of men upon the acquisition of comforts and of wealth ; in short, of bodily advantages. The more violent sects of democrats carry the principle latent in the more modern liberals—that bodily pleasure is the chief good—to its extreme consequences. They deny every thing but the body, reject all religion and all morality, and propose, as the single end of society, that it should enlarge the means of general gratification of its members ; they would make society a machine for the more convenient supply of provender to so many human cattle. And they very consistently insist, that as men have, generally speaking, nearly the same physical appetites, their provender should be distributed to them with as much equality as possible. That so utterly chilling and heartless a philosophy should have excited in its votaries all the frenzy of fanaticism, affords but one instance of many of the wonderful inflammabilities of the human heart. The *ignis fatuus* of the French Revolution rose from the corrupt stagnation of the grossest and most sensual scepticism. No wonder that it was a false fire. Nor can any thing show more clearly how little the sensual theory can explain the great riddle of human nature, than the fact that such doctrines should give rise to all the enthusiasm of self-sacrifice.

Even among the more moderate of the party the same tendencies are visible enough. The great dogma which with so many passes for a first principle, against which Burke so eloquently contended, that every country ought to be governed by the majority, *as told by the head*—that, in short, numbers have a right to govern, and not wisdom—evidently goes to set the physical above the moral man. We are constantly told that all the evils of society are due to those who govern it. It is supposed that the “masses” are always right. No doubt experience shows that men, and especially large bodies of men, are guided much more by their passions than their interest ; but when was experience ever permitted to stand in the way of a favourite theory ? Even now we meet continually with people who assert, and no doubt believe, that there is no more danger of war, because it is contrary to the interest of nations. There are not a few political economists who first take the violent passion for money-getting which possesses at this time the people of England for an enlightened regard to their real interests, and then suppose that all the

world must be actuated by the same feelings. Other nations have other passions, as it is well they should. Even that which is the greatest boast of our present time—humanity—that fear of inflicting bodily pain, which in its extreme shape has gone far to reverse all the natural rules of reward and punishment, and inflicted incalculable evils on society—is evidently traceable to the dim feeling that bodily pain is the chief of evils. Else we should be more anxious to keep the innocent from contamination, than the wicked in good case.

With such opinions as these Mr. Carlyle has nothing in common. He does not believe in the natural equality of mankind, nor is he at all persuaded that a great number of voters must necessarily produce a good government. His strong sympathies with intellectual power tend to make him exaggerate the differences which really exist among men, and to enforce an absolute deference and obedience to those minds whose energy and abilities entitle them to lead others. The whole bent of his philosophy is opposed to that of the Epicureans. He is far from esteeming pain as the chief of evils, or the avoiding it as the great end of life. We do not know whether he would push his Stoicism so far as his Roman predecessors, who denied that pain was any evil at all; though it is related that one of the most famous professors of their doctrine had his lecture cut short by an inopportune fit of the gout. But Stoicism involves much more than this; and some consideration of this stern philosophy may be useful to throw light on the views and feelings of our author.

We have said that he is a Stoic; by which we mean that the leading tendency of his philosophy is to assert the sufficiency of the human mind for itself and its own happiness under all possible circumstances. Its ancient professors refused to admit that any thing external could interfere with the happiness of their ideal wise man; and Mr. Carlyle would certainly rather teach us to endure pain than persuade us to shun it. He has very plainly said, that in schemes for the extirpation of pain he, at least, will have no part. In that strange book, "*Sartor Resartus*," which, in spite of its grotesque humour, no doubt contains the confession of the genuine faith of the writer, he is most explicit upon this point: "Say to happiness *of every kind*, 'I can do without thee.'" "With self-renunciation life begins."

It is the inevitable tendency of all narrow and exclusive systems to become in their progress more and more narrow and exclusive, till they fall over by their own top-heaviness, and give place to a reaction, perhaps more absurd than themselves. Stoicism turns readily into exaggeration. Its extravagant paradoxes were the standing jest of the rival schools of ancient philosophy. Nor is

Mr. Carlyle the man to bate us a single hair's-breadth of any paradox that comes in his way. Justly disgusted with the morality of the last century, which even in Christian writers made all goodness consist in doing well *from the hope of reward*, he has contradicted every sentiment of nature by affirming that such a hope ought to have *no place at all* in our minds. Like the old Stoics he will allow no motive for action, but the inherent and natural fitness of it. So far does he push this paradox, that he tells us in his "Past and Present" that the first step to a healthy and restored state of mind is, that a man should consent to his own eternal condemnation. And, with a perversity which could hardly be credited of any one but a philosopher, he blames Ignatius Loyola for his anxiety about his eternal happiness. He ought, says our author, to have made up his mind to everlasting condemnation. Not to speak of the absurdity implied in supposing that human nature could contentedly resign itself to everlasting misery, it surely will not be said that it ought also to resign itself to the dominion of sin. How far more reasonable the philosophy of Butler! who teaches, that while the excellence of virtue and the love of God are true motives of action, and should be ever more and more present with us; still the hope of reward, and even the fear of punishment, low as that motive confessedly is, are motives of which, in this world, we can never afford to lose sight. Extravagant as these things may be, it is in this desperate self-disinterestedness that much of Mr. Carlyle's real power lies. Young and enthusiastic minds, utterly nauseated with theories which represented life as a mere calculation, of which all that could be said was, that it was correct or mistaken, like a sum in arithmetic, rushed eagerly from the suffocating vapours of such teaching to the cold and bracing air of his stern philosophy. "To many," says an eloquent writer in the "Westminster Review," "who turned nauseated from 'the sweets of religion,' the words of his stern Stoicism have been as a well of living water bursting forth in the desert." Under the late Roman Republic, the utmost excesses of sensual gratification, and the spread of the Epicurean philosophy, gave rise to a Stoical reaction, and ultimately to all the extravagances of asceticism. Montesquieu says, that Stoicism among the Romans may be compared to one of those hardy plants which grow up to maturity, though deprived of the natural nourishment of sun and air. It would have been more correct to class it with those which, by their nature, spring up most vigorously in the dark. And, similarly, in our own time the prevalence of Epicurean tendencies has already produced a Stoical counterpart. The far greater purity of our manners makes any violence of asceticism very unlikely among us.

It may perhaps be worth while to consider for a little while the tendencies and the prospects of this new Stoicism. It seems on the whole to be far better and nobler than the prevalent Epicureanism, against which it protests. Its tendency is to fortify the mental and moral energies. It inculcates the sense of duty, the contempt of pleasure and pain. As a mere protest against popular errors, it is useful, as tending even in its extravagancies, to redress and set right the balance. Nor are its faults few or trifling. It tends to substitute the worship of power for that of goodness. Its professor is valued less for his willingness to do the will of God, than for his energy in working out his own. The old Stoics were consistently fatalists. It has another, and what will probably be a much more frequent danger. He who trusts to the strength of his own heart, will surely find some day that it is in truth very weak; human nature cannot be made strong by resolving that it will be so; and it will be well for the Stoical philosopher if he does not find, in the hour of his weakness, that the reed on which he leant is gone into his hand and pierced it, if the reaction from his too high opinion of his own virtue, does not drive him into despair and disregard of any.

That the Stoical system is more favourable to virtue than the materialism to which it is so strongly opposed, will perhaps scarcely be doubted. But as it is philosophically a most imperfect view of human nature, so it tends in practice to give rise to an essentially false code of morals, in some points defective, in some extravagant. Stoicism does not seem to have been ever a spontaneous production of the human mind, all the natural instincts of which tend to the reverence of powers superior to man, and that even in excess; but to be rather, as we have already observed, a reaction from a prevalent scepticism. Man, abandoned to himself, deprived of every thing to which he had been accustomed to look as the rule of life, and taught by the deepest instincts of his heart the necessity of some rule of virtue, determined to find it in his own breast. In "Sartor Resartus," the shadowy professor, who is the hero of that singular composition, is represented as taking refuge in Stoicism from an atmosphere of all-pervading doubt. He complains somewhat whimsically that one cannot now believe even in a devil¹. And thus the leading characteristic of Stoicism is its cold assertion of the absolute independence and self-sufficiency of human nature. The old Stoics denied any future state. Their just man could not condescend to receive any reward for his uprightness, not

¹ Professor Tenfeldsrock seems to have been of the same way of thinking as a learned counsel who is related to have said, that a certain infidel whom he was prosecuting for blasphemy, "sought to deprive the poor man of *all his comforts*, he would take away heaven and hell, God and the devil."

even from the gods themselves. And in our modern Stoic, we cannot help tracing something of this tendency to build his theories of human life and action upon the perfectibility of unassisted human nature. While perpetually referring to powers greater than man, he manifestly shrinks from any direct reference to the personality of a Supreme Being. The vaguest words seem to suit him best. He speaks as it would appear most willingly of *the gods*, of the upper powers, of divine silence, and eternities. It is not easy to conceive any thing much more unsubstantial than the worship of a man's own reflection upon vacancy; a religion scarcely more solid and substantial than that of those savages who are related to have worshipped their own shadows. Nor is this visionary species of devotion adapted to any but a select philosophical few. The great majority require a more positive and tangible object of adoration. The instincts of reverence cannot be annihilated in the human heart; and if a man refuses to worship any thing else, and cannot attain to the fantastic absurdity of worshipping himself, he will most likely worship his fellow-man; and, indeed, Mr. Carlyle seems to think that he ought so to do. One of his most famous dogmas is the necessity of hero worship. What sort of *cultus* is to be rendered to these demigods has not, so far as we know, been authoritatively determined, nor can we guess by what test their apotheosis is to be settled; but, judging from the list already made known to us, which includes Odin and Dante, Mahomet and Cromwell, we conclude that the catalogue will be tolerably comprehensive. He tells us in one of his late pamphlets, with something between a pun and an argument, that nothing but human *worth* is the proper object of *worship*; and in his "Past and Present," he calls *practical* hero worship (whatever that may be) "the ultimate result of all religion," a truth which it seems has been fairly carried out by no one but the Emperor of China.

If we are to have a new worship of demigods, it is surely worth our while to consider what sort of men are likely to be elevated to this superhuman dignity, and to be held up as examples of human excellence in this new moral world. It is to be expected that when man has thus become "a god unto himself," the great object of his admiration should be rather intellectual than moral excellence. As the mind is freed from the restraints of a law imposed on it by a power greater than itself, it comes by insensible degrees to substitute the doing its own will for a scrupulous obedience to the rules of morality. Every external standard of morality being taken away, every one is justified in doing what is right in his own eyes. The ideas of goodness and greatness are confounded, and the utmost that is required of man, is

that whatever he has set himself to do, he should do with all his might. And in the judgments which Mr. Carlyle forms of human characters, it is only too evident that his standard of praise is much rather *power* than goodness. The objects of his admiration and approval are not so much the best, as the strongest men. He even goes so far as to say, that "human intellect is the exact summary of human worth," a statement which much surprised "friend Peter," and we must confess ourselves to be in the same predicament. It is no doubt true that the very highest intellect will in all cases enforce the most excellent conduct: but this is not given to man; all our faculties are imperfect, and to say that men's goodness is in proportion to their intellectual faculties, is a paradox which can only be made intelligible by understanding words in senses quite different from those which they commonly bear. This confusion of moral and intellectual admiration is strongly marked in his judgment of men. He has gone out of his way, in one of his late pamphlets, to detract from the reputation of Howard. Howard was not a man of brilliant qualities; but who among men known to us ever more earnestly and stedfastly laboured for the good of his fellow-men? Is there any praise greater than that? Even great crimes, when they are committed on a large scale and with a certain grandeur of manner, seem to be rather lightly passed over. In his "History of the French Revolution," Mr. Carlyle more than once sneers at those who, as he phrases it, "shriek," that is, express a natural horror, at the frightful enormities of that evil time. There can be no greater injury done to posterity by an historian than to confuse the boundaries of right and wrong, and to repress that natural and legitimate indignation which ought to be felt against the perpetrators of great crimes. Most of all is it dangerous when, as in this case, party spirit is ready to frame apologies for them. Of all the villains of the Revolution, scarce any was blacker or baser than Danton; he was truly

"a sordid soul

Such as does murder for a meed;"

for he seems to have entirely wanted the excuse of fanaticism; to have had no republican convictions; to have taken money from the court; to have murdered with no other end than to plunder afterwards; and to have sat down contentedly with his spoil till a just retribution overtook him. Compared with so vile a character, Robespierre himself becomes almost respectable. He was at least a sincere fanatic. But Mr. Carlyle, while all the vials of his wrath are poured out upon Robespierre, treats the far blacker Danton with a forbearance which almost amounts to tenderness.

He is evidently fascinated by the melodramatic grandeur with which that execrable villain, like one of Lord Byron's heroes, contrived to surround his crimes. The same worship of mere intellectual superiority is shown in Mr. Carlyle's excessive admiration of Cromwell. Cromwell did many questionable acts, and some cruel ones; he slew many men, and he deceived more; he massacred his enemies, and deluded his friends; but he was unquestionably the most vigorous and the most successful politician of modern times; and Mr. Carlyle appears not to see a speck upon his character. A similar tendency appears in his unlimited praises of Goethe, a man whose moral insensibility appears to have been almost as remarkable as his intellectual powers. Goethe seems, indeed, to be a very strange hero for Mr. Carlyle to have selected. His praise is always for men of earnest conviction, of energetic action; he teaches the most entire renunciation of all self-gratification, the most resolute self-immolation. Goethe was of all men the one who seems to have most sedulously and carefully studied his own gratification and enjoyment; to have most cautiously avoided every thing that could for one instant ruffle the tranquillity in which, like one of the gods in Tennyson's "Lotus Eaters," he delighted to wrap himself. Mr. Carlyle, in his very latest pamphlet, bitterly condemns that modern school who would seek to make a religion out of art. And yet surely, of all men, it was Goethe who most brought into vogue this vain and spurious shadow of religion. But we must not always expect to find our author consistent with himself.

Of the prospects of such a philosophy it is more difficult to speak. Yet it does not seem likely to have any very powerful effect on mankind. Stoicism, by its nature, addresses itself to the few; it has little to attract or amuse the imagination, or to stir any passion except pride. In our time the world has become eclectic: the immense variety of clashing opinions; the ease and rapidity with which thoughts are interchanged; perhaps, also, the greater lukewarmness of the age—all hinder extreme opinions from gaining much ground.

But it seems time to come to the consideration of the doctrine which Mr. Carlyle conceives to be necessary and profitable for the present time, and in what shape he has presented it to us. The "Latter-day Pamphlets" are eight in number, and are respectively entitled, "The Present Time;" "Model Prisons;" "Downing Street;" "The New Downing Street;" "Stump Orator;" "Parliaments;" "Hudson's Statue;" and "Jesuitism." In these he has set before us, not in any very strict order, with more or less perspicuity and fulness, his opinions, or some of

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them, upon Religion, Government, the Poor Laws, Secondary Punishments, Reform in Parliament, the Foreign Office, the Colonies, the Opera, and, generally, upon all parts of our spiritual and social condition.

As a practical politician, that is, a politician proposing measures, Mr. Carlyle has said little that is original. Nor was this to be expected. The evils of our state of society force themselves too strongly upon the sight to be neglected by any one whose eyes are not sealed by stupidity or self-interest; nor is it difficult to know the remedies which are wanted, though it is hard indeed to administer them. The terrible dangers to which society is exposed in England by the vast masses of unhappy, discontented, and uneducated, or, what is worse, *ill* educated poor, by whose labour what we call our prosperity is maintained, upon which Mr. Carlyle so eloquently enlarges, were many years ago pointed out by Southey. By Southey also Mr. Carlyle's main remedies, Emigration, Education, the Occupation of Waste Lands, Public Works, were proposed in the "Quarterly Review." In one most important respect, in his earnest advocacy of a *religious* education, he is greatly in advance of Mr. Carlyle. It is true that since Southey wrote the danger has become greater and more imminent. The elements of disorder are accumulated in greater masses; the privations, and therefore the discontent of the poor have increased; speculations of the wildest kind are more abundant; the power of resistance in the government has diminished; and a new and formidable danger, that of a sudden foreign invasion, has been added. Nor does it in any manner detract from Mr. Carlyle's merit that he has had predecessors in this path. It is greatly to his credit that he has set himself earnestly to reform and amend what he thinks evil in his own time and country; that he has given his great talents a practical direction; and that he has devoted them to the most important objects. He distinctly perceives, and he very clearly tells us, *where* our social system is at fault. Great masses of our population are discontented because unhappy; they have been too little cared for; they have been practically dealt with, as Aristotle says slaves ought to be, as "live machines;" left to themselves, they have neither bodily comfort nor spiritual guidance. And thus their very prosperity becomes too often a mere snare for them; their high wages are spent in debauchery, destroying at once body and soul. And their discontent is dangerous. It is perhaps well that it should be so; for the sense of danger leads to the search for remedies; nor can any symptom be so fatal as a contented acquiescence in a state of degradation. For all these evils, the remedy most popular with the liberal party is, under some form or

another, "an extension of the suffrage;" that is to say, the giving political power to those who are discontented with the present social arrangements. Power so given is sure to be misused. The wisdom of such a concession is about as great as if one were to give a man in a passion a well-loaded blunderbuss by way of appeasing him.

With these sentiments our author has not the slightest sympathy. He has not the slightest expectation that a millenium will jump out of the ballot-box, or that all things shall be added to a man if he once comes "to send the twenty-thousandth part of a talker to the national palaver." He does not believe that any possible mechanical arrangements can of themselves produce those moral qualities without which there can be no good government. He often tells us that it is to little purpose for a man to set about reforming the whole world, until he has begun by first reforming *himself*. He is satisfied, once for all, that the great problem of modern constitutionalists, which "gives a world of knaves to produce honesty by their united action," is fairly insoluble.

With respect to what may still more strictly be called *practical* measures, that is, such measures as might be at once put in practice or embodied in Acts of Parliament, Mr. Carlyle does not say much. He suggests what has often been proposed, that, to avoid the difficulties which now often arise from the difficulty of finding seats in Parliament for the members of the government, government should have the disposition of a certain number of members.

But Mr. Carlyle's main doctrine is, that it is not from parliamentary measures, or, indeed, from any thing parliamentary, that we are to look for much benefit. From what is commonly called "Reform in Parliament," he seems to expect something considerably worse than nothing. The reform which he looks for is a governmental or official reform, a reform in the mode in which the business of the nation is actually done. We suppose he would desire to take out of the hands of Parliament a good deal of the business which is now transacted there, transferring it to his "New Downing Street." It will scarcely be denied by the strongest optimist, that our administrative system is very far indeed from what it ought to be; that while a great deal of quite useless work is done, an infinity of what is most useful and necessary to be done is left undone. It can hardly be too strongly impressed, or too often repeated, that the crowded populations of our vast towns require a quantity of governmental care and attention very far greater than that which will suffice for a scattered agricultural population, to enable them to subsist in any

tolerable state either of moral or physical well-being. Without governmental inspection they can get neither wholesome food nor water, nor air, not even light; every one of the first necessities of nature is administered to them as foully adulterated as its nature will permit. It certainly reflects little credit upon our administrative arrangements, that we appear likely to sell or cut down our forests (which, for many reasons, it would be desirable to preserve), in sheer despair of being able to manage them with any tolerable prudence or economy. In Germany this is done without, as it appears, any particular difficulty; and we are not accustomed to consider ourselves as less capable of the dispatch of business than the Germans. One great cause of the deficient administration of affairs by public offices, so far below the skill which is usually shown in the management of the affairs of individuals, is to be found in that unfortunate and fatal custom, which treats the smaller public offices as mere counters in the game of party, filling the public service with persons who are selected and promoted almost entirely for past or future services at elections, with but little reference to their ability to discharge it suitably. This is one of the worst consequences of party struggles; and while it lasts in its present shape, it is idle to hope that the public business can be otherwise performed than with scandalous inefficiency.

As an advocate of a large and systematic emigration, Mr. Carlyle naturally desires to retain the colonies. It is, perhaps, not very consistent, that he seems scarcely willing to allow any military or naval force to be kept up to defend them (for if *all* the men-of-war were employed in transporting emigrants, as he suggests, there could scarcely be an efficient fleet). Indeed, to no political doctrines does our author entertain a greater contempt and dislike than to those which represent the "accumulation of capital," or, in plain English, the making of money, as the chief, or indeed the sole political good. Men do not live in society merely that they may grow rich, but that they may live worthily. We have seen that Mr. Carlyle's philosophy is not such as to lead him to think that the object of all political action is (as it is too much the fashion to think just now), material good at all, except subordinately, and with reference to higher and moral objects. Accordingly, "the professors of the dismal science," as he calls them, are dismissed with very little ceremony, and their "laws of the shop-till," though quite necessary to be known, and in their place observed, treated as far from being rules of universal political application. Mr. Carlyle is, however, a strenuous approver of the late change in the corn laws. This, certainly, does not necessarily imply any incon-

sistency; yet, without discussing the propriety of alteration, it is certain that the late change was brought about by the working and influence of those principles which he so much deprecates, and that it has done much to establish and strengthen them.

With all our experience of Mr. Carlyle's oddities, it certainly must create some surprise, to find that in his Diogenes search for the one "supreme, able man in England," he directed his lantern upon the late Sir Robert Peel. For that able and eminent statesman was in the most important respects the very representative and embodiment of that system which Mr. Carlyle denounces, and the antagonist of that which he recommends. He was, least of all men, an originator of great measures; his reputation for good or evil must rest principally upon what he opposed or conceded. He was the very prophet and Coryphæus of the "*laissez faire* system." Particularly what Mr. Carlyle seems to think most urgently necessary are, "Public Works in Ireland;" and of these the principal ones which have been yet proposed, and certainly the most easily feasible (the Government Railways), were twice defeated by Sir Robert Peel.

So far we have endeavoured to set forth the principal suggestions which are contained in the political part of Mr. Carlyle's pamphlets. We have now to notice those in which he has touched upon topics incidental to his main design, those light troops and skirmishers, which he has, as it were, mixed up with the main body, and who fire off their smaller weapons in the intervals of his heavy artillery. The first of these is the pamphlet on "Model Prisons," in which he attacks with more than his usual vigour, that favourite crotchet of modern philanthropists—that criminals are to be maintained in the highest possible state of bodily health and comfort, and that no expense or trouble is to be spared in the almost-hopeless work of their reformation. The extreme lengths to which these notions have been pushed, is in part a praiseworthy reaction from the careless cruelty of our old jail system, certainly tend strongly to confuse in the minds of the poor all notions of right and wrong, and add a stinging sense of injustice to the bitterness of honest poverty. It has been sharply satirized by our popular and ultra-liberal novelist, Mr. Dickens. Indeed, the prevalent doctrines would seem to go legitimately to abolish all punishment whatever, at least for those coarse natures who care for nothing but physical pain and privation, which it seems we are become too humane to inflict. One who was evidently no ordinary thinker, the late Mr. Rickman, in a Letter preserved in Southey's "Correspondence," written when the evil which he denounces was but in the bud, expresses the strongest disgust at the prevalence of what he calls "that mock humanity,

which is now becoming the instrument of dissolving all authority, government, and, I apprehend, human society itself. It is of no use to think, or to try to act, for the benefit of mankind, while this agreeable poison is in full operation as at present." And he calls "the mock humanity only a mode of exalting the majesty of the people, and putting all things into the power of the mob."

So far as Mr. Carlyle has protested against this crying evil, he would probably meet with general approbation; but, like an over-hasty general, he loses his advantage by attempting to push it too far. So much is he annoyed at the modern ultra-humanity, which refuses to punish scoundrels at all, that he runs into the strange and thoughtless extravagance of affirming that the only legitimate ground for punishment is "a hearty hatred of scoundrels," which he represents not merely as a virtue, but as one absolutely necessary for the preservation of society. Such extravagances sufficiently refute themselves. Is not Mr. Carlyle's logic sufficient to distinguish between sin and the sinner? If moral disapprobation were the foundation of civil justice, it would be necessary that the judge should be omniscient and able to discern the motives of men.

Another of Mr. Carlyle's pamphlets is too characteristic to be passed over without some remark, though it is impossible, we are afraid, to notice it, without at the same time disregarding the advice which it contains. We allude to that which he has with his accustomed quaintness entitled "Stump Orator." In this he enforces upon us the great duty of "silence;" of abstaining, as far as may be, from all speech, (excepting, we suppose, so much as may be necessary to transact the inevitable business of buying and selling); above all, from all writing or printing. If, though only for one generation, universal silence could be kept by all Englishmen, a most surprising alteration would, he thinks, be brought about. In his view, a Trappist convent must be the very perfection of good society. It is true that this recommendation of a total abstinence from pen and ink is a little opposed to the advice which he has given in "*Sartor Resartus*" to aspiring and idle youth. Nor is it very consistent with his own conduct. Mr. Carlyle has hitherto observed his own precepts very ill, and we confess we should be sorry that he should ever begin to do so with much strictness. We suspect that his example will in this matter be more powerful than his advice. The very brown paper in which his sermon on silence is stitched, bears on it a few words which are likely to have a much stronger effect in stimulating young authors than all the eloquent declamations which are printed on the white paper of the inside. The skin will be more

powerful to poison than the whole body to cure. For on this outside sheet are set out "The Works of Thomas Carlyle," in tolerable long order, reaching to the number of nineteen volumes, many of them in their third and fourth editions. Was it impossible to sing the praises of the divine silences in no shorter strain than can be contained in nineteen volumes? They are indeed unfortunate divinities, if their worship can only be recommended by so great outrages on their laws, and their high priest celebrates their glory by the most flagrant affronts to their sanctity. We trust, however, that Mr. Carlyle's zeal in their cause may be tempered with discretion; and that he will not think it necessary to show the sincerity of his adoration by making a holocaust of his books, like those who used curious arts in Ephesus.

The title of "Hudson's Statue" sufficiently explains the subject of the pamphlet to which it is prefixed. This astonishing project presents, as might be supposed, excellent opportunity for Mr. Carlyle's satire, and furnishes abundant illustration, though in a negative sense, of his favourite doctrine of hero worship. Metaphorically speaking, he picks up the stones which were to have been built into the Hudsonian pyramid, and flings them at the heads of the disappointed builders with all the zeal of a Timon pelting his flatterers; and here indeed he has free scope. Little can be said in defence of his victims, except that they are unresisting and penitent.

In Mr. Carlyle's last pamphlet, that on "Jesuitism," which he designed "as the crowning alarm and offence of this alarming and offensive set of pamphlets," too many subjects are touched upon, and of these some are too grave to be here either very easily or very pleasantly discussed. Neither is the tone in which he has treated them such as to allow the discussion to be otherwise than painful. Certain expressions Mr. Carlyle will probably himself regret. But on one literary heresy we may touch. Fiction has been commonly thought to be the undisputed domain of poetry,—

"Pictoribus atque poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas."

But Mr. Carlyle is determined to dethrone poets from that kingdom of air which they have so long held undisputedly. He tells us that poetry is good only so far as it is true, and by this he seems to mean not relative or what we may call imaginative truth, but literal matter-of-fact historical truth. So at least we understand when he tells us that "Homer's Iliad is no fiction, but a ballad *history*, the heart of it burning with enthusiastic ill-informed *belief*." Does Mr. Carlyle really mean that Homer

believed the "Iliad" to be a true record of facts? that he believed Achilles held conversations with his own horses, or interchanged abuse with the river Scamander? If he did he was mad; as mad as Don Quixote when he minutely described the colour of the eyes and hair of Orlando or Amadis of Gaul. It is really vexatious to have to protest against this extraordinary piece of *Philistinism* on Mr. Carlyle's part, and to remind him of what no man knows better than himself, if he would but take the trouble to recollect it. The office of poetry, Bacon teaches us, is to subject the shows of things to the desires of the mind. It lifts the mind from the trammels of the matter in which it is immersed, and reveals to us glimpses of a higher and brighter world than that which is discerned by the senses. And in order to do this, it of necessity disregards literal and historical truth, that it may show us some gleams of higher and more general truths. Indeed,

"Fantastic beauty, such as lurks
In some wild poet when he works
Without a conscience or an aim,"

has a most important end and aim, though the author may not be at all times conscious of it.

On the whole Mr. Carlyle's merits, in the publication we have been discussing, seem to be rather of a destructive than of a reconstructive character. He rather shows what is wrong, than teaches how to do right. He batters with unremitting vigour and diligence at the weak points of the social edifice, but he brings few materials to stop up the breaches which his battering-ram opens. He tells us plainly and truly that the great want of our time is a warm, vigorous, and active faith; and it is impossible to guess his own. He expresses it only in negatives. The nearest account that we can get of it is, that it seems to differ from any that has been yet propounded; and if we may guess, from a laudatory reference in Mr. Carlyle's "Miscellanies," that it approximates to that of Goethe, as set forth in "Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre," which seems to us about as vague, pedantic, and unintelligible as any thing could well be². Yet we owe much to Mr. Carlyle for what he has done, and does; the wealthier classes are at all times apt to forget the miseries which ferment in the lower state of society; and the man of genius who seeks to awaken them to a sense of their danger and their duties deserves the gratitude of his own time and of all others.

If we might venture to offer any advice to so experienced a

² See Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, vol. i. p. 250, et seq.

writer as is Mr. Carlyle, the greatest part of what we have to say might be summed up in one word, "moderation." It is his unfortunate tendency to push every thing and every principle to extremes. The temptations to exaggeration are many. All powerful minds are of course original, and originality is apt to run into exaggeration. There is yet a worse temptation. To exaggerate originality is a sure and cheap way of exciting attention and wonder, and an author is usually only too ready to take the clamours of astonishment for the settled approbation of a well-founded esteem. Than this habit of over-statement few things tend more to diminish the credit of an author, more especially of one who undertakes to tell disagreeable truths to an unwilling audience, and part of whose business it is to shock received notions and combat long-established fallacies. They who see clearly that an author whose conclusions are not acceptable to them, is sometimes wrong, are very likely to conclude that he is never right; the perusal of one paradox will justify a reluctant mind in its own sight in refusing to admit many truths. And therefore such a teacher should of all men beware how he runs into exaggerations, either of sentiment or expression. We sincerely believe that Mr. Carlyle's political disquisitions, so far as they tend to contradict the prevalent follies of our time, and, above all, to call attention to those great social evils which peculiarly afflict so complicated and artificial a state of society, and so far as they keep clear of his peculiar views upon religious matters, are calculated to do much good. It is for him to take care that much of this be not neutralized by the indulgence of peculiarities, which he can hardly himself suppose to be of vital importance.

- ART. VI.—1. *Dingle*. By MRS. D. P. THOMPSON. London : Seeleys. Dublin : Curry and Co. 1847.
2. *Seventeenth Report of the Achill Mission, for the year ending December 31st, 1850, with a List of Subscribers to the Achill Purchase Fund*. Achill Mission Press. 1851.
3. *Minutes of Evidence, taken at New Pallas, Limerick, on an Investigation into Charges against the Police, preferred by the Rev. John O'Dwyer. Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, June 25th, 1851*.
4. *Castlekirke*. By the Rev. ALEX. DALLAS. London : Nisbet and Co. Wonston : Shayler. 1849.
5. *The Point of Hope*. By the Rev. ALEX. DALLAS. London : Nisbet and Co. Wonston : Shayler. 1850.
6. *A Hand-book to the Romish Controversy*. By the Rev. C. S. STANFORD. Dublin : Herbert. London : Seeleys. 1851.
7. *Early Fruits of Irish Missions. A Letter from an Eye-Witness, after a Missionary Tour, during June and July, 1850. Fourth Edition*. London : Irish Church Missions, 14, Exeter Hall.
8. *The Banner of the Truth in Ireland. Monthly Information concerning Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics*. London : Seeleys, Nisbet, Hatchard.

How is Ireland to be governed? has been the question which England has continually asked and never properly been able to answer. The Irish question and the Irish difficulty have divided our cabinets, broken up our administrations, and almost endangered our political existence. Dean Swift proposed to sink Ireland in the sea for twenty-four hours, as the greatest benefit that could be conferred upon England. Now, why is all this? England, the richest and most prosperous kingdom in the world, has close to her a poor province not quite a third in size, and dependent on her for the comforts of life; yet Ireland seems by a sort of natural perversity to be always in a different interest. There must be some reason for this state of things: the inferior ought to gain by a union with the superior, as the less is blessed of the better. The secret of Irish disunion and Irish difficulty lies in the fact that the majority of the Irish owe their allegiance not to England but to Rome: there is a government within her which is not subject to British sway; which has, or believes itself to have, a direct interest in the downfall of English power; and

which, so far from supporting English authority, is at this moment its most violent antagonist. This power is the Roman Catholic priesthood. Their object is a religious one: it is to bring all power under the dominion of the Pope: their own temporal interests they believe to be unconnected with the political welfare of the country; and they prefer population as the source of their own wealth, to industry which gives wealth to the nation. They feel that their religion is opposed to the religion of England, and that it can only be maintained by the exclusion of English authority and English influence.

The priests then, as the spiritual superiors of the Roman Catholics, enforce the law of Rome, that the people are bound to obey them: this is binding on the conscience of every Roman Catholic; and thus while England pretends to legislate for the country, there is another law warring against hers, and so regulating the law of public opinion as to neutralize the force of English legislation.

This state of things England originally brought upon herself: Pope Adrian IV. gave Ireland to Henry II. on condition that he should enforce the power of Rome over the Irish branch of the Catholic Church. At the Reformation, Queen Elizabeth endeavoured to introduce Protestantism and to annihilate the Irish language, by ordering that where the people did not understand English, the minister should read prayers in Latin: and Oliver Cromwell and some of his successors tried the power of coercion and penal laws.

Among the many doctors who prescribed for the diseases of Ireland was the Rev. John Richardson, Rector of Annagh, or Belturbet, about the year 1700. His object was to introduce the word of God and the preaching of the Gospel in the Irish language. In a pamphlet printed in 1712, he gives us an epitome of the early attempts to introduce the religion of the Bible into Ireland.

Mr. Richardson tells us that George Brown, the first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, proposed, in 1551, to translate the Book of Common Prayer; and an edition was brought out in 1571. A proclamation from James I. sanctions the use of the Common Prayer in the native language.

In 1634, at a convocation of the Irish Bishops (Bishop Bedell, the translator of the Irish Bible, being one) it was agreed that where the minister could only speak English he should choose a clerk to act as his interpreter. In 1652, a catechism was published in two columns, one English, the other Irish. The date leads us to suppose that this must have been the Assembly's Catechism.

A fount of Irish types was cast by direction of Robert Boyle, and an edition of the New Testament appeared in 1681, which was followed by the Old Testament in 1685. A convert named Higgins appears to have been the principal person engaged in this edition. In 1711, Charles Lynengen taught the Irish language in Trinity College, Dublin, with the sanction of the authorities, and in the same year all persons were *ordered* under penalties to attend church and catechism. In 1712, Mr. Richardson proposes the following improvements:—to extend Irish printing and Irish preaching, and to send Irish-speaking missionaries through the land. He adds, there is no use in sending English missionaries, as the clergy all speak English. He tells us (simply enough) that, since the days of the tower of Babel, we have no right to consider the Irish language as objectionable in itself, and that it is easier to convert a nation than to abolish a language. He argues that, as they will not come to us, we ought to go to them; that mere extempore translation of an English sermon by an Irish clerk is not sufficient; nor is it desirable that, where an English clergyman can speak Irish, he should be left to translate the prayers and lessons extempore, as some used to do; this, he says, leads the people to confound the word of man with the word of God. We have no right, he adds, to deprive the people of the Bible; this is the sin of Rome; and without Scripture, conversion is impracticable. Give the native Irish Protestantism, and you will soon make them better subjects. His conclusion is, print the Scriptures in Irish, and then send missionaries to preach the Gospel to those who have the Bible in their hands.

Such were the sentiments of John Richardson a hundred and forty years ago: we wish he had found many disciples; but for nearly a century his advice seems to have been neglected.

The policy of England during the last century was to govern Ireland by all means—sometimes by coercion, sometimes by corruption. The Parliament was chiefly returned by nomination-boroughs; and ecclesiastical promotion was the great means of securing votes. A few convenient men were found in all classes: their business was to rule Ireland for England; and in return England gave them every thing in Ireland for which they chose to ask. Primate Boulter and Provost Hutchinson were of this class. It was not to be wondered at then, that the spiritual welfare of the Irish nation was neglected, their native language stigmatized as barbarous, and the people left to the care of the priests. On this subject we have heard some strange stories—of the priest who lent a congregation to a careless rector on the day when the bishop was expected—of the bishop who went round his diocese, and was told that indeed his reverence could

never attend to his parish now, as the bishop was so fond of him that he always kept him with him. The absentee had told the clerk so, and his congregation either believed the story, or thought the loss of his services no great misfortune.

The old-fashioned Irish priest, often by education a French gentleman of the ancient régime, and the Protestant rector, thus lived together and "took their little divides," without much further anxiety, unless some unlucky curate or some scion of Maynooth unfortunately raised a disturbance. Such a one was the late Rev. J—S— who died many years since. This clergyman was appointed to a neglected parish, and he established a Sunday school, held weekly lectures, and attracted crowds of Roman Catholics, until at last the Roman Catholic bishop wrote to the parish priest, commanding him to denounce the intruder from the altar. The old priest, though not over-zealous, felt that some religion was better than none; but was too good-natured to say much that was harsh, and too good a Roman Catholic to disobey his bishop. Feeling therefore the difficulty in which he was placed, he took a large pinch of snuff from his snuff-box, which lay on the rails of the altar, and began his address to the following effect: "Now boys," (the usual address,) "you have known our worthy rector Dr. — for these forty years, and there's myself you have known for nearly thirty, and I leave it to yourselves if ever a word about religion you ever heard from either of us before this Mr. S— came to the parish." How the address proceeded has not come to our knowledge.

About forty years ago a great change began; and about thirty years since the IRISH SOCIETY was formed, for the purpose of teaching the native Irish the Scriptures in their own language. This scheme was at first much questioned and opposed: among its originators were the present Bishop of Cashel, then rector of a country parish; and the Rev. Robert Winning, formerly a presbyterian minister, but afterwards ordained in the Church of England, and incumbent of the parish of Kingscourt, Cavan. The plan of this Society and its schools is perhaps unique. They have no houses and no regular times for teaching; but they pay a certain set of readers or teachers according to the number of pupils, whom they can bring forward to pass a stated examination. This examination is conducted by a local committee of clergy; and each teacher is paid on a definite scale, according to the proficiency of his pupils. It is now many years since we were first invited to *see* one of these *invisible* schools. We were conducted to a cabin at a short distance from the road. The teacher, who attended by appointment, (like Robin Hood's Friar) "put his hand to his mouth" and whistled loudly across the bog.

The call was presently responded to by the arrival of a thresher in his shirt sleeves, who had left his work, a labourer, two or three young women, and several boys: these formed a class, or rather several classes of various proficiency, and were learning the Irish spelling-book, or reading the Irish Testament.

The teaching in the Irish language has its advantages and its defects. The great advantage which a learner finds is, that the language is radical: all its words are derived from itself: technical terms, therefore, carry their own definition along with them; and every man becomes his own dictionary. The great disadvantage is that, being almost entirely an oral language, there is nothing to recal the various provinces to a fixed standard. In England we know comparatively little of this difference of dialects, as education and reading are so common; and if the pronunciation of an Irishman, or a Scotchman, or a Yorkshireman should happen to be unintelligible in a single word, we can ask how the word is spelt, and so refer to a test upon which all are agreed. But the tendency to the confusion of tongues appears to a great extent in Ireland. We heard lately an Irish sermon in the Province of Munster (we might as well have been at mass for any profit we could derive from it); and after it was over, the preacher asked one of the best Irish scholars present if he had made himself intelligible. "Oh, fairly so, sir," replied the other, "considering you spoke Connaught Irish." "That is extraordinary," said the clergyman, "for I am a Munster man by birth, but having held a curacy in Connaught for some years, I suppose I have got into their dialect rather than my own."

The Irish Society, of which we have been speaking, was the great pioneer of Protestantism. It had taught many thousands to read, and as they had no book in their hands but the New Testament, they were obliged to study it, in order to exercise their new acquirement. The natural effect of this reading was a shaking of prejudice, a doubt of the infallibility of the priest, and the question, "If the Bible be a good book, and our Church is founded upon it, why are we not permitted to read it for ourselves?"

We now come to the second step. We have brought in the Bible, and sown the seed; we next look for the crop. We have exerted ourselves to the best of our power, and we expect to make some converts, and here the difficulties of the Irish movement only begin. Some good men have asked the question, "Well, when you have made these converts, what are you to do with them? who is to employ and to feed them?" and this is really a trying question. Perhaps no race of persons are so hard to deal with as proselytes of every class. When any man makes up his mind that his forefathers have been in error on the vital

question of religion, he has broken one of the strongest moral ties that bind society together. He has deserted the place in which he was born; he has violated the feeling of family pride; he has offended his nearest relations—and why? “merely for a difference of opinion,” says the sceptic, “on some controverted point. The arguments are strong on both sides, and many good and wise men have thought on each side of the question.” But how strong must be the conviction, how powerful the force of truth upon the conscience, when the convert can really say with St. Paul, “For Christ I have suffered the loss of all things!” We believe that such a change implies an act of self-devotion, which few can understand; and that we are not sufficiently ready to make allowance for the trials which await the man who has the courage to say, “I see the error of myself and my fathers, and I am determined, with God’s help, to embrace the truth.” The natural history of proselytism is, therefore, a subject well worthy of our attention. Let us suppose a young man convinced of the errors of Rome, and determined to become a Protestant; there is no effort of severity or of kindness which Roman Catholics will not bring to bear upon him, in order to induce him to retrace his steps; they believe that by so doing they can atone for their own sins. He will be persecuted by those whom he most loved; deprived of his employment on some frivolous excuse; or told that his master no longer requires his services. This is usually the first step. He will soon find himself insulted in the streets as a turncoat; and what has he gained in exchange? He is too often treated with coldness by Protestants who wish to show their impartiality; and it seems as if a proselyte has no friends. He is sometimes told that persecution is a test of sincerity, and that he must stand firm; but he finds that his motives are questioned by the generality of Protestants; they seem to think he has conformed for some worldly interest, and that he probably intends to relapse. We may suppose a Protestant clergyman taking a great interest in his Roman Catholic parishioners; a few will be found who will listen to him with attention. He taxes all his powers of persuasion to set the truth before them as he believes it. They begin to be convinced, and after a time are ready to obey his call, and to make a public declaration of their conviction. But when this important step has been once taken, the new converts are, perhaps, thrown out of employment. The minister, whose earnest arguments have effected his purpose, now finds that his new flock must be supported as well as taught; they say, “we have given up much for the truth, and now will you desert us in the day of our distress!” The Irish clergy have generally very limited incomes;

of this they are liable at any time to lose the greater part in poor rates ; it is, therefore, a heavy burden to them to find that three or four persons, or families, have, through their means, been deprived of their natural support, and that they must either assist them, or allow them to perish as the victims of persecution.

The *inquiring* Romanist feels his own consequence, and is sustained by excitement : he is called upon to decide between the comparative merits of conflicting doctrines and Churches. But when the point is settled, like poor Peter Peebles, deprived of his worldly enjoyments, he feels himself only *dominus litis*. He is hated by one party as a deserter, distrusted by the other as insincere, and the clergyman, who is probably his best friend, is afraid of charging himself with an additional burden. Well may we ask, " Who is sufficient for these things ? " We believe that nothing but the grace of God, who says, " as thy day, so shall thy strength be," can sustain any man under such accumulated trials. These principles account for the difficulty which is every where felt. How are we to deal with our converts ? They are a race who have sacrificed much, and therefore have reasonable and well-founded claims. They are disunited from their natural friends, and are disappointed if the warmth of those they have acquired is not equal to the affection of those whom they have lost. Again, we must consider that the convert, though sincere, is but imperfectly informed on many points, and that even those who are truly converted are far from perfection ; that the effects of early prejudice do not wear off at once ; that long habits of dirt, idleness, and deceit, will not vanish in a moment ; here also we have therefore a great difficulty to overcome. Irishmen are naturally a careless race ; they have few wants ; and until the late famine the potato supplied them with food at an easy rate. Now when such persons are brought under instruction, they will sometimes imagine that they are to continue to live in the same indolent style of half-work and low wages to which they have been accustomed ; but here the anathema of the priest disappoints them ; they cannot obtain their usual employment. Insufficient food has left many Irish labourers unfit for hard work ; and the Roman Catholics having reduced many of the converts to distress by their persecution, allege that any of them who accept the alms of charitable individuals anxious to rescue them from starvation, are merely seeking by their change of religion to be maintained in idleness, and they nickname them " soupers," or persons fed on soup at the public expense.

From this position of affairs arose the present system of Protestant colonies. One convert or twenty are hard to manage, and easily crushed ; but some hundreds can keep each other in

countenance; and if they could be counted by thousands, and if the work of reformation were extended to the employers and higher classes, the difficulty would be greatly diminished.

Let us now take a view of the work of reformation in Ireland as it has made progress in four different places. The circumstances are very different, but the principles are the same, and the results are very similar. The first place where Protestantism gained a decided victory was at Dingle. The success here gave rise to the Dingle colony and mission.

Here it was that in the year 1827, the Rev. John Gregg preached the first Irish sermon in the town. During the address a zealous Roman Catholic boy endeavoured to disturb him by rubbing a stick against the leg of an old table. This boy has since been ordained in the Church of England, and is well known as the Rev. Thomas Moriarty, one of the leading supporters of the Irish Society.

About the same time, Lord Ventry, who possessed the tithes of that district, determined to send some additional assistance to the incumbent, who was in delicate health. Lord Ventry had some difficulty in procuring a person qualified to carry out his views. We believe at one time he was in treaty with some dissenting body; but at last, after many disappointments, the Rev. Charles Gayer accepted the chaplaincy in the year 1833. Mr. Gayer, when appointed, had little idea of the extent of his future labours, or of the extraordinary success which was to attend them. Like most of his brethren he considered the few Protestants around him as his peculiar care, and had little idea of originating a new reformation. Though possessed of a sound judgment, and strong common sense, he was not endowed with the brilliant talents which mark the pulpit orator or striking controversialist; but the place of these was well supplied by strong faith and indomitable perseverance.

The physical frame of most men would have sunk under the labours which his position imposed upon him; but a mild determination which marked his movements seemed to bring him through his difficulties, and to conciliate the good will of those whose religion he opposed.

Perhaps he has drawn his character better than we could do it, in the following reply to a letter in which his life was threatened in the usual style of Irish ruffianism.

“THE FLACARD.

“Having received a notice yesterday, in which my life is threatened unless I leave Dingle, I take this way of informing the writer that it has come to my hand. I quite agree with him that ‘there are many who would deem it an honour and a glory to rid the earth of such

monsters as myself and others are.' As in all ages there have been those who, through ignorance and blind zeal, have thought as did Saul of Tarsus, that by 'killing those who called on the name of the Lord Jesus, they were thereby doing God service;' and the reason of which the Saviour gives, 'because they have not known the Father nor me;' I would now tell the writer a few things.

"1st. That, whatever is the consequence, I am resolved not to leave Dingle.

"2ndly. That I fear not him who can *only* kill the body, but *after that* has no more that he can do.

"3rdly. That my life is in God's hands, and not his, and that it cannot be touched without His permission.

"4thly. That I would consider it an honour to be called upon to lay down my life in the service of Him who laid down his life on the cross for my redemption.

"5thly. That I forgive him from my heart the evil that he meditates against me, and trust that he may find forgiveness at the hand of God, who alone can pardon it, and who has said that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.

"CHARLES GAYE."'

"*Dingle, Jan. 27, 1845*."

This good man died of typhus fever on the 20th of January, 1848, at the early age of forty-two. He left behind him, however, four new congregations of Protestants where before there was not one, and a fifth at Dingle itself enlarged tenfold. Such success in gaining converts naturally raised the question of maintenance, and this led to the establishment of a colony. Houses were built, and some land taken; not enough, however, to give work to all. Then arose the storm of persecution; exclusive dealing, libellous attacks in the newspapers, curses from the altar—all concurred to terrify the converts. Many, however, continued firm, and the work went steadily on. The Rev. Denis Brasbie was sent to oppose the reformation, but shortly afterwards became a member of the Church which he had undertaken to overthrow. This was a triumph to Protestantism, and attempts were made to injure his character: Dr. Renehan of Maynooth, in answer to a letter of the Bishop of Worcester respecting Mr. Brasbie's ordination, insinuated something to his discredit, but without making any distinct assertion. An action for a libel was tried in Dublin, and damages were given against Dr. Renehan. This was all very natural; but the only thing that surprises us is, that an English bishop should not have suspected that any Irish Roman Catholic priest, and especially the President of Maynooth, could not do otherwise than asperse the character of a converted

¹ Dingle, p. 145.

priest. It is true the bishop's letter only made inquiry as to the fact of Mr. Brasbie's ordination ; but had his lordship been acquainted with the character and dealings of popery in Ireland, he would have known that no pains would be spared, and no falsehood left untried, which might possibly injure the convert with his new associates. This is almost invariably the case ; and more especially so where a priest conforms. Interested motives can seldom be attributed : he is therefore attacked on the ground of moral character : circumstances before carefully hidden are brought to light ; and youthful levities are magnified into crimes.

Mr. Gayer also sought the protection of the law in consequence of a series of libels in the "*Kerry Examiner*." The most violent abuse had been heaped upon him, and when an action was threatened, a pretended apology appeared ; but, immediately afterwards, Mr. Gayer was again attacked with the usual scurrility of low newspaper invective. The accounts of both these trials were extensively circulated at the time, and may still be read with interest as a narrative of systematic persecution : they will throw considerable light on the history of Irish missions, and will develop the real principles of the party who have raised the loudest outcry on the score of religious liberty. After the death of Mr. Gayer the Roman Catholic party supposed the colony would be soon extinguished ; few men were qualified to supply his place : to do so required a power of ministering the Word and serving tables at the same time, and very few were found willing to take up a position in the front of the battle. Under these circumstances the committee fixed upon the Rev. Samuel Lewis, who had been eminently successful in supplying the temporal necessities of a very poor district during the preceding year. He accepted the chaplaincy of Dingle for a few months ; when a storm of persecution more violent than any of the former ones was immediately raised against him. The priests seemed to think they could make the post untenable by any one. Songs of the most vulgar abuse written by a priest, containing allusions to his domestic concerns—violent mobs, described as shouting after him like a mad dog—were some of the weapons which the Church of Rome employed. We have been informed by a credible witness, that he has seen Mr. Lewis spit upon in passing through the streets ; and heard the cry of "*parson Lucifer*" raised wherever he went. But priests and persecutors had mistaken their man : Mr. Lewis stood firm : he felt that he was called to Dingle ; and as the minister of Dingle he still remains.

The maintenance of the converts is here the great difficulty : the Irish Society teaches, but it cannot feed. Colonics, however, like that of Dingle, which provide work, seek to overcome the natural indolence of the Irish character, and to form habits of

self-respect and independence. Till this can be accomplished, however, and till the infant colony shall be enabled to walk alone, there must be a call for pecuniary assistance. We trust that the day is not far distant when Protestantism will bring temporal blessings in its train; when the younger race, at least, of converts will be enabled in quietness to work and to eat their own bread.

Another colony arose about the same time or somewhat later; we mean the colony in the island of Achill. Mr. Gayer was placed at Dingle, and at the head of the movement by providential circumstances; but Mr. Nangle marched boldly into the enemies' camp, fixing upon one of the remotest and most uncivilized parts of Ireland. Mr. Nangle and his fellow-labourers took a lease of 130 acres of land in the wild island of Achill, in the year 1833. They entered into possession on the first of August 1834. They founded schools, built an inn, and established a printing press and a newspaper, the "*Achill Herald*." They engaged a steward to employ the natives upon the land, which was then a mere tract of moor overrun with heath; and in the year 1838 the settlement had assumed the appearance of a comfortable village, and the side of the mountain was covered with gardens. A furious attack from Dr. McHale of Tuam immediately began; and several riots took place. On the occasion of a visit from Dr. McHale, a national schoolmaster, named O'Donnell, carried a banner with a cross and the motto, "*Hoc signo vinces*." The other side displayed the words, "*Welcome religion and liberty*." This schoolmaster threatened to cut off the heads of some of the children who attended Mr. Nangle's school. The priest continued to curse from the altar every Sunday. A Roman Catholic shouted after Mr. Nangle, and excused himself by saying that he did so to escape the curse, as the priest had prayed that the tongue might drop out of the mouth of any one who would not shout after Mr. Nangle. This priest said also, that one of the scripture-readers was a devil, and would not be suffered to live any where else. Dr. McHale reproved a Roman Catholic for speaking to one of the colonists, and the parish priest said in allusion to the workmen, that "*those who took Nangle's money would take half-a-crown off the horns of the devil*." Some of the people threatened to cut the converts into quarters, and to pull down their houses over their heads. As the national schoolmaster above referred to had been engaged in these proceedings, the Commissioners of Education instituted an inquiry; and after the usual quantity of conflicting statements, Mr. Nangle was told that the matter was one for a legal tribunal, and that the facts were before the Lord Lieutenant. (See Evidence on the National Board, taken by the House of Lords in April 1837.)

About this time the Government authorities, under Lord Mel-

bourne's administration, gave an involuntary testimony to the power of Mr. Nangle's writings: they refused the usual stamps to the "*Achill Herald*," on the ground, that it was not a newspaper. This refusal to circulate a small periodical, raised the question in the most advantageous way for Mr. Nangle. Every Englishman likes to see fair play; and when the common privilege of the press was refused to a monthly paper, people began naturally to inquire what it contained. Rebellion, treason, and blasphemy constantly circulate through the press and the post-office; what then must be the dangerous character of a paper, which, unlike any of its contemporaries, must be refused the sanction of the Crown? The simple reason evidently was, that it attacked the doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome. It was to a certain extent the organ of a controversial party; it also published some of the doings of the Romish priests; the persecution of Protestants; and the falsehoods of the local press. It was a great weapon of defence for the infant colony. If a colonist were cursed by a priest, or beaten on the road, the fact was told next month. If local authorities endeavoured to hush up matters, or to decide rather in favour of popular opinion than according to the strict merits of the case, the "*Achill Herald*" circulated the account of the trial, and the evidence. This gave an unpleasant publicity to many facts which it would have been more convenient to have concealed; and this, some of the advocates of civil and religious liberty (in the *Irish* sense of the expression), had represented at Dublin Castle. However it was discovered that the "*Achill Herald*" could not be suppressed. The English public asked the question "Why suppress the '*Achill Herald*'?" The officials in Dublin could not answer it; and the circulation of the "*Herald*" was increased.

Through evil report and good report the small colony has grown great. The present position may be thus briefly stated: on the 14th of August 1851, 17,500*l.* was lodged with the Commissioners for the Sale of Incumbered Estates, as the price agreed upon for Sir Richard O'Donnell's estate, which comprises nearly the whole island. This sum was subscribed for the purpose of buying the island. Of the rest of Achill two friends of the mission have purchased a part, and a small portion (one townland we believe) has fallen into the hands of the Roman Catholic party¹. Thus the colony now possesses a territory equal to a small county.

An agricultural training school will soon be established: it is intended as a refuge for young men who are ill-treated by their

¹ We lately heard, on good authority, that a school has been established by the Romish party in opposition to Mr. Nangle's school, and that they offer weekly payment to any child who will leave the Protestant school and go to theirs.

own connexions. Some of the girls can earn 2s. 6d. per week at embroidery and satin stitch, and their work has been thought worthy of a place in the Crystal Palace. At the beginning of 1850 there were 1600 children in the schools. At present there are not so many, in consequence of the introduction of regulations restricting the supply of food to the case of orphans and other peculiarly destitute cases. A training school for schoolmasters and Scripture-readers was opened in August 1850; and there are now fifty-four boys in this institution. We extract the concluding paragraph of the last report of this mission:—

“ The characteristic feature in the present condition of the population of this district, with respect to religion, is indifference. We have still some furious zealots for Popery among us, but their number is very limited. The priests have no longer the power over the mass of the people which they used to exercise in stirring them up to outrage and violence. Multitudes who do not attend our services never enter a chapel. Not long ago the congregations at each of the chapels was counted—the whole attendance on the mass on that day amounted to twenty-nine. It should be mentioned that the day was very wet and stormy, but wind or rain are not much heeded by the hardy natives of this district, and were they now devoted to Roman superstition as they were some years ago, the inclemency of the weather could not have kept them from the mass-house. This indifference to all religion is a fearful state, but still it is better than Popery. That system so fills the soul with its manifold delusions as to leave no room for Christ; and besides this, the breaking down of its influence disarms the hostility with which the scriptural instruction of the young is regarded by every zealous papist. The house is empty and swept; may our efforts to supply the vacancy with the presence of the guest who alone is worthy, be abundantly blessed !

“ When we look back to the beginning of this mission of 1834, when one small form sufficed to accommodate our whole congregation, and when one school sufficed to contain all the scholars we could muster; and when we now see five congregations gathered in different parts of the district, and our churches at this settlement and at Meelan insufficient to accommodate our growing numbers, and when along with this we consider that almost every village in the district has its Christian school, we have good reason to thank God and take courage.”

We are sensible of the great and persevering energy which has carried this mission through its difficulties; but we think it would have been in all respects more successful, had it been conducted in a less purely controversial spirit. We have remarked the presence of this spirit with regret in its publications; and great as the success of the Achill Mission has been, we think it would have been far more successful, had it always sought to instil the

great simple truths of the Bible, before it assailed existing errors. It is the adoption of the latter course, which, in our opinion, constitutes one of the great merits and advantages of the "Irish Church Missions," of which we shall hereafter speak.

The colonies to which we have been referring are remarkable on account of their locality—a remote island, and a distant peninsula. These were first brought under instruction, and subsequently settlements were formed there, as a sort of Protestant witness, in the midst of the Roman Catholic population. We are not, however, to suppose that the work is confined to these extreme points. The Irish Society has carried on its work, and brought forth its fruits in other places. A very remarkable effect has been produced at Doon and Pallas-green, in the county of Limerick. Here true religion has been taught, and the Scriptures have made their way almost entirely through the work of the Irish Society, and by means of Scripture-readers; there are at present in Doon and the neighbouring parishes about 800 converts; these, as in the other cases, are of the labouring class, and the system is far from being one of indiscriminate admission. Every convert is at first a probationer, under the instruction of the Scripture-readers, until he can pass an examination, and satisfy the committee of clergy not only as to his knowledge and reasons for wishing to become a Protestant, but as to the sincerity of his profession. This is the practice with adults; less strictness is observed with the wife of a convert, when the husband answers satisfactorily; and young children are admitted with their parents. The church accommodation in this district is extremely small. The church at Pallas-green, when we visited the place, was over-crowded; seventy converts being placed in a gallery built to accommodate twenty. This church has been enlarged; but there is no church in the parish of Doon, nor is there any proper school-room; the children are crowded into the smallest possible compass, and the congregation was obliged to assemble for Divine service in the open air.

As a specimen of persecution and misrepresentation, we extract the following passage from a series of letters from the Rev. Thomas Atkinson, in reply to the assertions of the Roman Catholic priests. We refer our readers to the minutes of evidence, taken before the local magistrates, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th June, 1851. We must premise, that the police at Doon having interfered to protect the converts from the savage attacks of the mob, incited by the Romish priests, the latter laid a complaint before Government against the police, and an investigation was held, which issued in the following report, addressed to the Under-secretary of State:—

"REPORT OF CHARLES HUNT, ESQ., R.M., AND EDWARD GONNE
BELL, ESQ., R.M.

"County of Limerick, New Pallas, Oct. 15, 1850.

"Sir,—In presenting our report on the evidence produced before us in support of the charges preferred by the Rev. Mr. O'Dwyer, C.C. of Doon, against the constabulary of Doon, Cappamore, and Bilboa, and the evidence for the defence, we deem it essential to the right understanding of the case to call his Excellency's attention to the following facts which have transpired :—

"Up to the period of the present movement, the village and neighbourhood of Doon was perfectly quiet.

"In consequence of the operation in this district of the Irish Scripture Reader Society, a number of Roman Catholics have sent their children to the Protestant schools, and the parents have gone to the Protestant Church, which is now held at the house of N. White, Esq., of Kilmoylan, the parish church having been condemned as unfit for use.

"It appears that the Rev. Mr. Hickey, P.P., and the Rev. J. O'Dwyer, C.C., of Doon, felt it their duty to warn their flocks from the altar against this movement; and it appears in evidence of Mr. O'Dwyer's witnesses, that they not only did so on various occasions, but went still further, and told the people that there was no harm to hoot and shout; and, on another occasion, told the people to hoot, shout, and groan on those occasions. The natural consequence of these exhortations were the assembling together of a large number of persons (after mass) at the gate of Kilmoylan House; and, on the approach and return of the Rev. Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Ellis (his curate) from divine service, they (the crowd) commenced shouting, hallooing, and calling them names, such as '*cauth-bracks*,' '*dried hake*,' '*devils*,' &c., &c. This course was repeated Sunday after Sunday; and, on one occasion, a dead cat was thrown into the car of one of the congregation, and a dead fish at Mr. Ellis, while on his car returning from prayers.

"On the application of Messrs. Atkinson and Ellis, the police received orders to attend and preserve order; arrests were immediately made, and parties were summoned for these offences.

"Mr. Ellis having summoned some parties for throwing some stones at him, but the evidence of identification having failed, the parties charged by Mr. Ellis, were acquitted. It was then given out that there was no law against hooting and shouting in large bodies on Sundays; and the meetings increased to such an alarming extent, that, on the report of Sub-inspector Enright, Mr. Bell, R.M., felt it his duty to attend, and with difficulty preserved the peace; this was on the 30th of June last.

"We now take up *Charge No. 1*; and we acquit Sub-constable Davidson of having wantonly assaulted William Herr, inasmuch as we consider the evidence goes to prove that he acted with great firmness and judgment under very trying circumstances, as, had he allowed

William Herr to drag Thomas Oakes (the driver of the gig) amongst the crowd, a serious riot would inevitably have taken place, and Oakes would have been trampled to death, as Herr gave out that the girl was killed by Mr. Ellis's gig driving over her. The circumstance of the girl having been knocked down by the shaft of the gig appears to have been her own fault in running across the road, and purely accidental. She was not driven over at all; for, had the gig gone over her, she must have been seriously hurt, if not killed; whereas, when she recovered herself, she got up and walked away."

We cannot afford space for further quotations from this report, which establishes very clearly the participation of the Romish priests in these disturbances, and the falsehood of their charges against the police and converts.

The position of the police is, indeed, a peculiarly trying one: they are ordered to keep the peace amongst a number of rioters, and, at the same time, are subject to the heaviest censure for overstepping the bounds of duty. A policeman and a convert seem bound (professionally) to endure every thing, and resent nothing. This is certainly their duty; but men may sometimes lose their temper from extreme provocation.

Mr. Atkinson of Doon has kept up a sort of running comment or refutation of the assertions of the priests; some of these gentlemen declared, that Mr. Atkinson would be afraid to meet them; and said, or published in Liverpool, that many of his statements were false. Mr. Atkinson challenged the priest to meet him in Liverpool, and discuss the matter publicly; to this the priest gave a sort of half consent, but evaded fixing a day. Mr. Atkinson then fixed a day, and a public place in Liverpool, and attended, according to his announcement; but, on his arrival, the priest had not come; and so he and his friends had the meeting to themselves.

We observe, by a recent statement of the IRISH SOCIETY, that about fifty congregations of *converts* in Ireland are ministered to by their ordained missionaries, twenty-eight in number; that in South Mayo "several hundreds" of converts; and in North Mayo 800 converts have been made; and that there is a general progress in all their missions. We have heard the number of converts in connexion with this Society, estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000; and there are 30,000 children in their schools. The Society is in close connexion with our Church.

The most fearful calamity that ever beset a civilized country, was the famine of 1846 and 1847; yet, from that awful period of distress, and from the subsequent depression of property, the most blessed results have arisen. The Roman Catholic population has been brought under Protestant influence, and taught to feel that

the Protestant clergy were the great instruments of their preservation. Again, the priests, feeling that the landed interest in Ireland is the great barrier against their power, advised the people to cry out for cheap bread, and to demand the repeal of the Corn Laws. Now, however, when distress is great, and when the people find their natural protectors, the landlords, unable to help them, they begin to think that the priests have advised them wrong in their temporal matters; and their infallibility in spiritual matters also is questioned. Towards the end of 1847, just after the pressure of the famine, Mr. Dallas, Mr. Bickersteth, and some of their friends, first established the **IRISH CHURCH MISSIONS**,—the great missionary organization for the conversion of Ireland, of which we are now to speak.

The great distinction between the **IRISH SOCIETY**, and the **IRISH CHURCH MISSIONS**, consists in the former applying itself exclusively to the instruction of the Irish-speaking population, through the medium of their own language. The **Irish Church Missions** are directed to all the English-speaking population of Ireland, amounting to more than two-thirds of the whole. The only Irish-speaking district under their care is the Connemara district in Galway, where, however, so far, their chief exertions have been made, and with great success. We should say, also, that the **Irish Society**, in practice, has been less stringent in its mode of operation, than the **Irish Church Missions**; and that persons have often been allowed to continue Roman Catholics under its instruction, instead of being pressed and urged as they are by the **Irish Church Missions** to forsake the communion of Romanism. The **Irish Society**, however, it must be remembered, was instituted at a time when great caution was requisite; and, without doubt, it is assuming a bolder tone, as the circumstances of the times warrant it. Most cordially do we wish it all success.

In a former number* we adverted to the origin and remarkable success of these missions. We have since then been enabled to verify, by personal inspection, the substantial accuracy of the statements which are made in the public press, and at meetings, in reference to the great and rapid progress of the work; and we would also bear witness to its substantial character. Admitting, of course, that, amidst such great multitudes of converts as have been made, some may be found, whose faith is imperfect, or who are liable to the same amount of infirmity and inconsistency, as we see in Scripture, to have accompanied the first conversions to Christianity, we still can bear witness to the fact, that not only

* *English Review*, No. xxx.

are the converts, to an extraordinary extent, instructed in the grounds of their religion, and competent to defend it argumentatively from the Word of God, but that their moral being is elevated and purified; that their religion is fervent, simple, and full of charity towards all men; that they often sacrifice every thing in obedience to the dictates of conscience; and that persecution or temporal inducements rarely succeed in shaking their constancy. We will add, that wherever we went, we found a spirit of firm attachment to our own Church, to its doctrine and its discipline, as grounded on the Word of God. Dissenters frequently endeavour to disturb the missions, by sending preachers for the purpose of withdrawing some of the converts from us; but hitherto such mistaken proceedings have been prevented from effecting the mischief and confusion they are calculated to produce. Dissent does not flourish in Ireland; and the missionaries have generally been enabled either to induce the removal of opposition by expostulation, and pointing out the hindrance which such a course places in the way of missions, or else to retain the confidence and attachment of the converts by greater charity, zeal, and piety. Their mode of meeting Dissenters is to "preach them down, and pray them down;" and we have seen enough of the effects of the other course of "arguing them down," to feel convinced of the total inefficacy of the latter, unless it be accompanied by the former.

We can bear witness to the beneficial operation of the missions in promoting habits of order and civilization. It is a gratifying fact, that the converts are never found to be guilty of the crimes which elsewhere disgrace the population. Their habitations and persons are more neat and cleanly than those of the Roman Catholics; they appear to be happy and cheerful under the privations and persecutions to which they are exposed; and as the stranger passes along the roads, he is respectfully and cordially greeted by the converts, more especially if he has the appearance of a clergyman, while the Roman Catholics pass along without noticing him. The contrast also between the face of the convert and of the Roman Catholic is most striking, generally speaking. The latter looks gloomy, downcast, or cringing; he will scarcely look you in the face. The convert will, in most cases, speak with frankness and straightforwardness; his countenance lights up at the mention of any religious subject; he looks in your face with an intelligent, frank, and kind expression, and has evidently nothing to conceal; he is respectful in tone and manner; but he speaks his mind plainly, and there is no cringing or flattery about him; he tells with delight how he, or one of his friends, or some child in the neighbouring school,

has been able to meet the Romish priest in argument, and to defend the faith from God's Word; he considers it a duty to speak in the boldest terms against Romanism, and to be ready to demonstrate its errors by Scripture. But in combination with this zeal against false religion, is a real practical kindness and good will towards those who still remain involved in error.

At the devotional meetings of the converts where prayer is offered by the missionaries, we have heard frequent petitions for the conversion of their opponents; and it is a fact, that nothing is more common than to find instances of such conversions. Many a Roman Catholic who persecutes the converts in his ignorance, becomes their most ardent and zealous assistant, when he learns what these principles and tenets really are. We were inspecting a school in Connemara, when the missionary drew our notice to a girl about seventeen years of age, who was amongst the senior scholars, and who was also one of the "Irish teachers," as they are called, who instruct their friends and neighbours of all ages before and after school hours. "This girl," said the missionary, "was brought up as a Romanist; but having attended our school for a year or two, she became convinced by study of the Word of God, and was received by us as a convert. Her parents and her brother were bigoted Romanists, and their evening devotions consisted of prayer to the Virgin and the Saints. This girl withdrew from the family worship, as it was contrary to her faith. Her parents and brother insisted on her joining them in their prayers, and, at length, after much violence and abuse, her father laid hold of her and gave her a severe beating. She bore this very patiently, and then turned to him and said, 'Father, if you were to cut me in two, I could not worship the Virgin Mary!' Her firmness, her evident conviction, and the tone in which she spoke, produced an effect on her family. Inquiry ensued. After a time her father came out, and became a convert; her mother came out, and became a convert; and her brother, who was amongst her persecutors, and who was most violently opposed to our faith, is now one of our most devoted and zealous Scripture-readers!" We saw this youthful confessor, whose noble-mindedness had been the means of converting all her family. She was without shoes or stockings, and exhibited many signs of poverty. Her countenance was lighted up with intellect, enthusiasm, and affection; combined with an impressive purity and modesty.

We were in a boat returning from Divine Service which had been held on the shore of one of the mountain lakes of that district (Connemara). The rowers consisted of four young men, one of whom was a Scripture-reader, another a probationer

reader, a third a labourer about twenty-four years old, and the fourth a boy about fifteen, an elder pupil at one of the schools. We shall never forget the beautiful and holy countenance of that boy, or the words which fell from him. His was a mind, which habitually referred all things to God; and again and again, as the conversation turned to various topics bearing on religion, did this boy bring some singularly beautiful and apposite reference to the Scriptures. He appeared to live in this element. His whole affections and intellect were engaged in sacred things. As we looked on such examples as this, we felt that here indeed—in the wilds of Connemara—are evidences of the power of Divine grace such as we might long seek for in vain elsewhere. There is the sort of religion of which the Bible tells us—the religion which leads us to forsake the world's service for that of Jesus Christ—the religion of self-denial, courage, and inward joy and peace. It was of such materials that the saints and martyrs of old were made. One of these converts was unable to read; but being blessed with an excellent memory, he had learnt so much of the Bible, that he was not only enabled to form his own religious views, and after long thought, inquiry, and prayer, to “come out” of Romanism; but he was able to defend his faith in argument with Romish priests, and with whoever else might assail it. We had some extraordinary instances indeed, of the acquaintance of some of the converts with Scripture. One of the Scripture-readers is said to be capable of repeating any verse in the Bible, of which two or three words are read to him.

The intelligence and knowledge of the Scripture-readers are, indeed, very remarkable. We met on one occasion a considerable number of these men (who are generally taken from the farming and labouring class), and thoroughly tested their knowledge of many of the great doctrines of Christianity, and of the Romish controversy. We found these men armed at all points, to a degree which certainly surprised us greatly. They are “mighty in the Scriptures,” and thoroughly versed in all the controversy as conducted by Romanists and by Romish priests. In fact, most of them are converts who have had to meet and overcome all the Romish arguments in their own particular case. We can say, without the least exaggeration, that many a clergyman, aye, many a learned divine, who imagines himself at home in the Romish controversy, might gain instruction from these Scripture-readers.

Violent opposition in many cases was made, on the first establishment of missions in Galway, and riots took place, incited by the Romish priests. The law, however, does afford some protection; and it is, very properly, appealed to, with a view to

prevent intimidation being exercised. The opposition, however, in most cases, dies away gradually, and perseverance ensures success. In one mission, we found that within little more than two years, the schools numbered nearly 3000 children and adults—a large proportion of the whole population of the district. The converts may be reckoned by thousands there; in point of fact, in many places the great mass of the population have been converted; and the Romish priests are left without congregations. So that the old story of the clergyman commencing the service with addressing the parish-clerk, "Dearly beloved Roger," &c., which used to be quoted so often against the Irish Protestant clergy, is now becoming applicable in some districts to the Romish priesthood.

Dublin is also a most interesting sphere of missionary labour: we must remember that there is in Dublin a very considerable Protestant population—in some parishes outnumbering the Roman Catholics; if therefore the leaven of controversy were set at work, it might be expected that the artisans, tradesmen, and others, brought into close contact, would carry on the work among themselves. Great exertions have been made for this purpose. Controversial sermons have been preached regularly in the principal churches on Sundays or stated days during the week. In one church there was a controversial sermon every Sunday evening, from January till July last, the preacher taking a regular course.

Several short treatises on the controversy have been also published, among others, "A Hand-book to the Romish Controversy," by the Rev. C. S. Stanford, Prebendary of St. Michan's. It contains 256 pages, and is sold for sixpence. The author takes the creed of Pope Pius IV., article by article, and compares it with Scripture, quoting the texts in full, and giving a short comment on each doctrine. To this is added an Appendix, containing an account of the additions made to Christianity by the Church of Rome, and the centuries in which the several errors were introduced. The cheapness of this volume, and the quantity of matter which it contains, have already secured it an extensive circulation. It is a very useful, and convenient manual. But perhaps the most remarkable phase of the controversy in Dublin, is the weekly meeting in the school-room of St. Michan's parish. This is conducted on the principle of question and answer—a dangerous method of clerical instruction, unless well managed, and placed in prudent and temperate hands. Where the minister allows his congregation to put questions to him, he must be prepared either to differ from them, or to be obliged to say, "I don't know." Now in the ordinary intercourse between the teacher and the taught, or between a pastor and his flock, this is not

advisable, because they are supposed to come prepared to learn from him ; and even if they are better instructed, they feel that officially at least he is their superior, and that they ought to submit to his teaching. In a controversy, however, men are supposed to differ, and when the missionary makes a modest statement of his own views, and gives a gentle invitation to those who disagree with him to come forward and state their opinions as men responsible to God, he will at least conciliate good will. The missionary must then prove that he is thoroughly prepared on the point before him, and must hold his superiority not only as chairman of the meeting, but as the best controversialist present. If he can manage to do this, such a meeting may be conducted agreeably, and with much profit.

We attended one of these meetings lately ; the room was crowded, and probably contained 500 persons. After a short prayer, the missionary, who presided, read a few verses from the first chapter of the First General Epistle of St. Peter. He then asked some questions, which he put to the whole congregation, and which any one present was allowed to answer. The faith through which believers are kept by the power of God unto salvation was spoken of ; the faith of assent was distinguished from the faith of confidence, and several remarks were elicited on the leading subjects of divine truth. From this the chairman proceeded to consider the controverted point of the evening—the position of the Virgin Mary as set before us in Scripture. All the passages where she is mentioned were considered in detail. The annunciation ; the fact that she was obliged to seek her son for three days ; Simeon's address ; and the sword that pierced her soul, were all brought forward.

The Sacred Heart of Mary was exhibited and described. The hearts of Jesus and Mary are surmounted by a cross ; a smaller cross is fixed to the heart of Jesus. The sword passes through the heart of Mary, and a flame issues from the upper part. Two angels, as we suppose, are kneeling below, and above and below is the motto, "Sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary protect us."

One of those present asked, whether there were not two immaculate women as well as one ? Though pretending to be an objector, he soon betrayed himself as a Protestant ; for he showed that the expression "Blessed among women," on which the Roman Catholics lay such stress, is applied to Jael in the book of Judges. Our Lord's reply and conduct at the marriage of Cana in Galilee were considered. The reading of the Douay version, "What is that to thee and me?" was compared with the authorised version, and the exposition given was, that our Lord intended that she must not interfere ; for the question was one which

clearly concerned them both; as she made the remark on the want, and our Lord was about to supply it by a miracle.

The blessedness of earthly relationship was shown to be inferior to the blessing of those who hear the word of God, and keep it; our Lord's commendation of his mother to St. John at his death, and her being found among the apostles after His ascension were all mentioned. Thus each passage relating to the life of the Virgin Mary was considered, and no single passage found to support the idea of worship or intercession. Some of the Roman Catholic expressions were then read, and compared with Scripture; but no Roman Catholic seemed willing to speak. A blind man asked the question whether Dr. Cullen and Dr. O'Connell had established the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; and said he understood it had been ruled in the affirmative at the synod of Thurles. This gave rise to some discussion; and it was the only point which did so; and the chairman seemed disappointed that no Roman Catholic had come forward, and that the assembly had been so like a Quaker meeting.

On another evening when we attended this weekly meeting in St. Michan's schoolroom, the character of the meeting was very different. The worship of the Virgin in the "Ave Maria" was the subject; and on this occasion the Romish practice was eagerly defended by two advocates, one of whom we should suppose to be a barrister or attorney, and the other a member of some Jesuit confraternity. These men argued with much art and cunning; though with little knowledge of Scripture, and in a very bad spirit. The discussion was most animated and interesting, and conducted by the missionary with admirable address, ability, quickness, and kindness. As he gave some conclusive thrust which completely demolished his adversaries' argument, the whole of the 500 people present seemed to hold their breath, and a pin might have been heard to fall. The effect of these meetings is—that many of the Roman Catholics who attend them go away unconvinced, and hardened; but many come to the missionary afterwards and are further instructed, and become converts. Within the last year about 1000 converts, it is said, have been made in this mission, and about double that number are now under instruction, we believe, preparatory to their being received.

Such lectures in good hands must be of use in another respect: they must raise a spirit of inquiry, and strengthen the hands of the half-educated Protestants. The Roman Catholic youth are thoroughly drilled in controversy. A pocket edition of the Douay Testament has been lately published, with a short index to the passages which they quote in support of their doctrines, and no

others. Thus the Romanists are taught to quote single texts, which they do very readily; but they are without any ideas of context. It is, therefore, quite necessary in the present state of Ireland to teach controversy to the Protestants, not so much for their own conviction, as to enable them to withstand the attacks of our opponents. The meetings at St. Michan's lasted about two hours, and the missionary then concluded with a short prayer, alluding to those in error, and praying God, as the Author of revelation, to communicate to all the true meaning of His written word by His Spirit. The mission at Enniscorthy has also been very successful; but the opposition there is most furious and protracted. A mission has also been recently established at Drogheda, amidst violent opposition from the priests, and is causing consternation amongst the Romish leaders. Dr. Cullen has put forth a manifesto expressing his alarm; and some of the Scripture-readers have been nearly murdered. Some progress however has been made.

We extract the following notice of the Drogheda Mission from the interesting little periodical which we have mentioned at the commencement of this paper, where for the small sum of one penny monthly, those interested in the cause, may obtain the most recent intelligence of the Irish Church Missions:—

“THE DROGHEDA MISSION.

“The work of the missions has recently been opened in various important parts of Ireland. We shall have occasion to give accounts of these openings, as we may find space in our pages. At present, we will speak only of the circumstances in the commencement of the mission at Drogheda.

“The census of 1841 showed that the town of Drogheda and its immediate suburbs contained 19,260 persons. Of these, only 5186 were sufficiently educated to read and write, leaving 14,074 who were below that standard of education. Amongst these, 3671 could read but not write, leaving 10,403 who could not read or write.

“Drogheda may be said to be the head-quarters of Romanism in Ireland. The violent high papal party have their chief council here. Dr. Paul Cullen, papally designated as the Primate of all Ireland, resides here, and is surrounded by all the ecclesiastical appliances necessary for carrying forward the extreme popish views.

“Many efforts had been made by the clergy to infuse some spirit of inquiry, and to spread some light in the darkness that has long brooded over this unhappy population. No sensible effect to any extent had resulted, as far as man could see; but it pleased God to produce that great shaking amongst the minds of the Roman Catholics generally in Ireland, to which so many events have concurred within the last few years. By private information, it was ascertained that there was good reason to believe, that the town of Drogheda is not exempt from the

general dawning upon the mind. Arrangements were made with the clergy by the Society for Irish Church Missions; and early in September last, two Scripture-readers were placed in the town, with the instructions usually given, referring to the gentleness of manner, the faithfulness of statement, the openness of purpose, and the tenderness of treatment which the committee desired to characterize all the agency of that Society. A very short time brought out the evidence, that there is an earnest desire on the part of many in Drogheda to listen to the truth. The following extract from the early statement of the readers will show how they were received by others also:—

“Yesterday we visited twelve families! While visiting the third house, the landlord of the row came in. He cursed and swore, called us ‘scamps,’ &c. We talked quietly to him awhile on getting his sins forgiven. He again raged, cursed, &c. We left. In the next house we were quietly conversing, when he came to the door, and said to the inmates, ‘Don’t answer these men.’ To us he swore, and said, ‘Go out of this!’ He almost exhausted his vocabulary of vile names and epithets. We then tried to make him feel that we were most anxious about his salvation: told him ‘if you die in the state in which you now are, you will certainly be for ever lost!’ When we found that nothing in the shape of kind talk would do, I repeated all that I said about the salvation of his soul; and concluded with, ‘but if you will not pay any attention to your own interest, if you will keep following us and annoying us, then I will just quietly hand you over to the police.’ R. C. ‘Will you then?’ V. ‘What else can I do, man? We believe that in visiting among the Roman Catholics we are just doing what God would have us! We are determined to persist in it; and if you annoy us, we will certainly give you over to the police!’ He got afraid, drew back several paces, and we also left the row. You may be sure the priests had all before two hours. When we were returning, in the evening, a woman of the second house, who was not in when we passed in the morning, called us in, she asked: ‘Gentlemen, are you the missionary priests that have come to town?’ V. ‘We are missionaries, but we *are not* priests!’ R. C. ‘Would you walk in?’ V. ‘Certainly.’ She then sent for one of her neighbours, and questioned us as to who we are? what we are? what are our objects? why we visit the Roman Catholics, &c. We answered every question fearlessly and honestly. The women blamed the landlord, and those who were with him in the street in the morning, called them ‘low-lived villains,’ ‘the mob,’ &c., said we deserved credit and thanks, that these are bold Romanists; would not take tracts. We spoke honestly, &c., &c., and should not be hooted nor laughed at. We left them very much pleased. All the other visits yesterday were not uninteresting.

“An old man who was doing his penance—reading his chapters in Liguori—at the ditch side, listened attentively while we showed that he cannot do a single thing to help himself out of his guilty state; but when we got warm, in setting forth the sufferings of Jesus, His agony and bloody sweat, His cross and passion, he began to cry freely, the

tears fell like rain down his furrowed cheeks ; he thanked God for the good news, and declared : ' Indeed, I believe that's the only way of salvation ! ' We then showed him that Jesus will hear him ; asked him to pray at once to Him. Dwelt on John vi. 37, &c. ; left him very deeply affected.'

"The next step was to open a course of controversial teaching in the Church of St. Peter's. This commenced on October 2. Placards were freely distributed, bearing the title, ' God's Call to leave Rome,' as the subject of the sermon to be preached. A very large number of Roman Catholics were present, and listened with marked attention and apparent devotion, to an earnest and affectionate statement of the real character and condition of the Church of Rome, and an earnest appeal to them to leave it. A number of Romanists had been already collected by the readers as a class for inquiry and discussion. The attendance at this, and the interest manifested, increased after the first sermon. On the 15th October, the second of the course was delivered ; the preacher, in a letter on the following day, says : ' We had a splendid congregation last night ; the church filled, and in parts crammed : it reminded me of the St. Michan's congregation in Dublin. I was astonished, and so were all our friends ; many of the clergy, and a number of the neighbouring gentry were present. But, best of all, there were fully 300 Romanists. I feel more encouraged by what I have seen here than I am able to express.'

"The consequence of this success in the cause of God's truth, is briefly stated in a letter from the Superintending Missionary, who writes thus :

" ' You are aware that the readers were severely beaten yesterday week. This beating has ended, I regret to say, in a violent attack of fever with the former ; and he is at this time in a most precarious state. I think I may say that matters could not be in a more hopeful condition than they are. The priests are enraged above measure, which proves that they feel our stroke : and the people are disgusted with the violent denunciations which have led to outrage. It is a fact that England ought to know, that one of Paul Cullen's curates, living under his roof, preached a sermon on the 19th, in which he said : ' You have Bible readers among you ; you must get rid of them, *legally if you can*, but you must get rid of them, in any way,' ' and within twenty-four hours : ' the two readers were beaten, and left in a state of insensibility ; and the crowd, while beating them, were using the identical expressions the priest had used in his sermon the day before, which clearly fastens the guilt on him. Last Sunday the tone was altered ; Paul Cullen preached himself, and condemned violence, and recommended passive resistance, or rather commanded it. Notwithstanding all this, there were twenty-six Romanists at the controversial class last night ; and if the room in which they assembled had been large enough, there would have been thrice as many ; and the utmost eagerness to be instructed from the Bible was manifested by all that were present, except one man, who declared himself an infidel. The readers intend to have two or

three meetings every week. Many little circumstances cheer us ; and we are full of hope that the Lord will soon vouchsafe a large blessing upon Drogheda. May He keep us, lying very low, while looking in earnest faith to Him from whom all blessings flow ! I trust our friends remember Drogheda in an especial manner in their prayers. His arm is not shortened ; and He can make even me an instrument in His hand to promote His work.'

"The more detailed account, given in the local papers, is as follows :—

"On Sunday last, in the parish chapel, a Rev. Mr. — ascended the pulpit, and delivered a discourse on the subject of these missions. He described, in a rather ludicrous manner, the appearance of the agents in the work of evangelizing the people. They were, he said, well fed, well clothed, and had all the appearance of sanctity, having a purse in one hand, and a Bible in the other ; that they avoid calling on the respectable and intelligent ; but proposed visiting where they saw a poor cabin, from which the thatch was removed ; and there by bribes prevailed on the unfortunate inmates to change their religion. This truth-loving apostle next adverted to the late controversial sermon, delivered in St. Peter's on the rule of faith ; he had heard, with grief, that three hundred of the people attended that sermon : and if they continued to do so, he would be obliged to denounce them from the altar. There was a sermon preached in the same church in the time of Cromwell, to which the Catholics were invited ; but the next day Peter-street was covered with the blood of his unfortunate countrymen. Protestants would do the very same now if it was in their power, and it was to get the people slaughtered, these missionaries came here. He understood there was a controversial lecture established in this town, and that some Catholics were in attendance ; but those who did so showed a bad example, devoted their souls to destruction, and were sure the moment the breath left them to go down to Tartarus. Would they ? [Here he thumped the cushion of the pulpit with vehemence.]—Would they suffer such things to go on ? No, they would not. Let them drive the missionaries out by legal means, and by every means. The people were greatly agitated during this discourse, but some were not so well pleased. However, on Monday morning, as Messrs. Stephens and Elliott were proceeding to their duties near Lawrence's-gate, a crowd collected round them, who hissed, shouted, and hooted them, calling 'Anti-Christ,' and 'You want to do to us what Cromwell did,' repeating the words used by his reverence the day before. The readers passed on, and paid a visit in a house in Prospect-view, and were making a second when about twenty persons, some of the party who had attacked them at the gate, surrounded the door. They were asked, did they wish to hear what the missionaries had been saying, and that they were speaking of the love of Christ Jesus to the people : this was answered by a shout of 'The love of the devil.' The crowd now began to get larger, and followed the missionaries to the Nun's Walk, where a man stepped out and said he

would prove that the Protestant religion was wrong, that the Catholic religion was right—that Luther ate a bushel of salt with the devil—and that Henry the Eighth was the author of the Protestant faith, to which these gentlemen replied that they were willing to meet him or any other man in Drogheda, and would prove that the Protestant religion was the religion of the Bible, and the same taught by Christ and His Apostles. The mob had greatly increased by this time, and commenced jostling them about. While they proceeded toward New-foundwell, mud and stones were thrown at them, and when they arrived at the bridge—where there was a great deal of broken stones—several in the crowd cried out, ‘Now, here’s ammunition, boys; come, let us finish them.’ In this critical position, being near the Railway works, they turned into the field, where a number of navvies were working. The navvies were just dismissed for dinner. Mr. Elliott asked them, Was there one honest man who would vindicate the law and save them from such a mob? One replied, ‘Let every one take care of himself;’ saying which, he struck Mr. Elliott several times with his clenched fist. Upwards of 300 persons were now collected, who threw volleys of stones and dirt. Mr. Elliott was knocked down nearly a dozen times, kicked and trampled on, and would have been murdered, were it not for Mr. Stephens, who dragged him from under a heap of men who threw themselves on him. Mr. Stephens was bruised with blows of stones and kicks; one stone cut through his hat, and made a severe gash in this gentleman’s head, from which the blood flowed very freely. Their hats and clothes, from head to foot, were covered with mud, so that it would be scarce possible to know them. With great difficulty they made their way towards Lawrence’s-gate, where the bulk of the mob dispersed; but a few of the party pursued those devoted men to their lodgings, with shouts and execrations.

“On Wednesday, this atrocious outrage was inquired into at the Session-house of Termonfeckin. A full bench of magistrates were in attendance. A. French, Esq., took the chair, and was assisted by F. Donagh, R. Montgomery, and G. H. Pentland, Esqrs. A number of persons suspected were brought forward, but only three individuals were identified, who were sent for trial to the Ardee Quarter Sessions; but we are sorry to say that the ringleaders in this priest-inspired riot have, for the present, escaped, as some of them left the town the same evening, dreading the effect of their own brutality. We hope the Rev. Father’s next lecture will be of a more peaceable character. Perhaps he would not like to find himself made amenable for his sacred exhortations.’

“We earnestly call upon our readers to continue instant in prayer on behalf of the agents engaged in this interesting and important branch of the missions, in the confidence that prayer will be heard, and that it will be found that in Drogheda a great door and effectual is opened, although there are indeed many adversaries.”

We have every reason to believe, that since the year 1847,

when these missions commenced in one or two localities, from 20,000 to 30,000 converts have been made; carrying the whole amount of converts made by the two Missionary Societies to about 50,000, besides many others made by the clergy. We think that 50,000 converts from Romanism in Ireland fully counterbalance a few hundred apostasies of which we have heard in England. And as to the ability and learning of some of those apostates, we will only say this,—that we would gladly see the very ablest of them chosen and brought into oral controversy with some of the missionaries of the Irish Church Missions. We have no hesitation in saying, that amongst those missionaries are men who are fully competent, both from intellectual power and from knowledge, to overthrow in argument the ablest men that the Jesuits or Oratorians could produce.

There are several facts relating to this movement to which we wish to call the attention of our readers.

1st. It is exclusively a Church movement; the IRISH SOCIETY is a Church Society; the members of its committee are all members of the Church of England; the superintendents of the readers and teachers are the parochial clergy. When, for instance, a new field of labour opened at Doon, three new curates were sent down from the Irish Societies in Dublin. The IRISH CHURCH MISSIONS are strictly a Church Society. Its missionaries are subject to the parochial clergy. They are appointed to parishes, and are regularly licensed by the bishop. The Bishop of Tuam is at the head of the movement of these Societies in the west, and the Bishop of Cashel in the south.

2ndly. We wish there were some greater power of adapting the machinery of the Church of Ireland to the present wants of the people. The Roman Catholic Church would never have let such an opportunity pass without making tenfold exertion: they are singularly active in employing agents where they find them successful. If Mr. Dallas were a faithful son of the Pope, and Connaught a Protestant district, his "Holiness" would soon have given him at least rank and title, which have great weight with the multitude: he would have styled him Archbishop of Conne-mara, or at least Archdeacon of Clifden. The Bishop of Tuam, as far as one bishop can go, has taken an important step in the right direction, though some may consider it irregular, in ordaining several of the Irish teachers: they are, for the present, only admitted to the order of deacon; but they now come forward as the recognised ministers of the Church. It is a principle with us, that the most effective missionaries will be found amongst the converts. This was St. Paul's system when he established a congregation and "ordained elders in every city." The Church

Missionary Society has seen some most valuable lives sacrificed in the attempt to evangelize the western coast of Africa. We believe this will never be effected to any great extent, except by a native ministry. Some may sneer at the idea of negroes being educated and ordained; but we must remember they have to deal with a congregation of negroes. They sympathize with the manners; they understand the language; above all, they can endure the climate. So, in a less degree, with our half-civilized neighbours in Ireland. Address them through their own language, and let their teachers be taken from among themselves. The University of Dublin has taken up this question by the foundation of a professorship and Irish scholarships.

If England had acted on this principle from the beginning, her Protestantism would have found its way where it could not arrive through the instrumentality of strangers. The Irish readers have been the real missionaries; and the ordained clergy seem to have held the place of the apostles, who made the first inroad, and then superintended their converts in carrying on the work.

3rdly. The reformation is the great subject of interest with the clerical and religious world in Ireland. At the annual meetings of the religious societies held in Dublin in the month of April, three mornings are set apart for clerical meetings; and subjects are announced for consideration beforehand. For the two last years, though other matters have been introduced, yet the great subject of interest has been the Irish missions. To these the clergy constantly recurred; questions were asked of those actively engaged, as to their system, their organization, and their success. During the public meetings many of the clergy met in private, either to consult some person of known experience, or to organize local committees, or devise plans of united action. This proved to us that the great question with our brethren in Ireland is,—how can we best reach the hearts of the Roman Catholics, and promote the great work of a Protestant reformation in Ireland?

4thly. In one diocese which we have visited, where English is the language of the people, the clergy have formed a sort of mission, in which they agreed to go two and two, and lecture by turns at the cottages and school houses, giving notice beforehand of their intention and the subject on which they propose to speak, inviting of course the Roman Catholics in the immediate neighbourhood. This plan is as yet only in its infancy; so that we must wait patiently for the result.

5thly. A sort of irregular warfare has been carried on all through the country at uncertain times and in distant places, by selling Bibles at a very cheap rate. This can only be done suddenly in any one district, and can only last for a short time; the

reasons are that the priests become vigilant; and those who are willing and not afraid to buy, are soon supplied. Many hundreds of Bibles are thus introduced into the country. What becomes of them all we cannot tell, for the numbers sent out seem much greater than those which afterwards appear; but we may hope that many keep and study them in secret. And here we wish to correct a mistake into which the friends of the Bible have fallen: they call their agents by the barbarous term *col-porteur*—a very good word in France, but a very unfortunate one in Ireland. The cry of “coal-porter,” as synonymous with “black-guard,” is immediately fixed on the agent; and the laugh that is raised at his expense neutralizes much of his powers. To illustrate the absurdity of the term, we remember that at some religious meeting an honest man (a country schoolmaster, we believe) stated in his speech that so greatly had religion increased in France, that the very “coal-porters” were engaged in circulating the Bible. Again, a sermon was preached on the subject in a country town: the preacher used the word *col-porteur* over and over again. After service one of the Sunday school teachers was asked by a class of young men, “What is a coal-porter, for H— (the Bible seller then employed) is the only one who knows, and he won’t tell us?” “He has good reason to know,” replied the teacher, “for it is exactly what he is himself.” The young man said afterwards, that the word became the greatest hindrance to him, “as,” said he, “when they raised the coal-porter on me, I could do little good.” Bible agent, Bible distributor, agent to the Bible Society, would express the office. Any of these would be a better and more respectable term, and more in accordance with the purity of her Majesty’s English, than a word borrowed from a foreign tongue.

We have thus shortly reviewed the present state of aggressive Protestantism in Ireland; and we believe that the true friends of the country are finding out at last the best methods of approaching the mass of the population. We trust that the missionary work is only in its infancy, and that every parish may soon be a distinct missionary station. The clergy for many years asked the question of each other, “What are you doing for the Roman Catholics?” and the general answer was, “We are doing nothing, for we do not see our way.” Mr. Gayer, Mr. Nangle, and Mr. Dallas, have each, according to his own peculiar powers, and in his own peculiar sphere of usefulness, shown how a way may be forced or found. The famine broke down one great barrier; and discontent with the spiritual power of the priests has tended to widen the breach. England and England’s Church will not look on with apathy at the struggle: she has a deep interest in the tem-

poral welfare of her neighbour. Ireland is now a drag upon England instead of a benefit ; her ignorance is a disgrace to the Church which engaged to provide for her instruction. But if Ireland were free in the true sense of the word, our position would be very different. The true free man is he whom the truth makes free ; and if England can give this moral freedom to Ireland, she will achieve a most glorious spiritual victory ; she will get rid of her great difficulty ; and find a powerful and useful ally instead of a troublesome dependant.

ART. VII.—*Lufra; or, the Convent of Algarve. A Poem, in 8 Cantos. By the Rev. JAMES BANDINEL, M.A. of Wadham College.* London: Rivingtons. 1851. Small 8vo, pp. 300.

SINCE Dr. Johnson mooted the singular question, whether or no the highest of all themes might be treated in the language of poetry, and decided it in the negative, in the face of all the Hebrew prophets, and of those mighty Ambrosian strains with some of which he could scarcely fail to be familiar, the universal common sense, we will not say of humanity, but at least of the English, or rather British, race, has arrived at the conclusion that Religion and Poetry,—far from being so nearly allied, as some witling has said, as to render the union betwixt them unlawful and impossible,—though they are in themselves distinct and dwell apart, yet do most naturally blend together and form the most glorious of all possible combinations. We think it may be said with truth, that no poetry is equal to the highest religious poetry: the "*Dies Iræ*," for instance, or the "*Veni, Creator*;" or, in another strain, the "*Paradise Lost*" of Milton. The doubt raised by Johnson was one characteristic of that great man's age; for he was a mighty thinker, and a noble though a somewhat oratorical prosaist,—any thing, in fact, but a poet, although he certainly wrote some fine verses. But, in an age when a kind of stilted monotony was the characteristic of all versification, Goldsmith's simple strains excepted,—when a tedious paraphrase of the grand and simple poetry of the Hebrew prophets was the almost invariable resource of would-be "sacred versifiers" (we cannot call them poets),—when a species of conventional amplification, dragging all themes, by its uniformity of treatment, down to one low level of respectable dulness, was paramount in the world of literature (witness the attempts at seriousness, for instance, of a Prior, and a whole host of verse-mongers now forgotten),—when the artificial, in fine, reigned supreme, and Pope, with his laboured monotony of sweetness (despite some few strains in which he burst those fetters), was accounted the highest and the best of models, it was exceedingly natural that men should doubt whether religion could derive any aid or beauty from so-called "poetical adornments." For, as Shakspeare says, it is vain to paint the rose or to adorn the lily; and to improve and to beautify the Word of God were an equally preposterous undertaking. The creative imagination seemed then to have

fallen into a dead slumber : its existence was utterly ignored ; and so were the rights of the human heart, in poetry. But, since then, a nobler school of bards has arisen. Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge first taught the hearts of men to glow once more with sympathetic fervour ; and Scott soon followed, in a more immediately popular, but also a less noble strain. Then Byron, Moore, and Shelley, copying their greater predecessors, (in our judgment,) the Lake Poets, whilst they derided them, used the powers which they had evoked for the worst of ends ; namely, the encouragement of sensual vice, the development of a vile and morbid egotism, and the denial of a God. Yet there was much that was noble and beautiful in the strains of all these poets ; and all of them, without exception, have shown that religious themes are capable of fine poetical treatment ; although we must confess that Mr. Moore's sacred songs are to us, for the most part, peculiarly unpleasant. We make a special exception in favour of the noble "Sound the loud timbrel."

We had passed over Cowper in our list, because this poet, although a sweet one, upon the whole did more, in our opinion, to vulgarize religion than to raise it, associating Zion's songs of praise with the unhappy twang of the tabernacle. The same remark applies, of course, in a still higher degree, to Dr. Watts, Toplady, and Charles Wesley ; though all of these, the latter in particular, have left us some fine devotional strains. Then followed Bishop Heber, usually, (we fear that we must own it,) conventional ; although he too has left some noble compositions behind him. Then the admiration of devotional hearts was kindled by the seraphic Keble, so deep, so pure, so lowly, so eminently spiritual, yet so refined, so delicate in taste, seeming as it were to whisper the sublimest truths, faint, but holy ; like an echo caught from angels' lyres. How immeasurably superior in spirituality and depth of thought to that mildest of dissenters, and sweetest of conventional poets, James Montgomery ! And then came Keble's greatest follower, striking a kindred lyre, yet with a bolder and a freer tone, even Isaac Williams : exhibiting a wider sweep of song, at once more weakness and more strength, more sublimity and less, if it be possible to reconcile such contradictions ;—that is, with less sustained power, more earthliness perhaps, but on that very account with more of human love, with greater boldness of conception and expression, as evidenced in the "Thoughts in Past Years," and then again with greater tameness, and long-drawn continuity, verging upon dulness, at least to all but highly spiritual minds : altogether carolling a richly modulated strain, with but little skill in the delivery of it ; a golden twilight of song, as it were, flecked by multitudinous

clouds, and fading at last, save at the horizon, into a dim and silvery broad expanse of sky. Then we have Trench, at once strong and sweet; an eminently manly and Anglo-Saxon bard; shrinking from all show of sentiment, or excess of any kind, with almost too extreme a sensitiveness, but clear as an untroubled mirror, and yet flowing calmly onward like some pure and noble mountain-stream. Nor must Robert Montgomery be forgotten in this catalogue; bold indeed, perhaps too bold in expression, but sounding a stirring trumpet-peal to move the hearts of men; and really exquisitely gentle in his delineation of childhood, though almost fiercely Protestant; like, as we have said elsewhere, some bright summer's day upon the Baltic sea, when the winds rush swiftly across the crisping billows, and the waves swell and toss and flash back the sunbeams merrily, and the sun shines down gaily if somewhat coldly, and all nature seems to breathe a fresh free northern life.

We refer our readers more especially to Montgomery's latest collection of poems, "*The Christian Life*," in illustration of our meaning; though even the sorely-calumniated "*Satan*," and still more, perhaps, the bold and energetic poem of "*Luther*," would bear us out in these our words of praise. But no one of these poets has made it his especial task (we speak now of our contemporary religious bards) to unite the poetry of this world with that of heaven; to show that not religion only is sacred, but also the use of those blessings which God has here conferred upon us; or, rather, that religion ought to be carried into all the joys and woes of life. Southey, indeed, and Wordsworth, in his measure, may be said to have illustrated this great truth; and so has Tennyson incidentally, in many of his more exquisite strains; yet was it reserved for another poet (and the work of that other now lies before us) to vindicate and glorify the sweetest of human passions from the highest religious point of view; it was reserved for *Bandinel*, who has thereby secured a permanent place among our bards, boldly to unite doctrinal teaching on the most weighty of themes, with a strain of purely human tenderness, which even Moore and Byron have scarcely transcended in fervour, to proclaim the sanctity of love, and free our Christian faith and practice, in the world of poetry, from the fetters of a false asceticism. This is the glory of the poet of whom we now treat; this is his especial praise: nobly has he deserved the laurel; and gladly, and not rashly, but after due and calm reflection, do we place it on his brow.

Mr. Bandinel must be classed, we presume, with our religious poets, his Christian earnestness being perhaps his most striking characteristic; his bold originality, in combining didactic teach-

ing on the highest themes with strains which possess a stately march of song, is what is most likely to impress the reader with a sense of power ; the highest and purest Catholicism, opposed alike to Rome's corruptions and to Puritan impieties, is couched in the loftiest verse ; the history of the whole Church Catholic, as written in the seventh canto of the book before us, amazes us by its combination of powerful and direct instruction, of distinct and original thought, with strains, which flow calmly and majestically onward, as though they were free from the slightest shadow of controversy.

It has been Mr. Bandinel's task, as we have said, to vindicate the holiness of Love ; and this task he has discharged most nobly. We can conceive the wrath of a certain small, but noisy, faction at his free and unhesitating challenge to all their most unworthy prejudices ; at this gallant vindication of sound Anglicanism ; this open affront to the unhallowed celibacy of Rome. Mr. Bandinel thinks, with us, that the conventual vow, as it exists in lands where Rome holds sway, is utterly unsanctioned by our God ; therefore, he affirms, that such vows cannot be lawful, cannot be binding. His hero and representative of English churchmanship, the youthful Earl De Vere, frees a lovely daughter of Portugal from this unhallowed slavery, and bears her to his English home, converting her, not by the force of love, but by that of truly unanswerable argument, to his own purer creed. This, in brief, is the subject of the poem of "*Lufra* ;" but it may be said to be, at the same time, a species of general exposition, a very Pronunciamento (we know no fitting English word) of Anglicanism ; and this, combined with a tale of true love, likely to make young hearts beat with kindling sympathies. The poetry is mellifluously sweet, and at once eminently natural and highly artistical ; far more *finished* than the strains of most other living bards, and yet erring occasionally on the side of simplicity. We shall not find here the peculiar and shadowy loveliness of a Tennyson's strains, nor the bold dramatic ardours of a Browning, nor the half mystical yet beautiful spirituality of a Keble, nor, perhaps, the vivid and gorgeous fancy of a Williams, nor the peculiar power of that Chartist poet, Ernest Jones, of whom we spoke so recently. There is an approximation in the style to that of Scott, and Moore, and Byron ; but then the thought is so distinct from theirs, that the originality of Mr. Bandinel's verse may boldly be vindicated. Here and there we come on lines, the cadence of which seems familiar, or on images which are even manifest reminiscences, such as " the arrow from the Tartar's bow," which is scarcely happily applied in p. 107 ; but, upon the whole, we think that the style which Mr.

Bandinel has selected is more likely to be lasting than that of the fashionable Tennysonian mannerism of the day; and it is employed with great finish and purity of taste in the work before us. The poem, too, forms a decided whole, and has an indisputable unity of effect. The tale mounts gradually to a climax; and the poetical interest is, we think, sustained to the end.

But our readers will ask, and with justice, for some samples of the poem we are so highly praising. Turn we, then, to the pages before us. The first canto, entitled, "*De Rohan*," is introductory, a kind of mild, prelusive strain, yet not without its own real interest; it is the picture of an unhappy youth, clouded over by manifold storms, but cheered and illuminated at the last. We feel tempted to extract the clear and noble portraiture of the youthful *De Vere*, otherwise styled *De Rohan*, but pass to the introduction of his mother on the scene:—

"It never had been his to prove
The blessing of a brother's love,
Nor know the gentle fond caress
Of a sweet sister's tenderness.
With nought to ruffle or divide,
His feelings flow'd in one full tide
Towards his Mother,—all his care,
His hope, his being centred there:—
His comrade in his childish play,
His guide on wisdom's narrow way,
His nurse when cheek or eye were dim—
Oh! she was all in all to him!

"His Mother!—oh! what hand can draw
The gentle pride with which she saw
Each rising power, each opening grace,
That well became his noble race;
The genius, and the spirit high
That glanced like lightning from his eye,
And, more than all, the warm true breast
Whose fullest fondness she possess'd.
She loved him for his father's sake;
She loved him as her own dear son;
Nor chance nor change the love can shake
A mother bears her only one."—pp. 9, 10.

This is indeed simple, but it is also very natural and truthful. So is the widowed mother's warning to her boy, which may be said to sound the key-note of the poem:—

"If Heaven above
Possess a counterpart below,
'Tis in the happiness they know

Whose loving hearts and willing hands
Alike are bound by wedlock's bands.
But wouldst thou, Walter, seek to win
This highest bliss which earth can give,
Aye must thou shun the lures of sin,
And faithful to thy Saviour live,
Who purchased with His Blood Divine
Thy body for His chosen shrine."—pp. 10, 11.

Much that follows here is both interesting and poetical ; and a grave truth is proclaimed, where our author says, affirming the free agency of man,—

"Our thoughts, our words, our actions are our own,
Events belong to God—belong to Him alone."—p. 15.

The description of Walter's youthful sorrows is powerful, without being overwrought ; the narrative of his recovery of his rights is spirited. At the close of the first canto, we leave him sailing across the dark blue waters in his corvette, the "Lufra," near the rock-bound shore of Portugal. In the second canto, called "the Virgin Sacrifice," we land in that country, and witness the immolation at the imagined shrine of Mary, but as Mr. Bandinel boldly affirms, of the ancient Astarte,—the immolation, we say, of a virgin daughter of the South, which is witnessed also by De Vere with mingled feelings of pity and of rage. The beauty of the youthful votaress is eloquently portrayed, as where our poet calls her,

"Sweet as the violet grown in wood-nymph's bower,"

and speaks of

"Her soft, rich ringlets round her countenance flowing,
By turns its sweet expression hiding, showing,—
The damask rose so oft her young cheek tinging,
The lashes, cruel in their beauty, fringing
The radiant lustre of her dark-brown eye ;"—p. 51.

but here we shall pause, space forbidding our extracting a passage of this order, though it be really sweet and very beautiful, while others of more moment remain behind. Walter, however, is moved alike by pity and indignation to the love of this sweet votaress, and he resolves by the aid of Heaven, if he so may, to win her for his bride. First, he confesses his glowing and fervent passion to his God, and prays Him to repress it, if it be contrary to His will ; yet that doubt can scarcely find an entrance in Walter's breast, so deeply does he abhor the convent's cruel vows ; he believes that God and all good spirits will be with him in his bold endeavour. We will not dwell on that very im-

portant note to this canto in which Mr. Bandinel has recorded his firm conviction that Romanists unconsciously worship evil powers; that their prayers descend oftentimes to spirits of darkness, and are heard by them, more especially when the ascetic vows are breathed of, a forced and irrevocable and, therefore, unhallowed and forbidden rite. We wish now to treat of the poet, rather than of the controversialist. So pass we to Canto III., "The Convent," which is fraught with passionate ardour, and, we may add, poetic beauty. Who can question the simple and unadorned loveliness of the following passage, which is but a sample of many kindred strains?

"At length she comes.—Again, again,
He sees that cheek;—how changed by pain
Its damask hue;—how sad that eye
That once beam'd forth all brilliancy.
That hand hath grown so thin with grief,
'Tis like the fallen sistus leaf;
And those soft lips convulse and quiver
Like sunset on a rushing river:
Her frail form trembles like the shade
Of lily by the zephyr sway'd,
And that sweet voice (whose deep rich tone
Alone had made his heart her own,)
Now all melodious—now all mute,
Sounds like the breeze through broken lute,
That wakes the silent chords to tell
' Within these halls none living dwell.'—pp. 91, 92.

All of this is very sweet and plaintive; and other passages which follow close on this have much poetic beauty, beauty of thought as well as mere expression. Take for instance,

"She little dreamt what mighty spell
Around her heart was cast;
What mandate irresistible
The lips of Fate had past.
She felt the light her soul illumine,
But knew not whence its power;
Like those who catch some rich perfume
From sweet, but unseen, flower.
Soon shall that fragrant flower appear
Before thy startled eyes;
Soon shalt thou see with thrilling fear
That brilliant sun arise."—p. 95.

De Vere, in fine, scales the cliff and wall which guard the convent's garden, and sues for the lady's love. But he is rejected.

In vain he urges on her the sin of her unnatural vows, and presses on her acceptance a copy of the sacred Scriptures. This last indeed she takes, but then they part, as she presumes, for ever. Walter's despair at this overthrow of his passionate hopes is very powerfully portrayed, and the prayer with which this canto concludes, in which he entrusts his cause to Heaven, is fraught with the most natural and truthful feeling. The fourth canto, which is called "The Pirate," is episodical, treating of an ocean adventure which befalls De Vere on his departure from the coast of Portugal, in the course of which adventure he saves an unhappy trader from a fierce pirate and his crew. In a poetical point of view, this is perhaps one of the most animated and vigorous parts of the work. It opens with an enthusiastic address to "mighty ocean," which has no little power and energetic sweep of song; but perhaps the most interesting passage in this episodical canto is that which narrates the effect of the prayers of a certain poor widowed mother in England, whose son is sailing afar, in the trader chased by the pirate. We pass, however, without citations from this canto, to the fifth, entitled "Angelina," which will be probably the most generally admired. It opens with a spirited and energetic vindication of Lusitania's glories, a portion of which we will extract, though we would willingly transcribe the whole:—

"Still breathes in many a soul De Gama's fire,
And only sleeps Camões's mighty lyre;
Still breathes that fire, Valdez, within thy breast,
Of all thy country's sons the bravest and the best;
Whose only faults, if faults they be, in sooth,
Are too much gentleness, and too much truth:
Still breathed that fire,—alas! it breathes no more,
In thee, Braganza, true Restorador,
Whose wisdom hallow'd at thy people's shrine
The ancient sceptre of thy haughty line;—
Let not the Muse great Pedro's failings scan,
But laud the hero, though she blame the man;
And mourning Freedom pour the well-earn'd tear
In silence on a patriot sovereign's bier.—
Hail Lusitania!—Oh, that I could shed
Each gladdest gift of Heaven upon thy head,
And pay thee back, in full, o'erflowing measure,
The happy hours that thou hast given to me,
Affection's smile, and friendship's priceless treasure,
And that thrice blessed bounty 'that I see.'" pp. 160, 161.

Our poet's gratitude has been enkindled, we presume, by his restoration to the enjoyment of sight under the influence of that

genial southern clime. Walter returns once more to plead his cause. Angelina's meek despondency is first very sweetly portrayed. A fine passage follows, in which the rock-bound shore of Portugal is said to lift

" Its head of sable gray,
'Midst circling wave and foaming spray,
Like holy saint, or dauntless sage,
Who scorns and holds at bay the spirit of the age."

The doubts that have assailed Angelina of the Roman Church's truth are vividly and forcibly depicted, and then follows a very beautiful passage on the religious use of those faculties with which Providence has entrusted us, as far preferable to their total disregard. In a fine simile the poet shows, that as

" The heaven-born light gives birth
To all the various hues of earth,
Whose glories, mellow'd, all combine
To form the rainbow's mercy-sign,
Till, merged once more, they meet the sight
In one full blaze of hueless light,—
Thus doth each primal impulse given
To earth—derive its birth from heaven ;—
Thus must they all, condensed, unite,
To weave the robe of saintly white."

True saintliness on earth, according to our poet, results from the combination of all earthly affections, leavened and purified with the abiding love of God, and is not to be attained by disdaining human ties. Thus he says again, and here every word has weight and meaning :—

" Thus doth each virtue seize our sight,
A varied form of heavenly light,
Distinct in hue—yet still the same
In essence as the Eternal Flame,—
The Flame of Love—which springing still
From the UNCREATED's changeless will—
Fills the true Christian's soul, and then
Soars in full glory *home again* ;
And, thence reflected, beams once more
O'er the wide universe from shore to shore.
Thus must each virtue's *several ray*
In its full blaze of glory fade away,
Like morning's tints before the perfect day ;
Existing, undistinguish'd, in that dress,
The wedding-robe of snow-white holiness.
Whiter the robe shall grow as death draws near,
Fainter each earthly hue as those of heaven appear ;

But not on earth that glory can be known
Which proves the unclouded Presence of the Throne.
Seek we that glory? Let us find *the rays*
Which, *track'd*, will lead us to their *Fountain-blaze*."

—pp. 169, 170.

This we consider to be a really splendid passage, and one which will live with our country's literature. But we must not linger over the final triumphant wooing of De Vere, but refer our readers for these pure and yet passionate pages to the work before us. The fifth canto, "the Flight," which shows us the pursuit of the lovers by a monk and his myrmidons, and their final safe arrival on board the *Lufra*, opens with an animated passage on the purity of true love, which, according to our poet, only blesses those who have striven:—

"Despite of youth's impatient mood,
And lawless wish, and boiling blood,
And all that tempteth man tow'rds ill;—
To work their Maker's holy will,
And offer Him that sacrifice
Most grateful in their Father's eyes,
The *living sacrifice*,—the thought
To Christ's subjection meekly brought,—
The willing heart,—the purpose sure—
And God's own chosen temple pure."—pp. 190, 191.

And again, our author says most feelingly:—

"How beautiful a thing is youth
Which walketh in the way of truth,
And, all unsullied, bears the ring
Bestow'd by Heaven's Almighty King!"—p. 192.

The flight is graphically brought before us; Walter's thanksgivings are full of life and fire; and the song of the approving spirits of his ancestry, which closes this canto, is fraught with a solemn beauty. The seventh canto, entitled, "The English Church," is of all the most momentous, and we would gladly dwell on it at greater length than we can do at present. It contains the narrative of the fortunes of the visible Church of Christ from the beginning, furnished by Earl De Vere to his sweet betrothed, whilst they are gliding on the *Lufra*'s deck across the bright blue ocean to their future English home. We must content ourselves with extracts:—

"There was a time, a glorious time,
When far and near, through every clime,
Where'er the Name of Christ was known,
The Faith, the Hope, the Love was one;

When, like the Saviour's seamless vest,
 Unsever'd were the East and West,
 When none usurp'd and none defied
 The rod or sceptre of the Bride.
 Her princely sons and daughters fair
 All knelt within their Mother's shrine,
 Convinced that there, and only there,
 The altar burnt with fire divine.

" Yet even, at first, her pale within
 Lurk'd the fell *seeds* of deadly sin ;
 Seeds, that from Eden's blighted bowers
 Were scatter'd o'er the accursed earth,—
 Which often, in the balmiest hours,
 Arise amid the choicest flowers,
 And warn the clay-born of his birth.
 And soon, alas ! Her children sought
 For other wisdom than H^E taught
 Whose words are Life and Truth. Their pride
 With *duty* all unsatisfied,
 Sought out for *merit*.—Vain pursuit,
 Which aye must end in crime and woe,
 For Sin the seed, and Sin the root,
 And Sin the branch, and Sin the fruit—
 As History's pages show.

" And soon through inmost heart and soul
 The gnostic poison subtly stole,
 Whilst saints and angels pitying sigh'd
 O'er the lost glories of the Bride.

" Yet whatsoe'er the clouds which shed
 Their gloom around her hallow'd head,
 Three hundred years of fire and sword
 Beheld her faithful to her Lord." . . .

* * * *

" Then far severer trials came
 Than tyrant's sword or bigot's flame,
 When, robed with pomp and girt with power,
 She sat within an earthly bower,
 And, sever'd long, at length again
 Mingled the sons of God with men.
 Then came the hour of real woe,
 The faithless friend—the secret foe ;
 Whilst Satan proved his fellest might,
Arm'd in the panoply of light."—pp. 223—226.

Then the poet, or rather Earl De Vere, traces the influx of

Paganism, the union betwixt barbaric violence and superstition, the gradual darkening of the Church's faith. Yet, says he,

" Yet, even in Europe's darkest day,
Wanted not saints to praise and pray."—p. 228.

And then is traced the gradual development of Roman errors :

" A snake-like race, that long had lain
About the precincts of the Fane,
But now uprear'd their forms malign
Boldly within the very shrine."—p. 229.

Justly is the fall of Rome from her primal glory contrasted with that of " Lucifer, Son of the Morning," and then her existing claims are accurately traced.

" The Right to rule, the Power to lead,
Have pass'd away—yet may she feed
Her children with the Bread of Heaven,
Though tainted with her earthly leaven.
For Jesu's Presence must abide
In every chamber of the Bride,
Whate'er pollutions may disgrace
The Saviour's charter'd dwelling-place !
Nor will He leave her sinful walls,
However dim His light may shine,
Till Baptism's holy fount be dry,
Or lost the Word that cannot lie ;
Till inmost shrine or altar falls,
Or *cast away* be Truth Divine—
Not dimm'd or soil'd,—but cast away
By formal deed in open day."—pp. 232, 233.

The poet goes on to affirm, that even as the baptized Christian, however evil in his ways, must aye retain the mark of God, the seed of grace, so Rome also has not wholly forfeited her birth-right, her children being yet capable of salvation by that portion of the faith which she retains, despite the deadly errors she has added to it. Some very vigorous passages follow on the heroes of the Reformation, their virtues and their excesses ; and the fearful losses of foreign Protestantism having been deplored, England's happier fate is celebrated. And then follows this earnest-hearted outbreak, well fitted for our Church's battle-song :—

" The Ancient Faith, the Written Word !
This was our rallying cry :—
Let none be worshipp'd, none adored,
But Him, who rules on high !

The Faith is soil'd—the Church hath err'd,
 Seek for the good old way,
The Ancient Faith, the Written Word,
 These only we obey.—
 Rebuked be Rome's unhallow'd pride,
 Renounced her upstart sway;
 Unfurl the banner of the Bride,
 And seek the good old way!—
 What though her daughters have denied,
 Her sons cast off her sway,
 She is our Lord's, our Saviour's Bride;
Her mandates we obey.—
 What though her Roman sister's pride
 Assume her mystic name?
 What though *her* Pontiff deified,
 Divine dominion claim?
 Rebuked be Rome's unhallow'd pride,
 Renounced her upstart sway;
 Unfurl the banner of the Bride,
 And seek the good old way!"—pp. 241, 242.

The eulogy on the Church of England, pronounced by the poet, in the person of Earl de Vere, is, in our judgment, both eloquent and temperate. We, like Mr. Bandinel, while we rejoice in our Church's excellencies, desire to see her yet more worthy of her exalted call, more self-consistent with herself, less timorous, less bent on the praise of moderation, which may unhappily so easily degenerate into lukewarmness, more boldly Catholic in her practice, and, at the same time, if possible, more distinctively anti-Roman; and all this, we hope, by God's grace, ere long, to witness. The eighth and last canto, entitled "Home," forms an apt sequel to this energetic and enthusiastic poem, mainly concerning itself with the fortunes of our native land, the consolidation of her glorious constitution, and the redress of existing social wrongs. It also narrates the marriage of Earl De Vere with his fair bride, and their happy influence on all their neighbours and retainers. Warmly says the poet, addressing England:—

"Still may thy State its matchless form retain,
 Which they who strive to mend must strive in vain;
 Nor the rash Many, nor the selfish Few,
 The work of ages in an hour undo!"—p. 210.

Yet is he keenly alive to the real needs of the working classes. But we will not pause for any further extracts. What we have cited must be more than sufficient to justify our praises, and, as we believe also, to excite our reader's interest and curiosity. To

all friends of honest Anglicanism, we commend, not only the perusal, but also the possession of this most beautiful poem. It illustrates most poetically and most powerfully the genuine development of sound Anglo-catholicism.

Tractarianism may be said to have failed. For many years at least, if not from the first, it erred by a false tenderness towards Rome, and Rome's corruptions; too unhappily the characteristic of even a Keble's strains; though not, as we are delighted to bear witness, of those of an Isaac Williams,—who deserves, we will not say the praise of man, but who has earned our genuine love, by manfully resisting those surrounding influences which would have urged him to silence for peace and concord's sake, and by resolutely, though mournfully acknowledging that "mystery of mysteries" accomplished in Christian Rome, at once a Church, displaying so many of the most luxuriant fruits of love and faith, and yet the awful Babylon of the Apocalypse. The Tract-party have refused to look this sad truth in the face: even yet that lingering remnant of them, who write in "the Ecclesiastic," feebly contest this melancholy truth, repeating the thousand-fold refuted argument that since some of Rome's children, a Fenelon and a Pascal for instance, are confessed saints, she cannot be the mystical Babylon. As Dr. Wordsworth has told these misguided men in his lectures, this combination of light with darkness, of saintliness with idolatry, which we behold in Rome, is the very mystery we were taught to look for; without it there was no mystery; without it Babylon could not even partially deceive, as she now does deceive, some of the elect. What mean the words, spoken with such peculiar force at some one peculiar crisis in her history: "Come out of her, O my People," unless God's people be at some time within her? Let all be assured, that no man can be a genuine Anglican, who does not avow and openly maintain his unhesitating abhorrence of the corruption, falsehood, and idolatry of Rome. In this point of view Mr. Bandinel's poem appears to us most important. May it perform its work successfully, and speedily find its way to a second and a third edition! The vessel "*Lufra*" goes forth, buoyed with our best wishes for its arrival in the harbour of enduring fame.

ART. VIII.—1. *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine, pendant les Années 1844, 1845, et 1846. Par M. Huc, Prêtre-Missionnaire de la Congrégation de Saint-Lazare.* Paris: Librairie d'Adrien le Clere et Co. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 426. 516.

2. *Tibet, Tartary, and Mongolia; their Social and Political Condition, and the Religion of Boodh, as there existing. Compiled from the reports of ancient and modern travellers, especially from M. Huc's Reminiscences of the recent journey of himself and M. Gabet, Lazariste Missionaries of Mongolia.* By HENRY T. PRINSEP, Esq. London: Allen and Co. 12mo, pp. 168.

AMONGST the many services which Christianity has rendered to the cause of civilization and knowledge, the contributions which its missionaries have made to geographical science are not amongst the least important and valuable. The love of gain has opened out many a region which had been otherwise unknown; but the zeal of Christian missionaries has often carried them where no objects of a temporal character exist to tempt the wandering merchant; or where all access is prohibited to him. Our geographical knowledge of China, of Africa, and of various parts of America, has thus been considerably augmented within a few years; and the labours of Messrs. Huc and Gabet, two Roman Catholic missionaries of the congregation of St. Lazarus, the account of whose journey now lies before us, have extended very considerably the existing amount of knowledge of those remote regions of inner Asia, which, through the jealous policy of the Chinese, have hitherto been sealed against European enterprise. M. Huc thus details the origin and object of the journey undertaken by him and his companion, M. Gabet:—

“The French mission at Peking, formerly so flourishing under the Manchouria-Tartary dynasty, had been despoiled and almost ruined by the numerous persecutions of *Kia-King* (the fifth emperor of that dynasty: his reign commenced in 1799). The missionaries had been driven from the kingdom or put to death; whilst Europe had been too much agitated to assist these distant Christian settlements. For a long time they were almost abandoned, and when the Lazarists did re-appear in Peking, they found nothing but ruins. A great number of Christians, to escape from the persecutions of the Chinese authorities, had passed beyond the Great Wall, and sought a little peace and liberty in the deserts of Tartary, living in any corner of ground which the Mongolians permitted them to cultivate. By great perseverance, the missionaries

assembled these dispersed Christians together, fixed themselves among them, and from thence directed the ancient mission at Peking, which was more immediately under the care of some Chinese Lazarists. The French missionaries could not, without imprudence, establish themselves as formerly in the bosom of the capital of the empire, as their presence would have compromised the safety of the newly reviving mission. In visiting the Chinese Christians of Mongolia, we had had occasion, more than once, to make excursions among the uncultivated districts of Tartary, and to rest under the Mongolian tents. Our interest was excited in these nomadic people as soon as we knew them; and we felt the heartiest desire to announce the Gospel to them. We, therefore, consecrated all our efforts to the study of the Tartar languages. In the course of the year 1842, the Holy See fulfilled our wishes by establishing a Vicar-Apostolic in Mongolia. Towards the beginning of 1844, messengers arrived from *Si-Wang* (a small Chinese Christian settlement, to the north of the Great Wall), where the Vicar-Apostolic had placed his episcopal residence. The Prelate sent us instructions for the great journey we were about to undertake, for studying the manners and character of the Tartars, and to fix, if possible, the extent or limits of the Vicariat."—Vol. i. pp. 1—3.

The little cavalcade, consisting of the two missionaries, three camels, a horse, and a mule, with their camel-driver, a Thibetian convert, set out from the valley of He-Chuy, near the kingdom of Naiman, a district of Mandchouria. For safety and convenience, they adopted the dress of Thibetian Lamas, it being considered ridiculous among the Tartars for a layman to speak on religious subjects; nor did our missionaries wish to adopt a secular dress. From the shaved head worn by the Lamas, Tartar laymen are called "*black men*." The missionaries, therefore, cut off the long, black tail of their Chinese habits, and mounted a large yellow robe, fastened at the side with five gold buttons, and confined by a long red girdle: over this came a red waistcoat, with a violet velvet collar: a yellow cap, surmounted with a red knob, completed their costume. They adopted Lama customs, abstaining from wine and smoking (no slight privations in Tartarian deserts), and endured for eighteen months a nomadic life with the severest hardships,—beginning each day with the first light, and after a long and usually most fatiguing journey, pitching their tent with difficulty late at night, then searching for *argols* (dry dung of animals, the only fuel in those deserts) wherewith to light their fire, their supper and breakfast consisting alike of a handful of oatmeal moistened in tea, made of the coarse leaf used by the Tartar peasant, compressed into a large heavy brick. These *tea-bricks* appear to form the chief subjects of commerce between the Chinese and the Russians: nor is any other kind of drink used by the Tartars and Mongolians, except a very coarse wine, made of fermented and then roughly distilled butter-milk. In

Lha-Ssa, and among the richer Thibetians, butter was added to the tea-decoction, to the great satisfaction of our poor missionaries. At rare intervals, a stray bird, or fish, fell into their hands, or at the Lama monasteries they were regaled with mutton; but such feasts were rare, and thin oatmeal-tea constituted all their nourishment and refreshment.

In setting out, the simple Christians of the little settlement assisted them affectionately; but in another day, the three men found themselves "alone and without a guide in the midst of a new world, travelling across an unfriendly country," without a hope of meeting aught but foes, and with daily and hourly hardships of the severest kind against which to struggle. Yet neither their resolution nor their cheerfulness seem ever to have forsaken them, even when death itself seemed inevitable to M. Gabet, whose strength sank under the severity of the trial more than once.

The beginning of their journey was chiefly endangered by robbers, for which the country of *Gechekten* is so infamous, that "a *Gechektan*" seems but another name for a man without faith or law; the inhabitants seem driven to robbery to gain sustenance, the Chinese having desolated the country by their continual ravages to obtain the produce of the gold and silver mines with which it abounds, and for which the simple Mongolians are most cruelly oppressed. On leaving this country they came to the large town of *Tolon-noor*, or *Tchao-naiman*, where there are brass and iron foundries, in which very large statues are cast. Our missionaries had "a Christ" very well executed in bronze from a French model. They here visited several small Lama monasteries, and made inquiries about Buddhist doctrines; but they only received vague and indistinct replies:—

"When we demanded any thing more positive and clear, they always seemed extremely embarrassed, and shifted the answer from one to the other. The students said their masters knew every thing; the masters invoked the unfailing wisdom of the great Lamas; the great Lamas regarded themselves as ignorant beside the holy men of certain famous monasteries. But disciples and teachers, great and small Lamas, all agreed that their doctrines came from the west: 'The further you advance towards the west,' said they, 'the more clearly and luminously will our doctrines be manifested.' When we had explained the truths of Christianity to them, they disputed nothing, but contented themselves with calmly replying, 'We have not got those prayers: the Lamas of the west will explain every thing; we believe all the traditions which come from the west.' There is no monastery in Tartary of any importance of which the Superior does not come from Thibet. Any Lama who has travelled to Lha-Ssa is sure of obtaining the confidence of all the Tartars on his return. He is regarded as a superior being, as one before whose eyes all the mysteries of past and future life

have been unveiled in the bosom of the 'eternal sanctuary' (the meaning of *Monhe-Dhot*, the Mougolian name), or the 'land of souls' (the Thibetian meaning) of Lha-Ssa."—Vol. i. pp. 42, 43.

A few words more about these Lamas may be interesting to our readers before we go on further.

The enormous proportion of Lamas to the rest of the Tartar population, at least *one-third*, we are told, seems surprising, until we learn that, with the exception of the eldest, *all* the other male children are Lamas; not by inclination, but by compulsion: it is the rule, and their heads are shaved or not from their birth. The Chinese government encourage Lamanism by especial honours and favours; whilst their own bonzes, or Chinese priests, are left in misery and abjection:—

"It is said, their secret intention is to decrease the population of Tartary by so doing. The remembrance of the ancient power of the Mongols is incessantly before them, and, in dread of another invasion, they apply themselves to weaken them in every manner possible. Nevertheless, though Mongolia is but thinly peopled for its vast extent, it could supply a formidable army at command. A Great Lama, the Guison-Tamba for example, has but to give the signal, and every Mongol, from the frontiers of Siberia to the extremities of Thibet, would rise as one man, and precipitate themselves as a torrent wherever the voice of their holy ruler commanded them."—Vol. i. p. 193.

Celibacy being strictly imposed upon the Lamas, polygamy may be considered almost necessary among the few secular Tartars remaining:—

"It is," says our missionary, "a barrier opposed to licentiousness and the corruption of manners. . . . If the women could not be disposed of as secondary wives, it is easy to imagine the disorder which would arise from the multiplicity of young females without support, and abandoned to themselves."—Vol. i. p. 300.

The first wife is always mistress of the house, and the most respected in the family.

The Lamas, who flow into the monasteries, from the wild Tartar countries, rarely fix themselves definitively. After having taken their degrees, as it were, in the great universities, they return to their home districts; preferring to lead a freer life, more in conformity with their independent characters, in the small establishments, which are so numerous throughout the uncultivated lands of Tartary. Sometimes they reside in their own families, occupied, like other Tartars, in the charge of the flocks; they like better to live quietly in their tents, than to subject themselves to the convent rules and daily recitation of prayers. These Lamas have no particular religion, beyond their yellow or red clothes: they are called "*Secular Lamas*." The

second class are those who are neither fixed in families, nor in monasteries; they are called "Wandering Lamas. They travel for travelling sake, with the antipathy of repose, natural in a nomadic race; they go from monastery to monastery, stopping at all the tents they encounter, assured of the unfailing hospitality of the Tartars. Without plan or object they travel on, taking by chance any path that presents itself, visiting all accessible countries throughout Mongolia, Thibet, and even India and Toorkistan. The third class of Lamas are those who live in community; their lives are chiefly devoted to prayer and study, though they are permitted to keep some cattle, cows to afford their principal food of milk and butter, horses to make excursions in the desert, and sheep on which to regale on feast days.

In general, every Lama monastery has a royal or imperial foundation: at certain epochs of the year the revenues are distributed to the Lamas, according to their rank in the community. Those who have the reputation of being learned in medicine, or clever fortune-tellers, might make good fortunes; but they seldom become rich: their childish and improvident characters make them dispense their money as easily as they acquire it¹.

In the strict monasteries, such as Koun-boom, the Lamas are supposed to be students throughout their lives; for the knowledge of religion is considered inexhaustible. They are divided into four classes: first, the faculty of *mysticism*, which embraces the rules of the contemplative life, and the examples of Booddhist saints; secondly, the faculty of the *liturgy*, comprehending the study of religious ceremonies, with the explanation of all things necessary to the Lama worship; thirdly, the faculty of *medicina*, with the object of studying the four hundred and forty maladies (into which all diseases are classed) of the human body, and medical botany; and, fourthly, the faculty of *prayer*, the most esteemed and most remunerative faculty, and, consequently, a very numerous one.

The discipline maintained in some of the monasteries is vigilant and severe. In the courts and choirs, during prayers, Lama censors are seen, standing, leaning on a bar of iron, and maintaining order and silence among the brethren. The slightest infraction of the rule is instantly reprimanded verbally, and, if necessary, by blows from the iron bar, applied alike to old and young. They are forbidden the use of garlic, eau-de-vie, and tobacco². As soon as a man has shaved his head, and assumed a religious dress, he renounces his old name, and takes a new

¹ Vol. i. pp. 189—192.

² Vol. ii. pp. 116—119.

one. If you ask a Lama of what country he is, he answers, "I have no country; but I come from such a monastery." Their proverb is, "*The yellow she-goat has no country, nor the Lama any family*."

Among the true Mongols, the funeral ceremony consists in taking the dead body to the summit of a mountain, or into the bottom of a ravine. They are then abandoned to the voracity of wild beasts, or birds of prey, and are frequently encountered by travellers in the desert, the subject of disputes between eagles and wolves. The Mongols, living near the Great Wall, are insensibly adopting the Chinese custom of a coffin and tomb, on which occasions Lamas usually attend with solemnity. The richer Tartars sometimes burn their dead with some pomp. A sort of pyramidal furnace is built of earth, the corpse is placed standing upright, surrounded with combustibles, and the building is continued till the body is entirely covered, leaving only a hole for the smoke. During the burning, the Lamas recite prayers. When the body is burned, the building is demolished, and the ashes are carried to the Grand Lama; he reduces them to a fine powder, and, adding some wheaten flour, kneads them with his own hands into cakes, which are placed in a pyramidal figure. They are then transported with much pomp to a turret, built previously in some spot assigned by the Great Lama. The ashes of the Lamas are always buried in this manner.

A little further on the missionaries met a caravan, conducting a four-wheeled carriage, in which the queen of the Khalka country was making a pilgrimage to a famous monastery in the province of Chan-Si, accompanied by two mandarins of the blue button. These pilgrimages seem very common, in spite of the dangers, fatigues, or privations attendant upon them.

The tent of the Mongolian peasant is divided into two parts; the left for the men, the right for women. Its furniture consists of a large earthen jar for holding water, some wooden milk pans, and a huge iron kettle on an iron tripod. Besides this, there is invariably a dirty, ragged sort of sofa, with two bolsters terminated with plates of gilt copper, cleverly engraved; this sofa is transmitted from one generation to another. Close to this is a small square press, the family altar, on which a little image of Bouddha, in wood or gilt copper, is placed: its legs are crossed, and the body is entirely swathed in a scarf of old yellow silk. Little copper cups are ranged round the idol, in which the daily offerings of water, milk, butter, and meal are put. Some Thi-

² Vol. ii. p. 357.

betian books of prayer in yellow silk complete the little altar. Those only who wear the shaven head, and observe celibacy, enjoy the privilege of touching these prayer-books. A "black man" would commit a sacrilege if he laid his profane and impure hands upon them.

Everything else in the tent seems to be strongly impregnated with grease, and rancid butter, rendering them almost insupportable to strangers. "À cause de cette saleté habituelle, ils ont été nommés Tsao-Ta-Dze (Tartares puants), par les Chinois, qui eux-mêmes ne sont pas inodores, ni très-scrupuleux en fait de propreté."

The doctrine of the transmigration of souls has an unpleasant consequence among Thibetian Lamas, as it is impossible for them to rid themselves of the companions which naturally feast upon the accumulation of dirt. After visiting these tents, as well as the monasteries, and remaining in unchanged dresses for a month and a half, our unfortunate missionaries were in a state which they describe as infinitely greater misery than hunger and thirst, or any of the other hardships of their journey. They cleaned themselves by applying a mercurial paste to their necks, after which they could enter even a Mongolian tent without becoming a world of these disgusting vermin.

The cares of the household belong to the women entirely: excepting the exercise of hunting the Tartars enjoy an idle life, the conducting cattle and sheep to good pastures being their only occupation. Yet they are vigorous, capable of enduring almost any amount of fatigue or cold without appearing inconvenienced.

Accustomed to ride from their earliest years on horses or camels, they appear awkward and bewildered on foot. If overtaken by night, they do not even take the trouble of descending from their animals during their sleep. A caravan at halt must be a singular sight at midnight, the camels browsing at large, and their riders enjoying as sound a sleep astride between their humps as if they were stretched on their beds. Of course they excel in all manner of hunting and equestrian feats, in the use of the bow and arrow, throwing the noose, and even fire-arms, with which they are well supplied; the women find time among their numerous duties for embroidery, chiefly on leather, which our missionaries declare to be unequalled in France for finish and taste. As their lives here are somewhat hard and laborious with few pleasures, it is but fair they should be rewarded with admission to the Buddhist paradise; but, still in doubt as to the propriety of such an arrangement, they *change their sex* on entering it!

In the country of *Tchakar* the missionaries were obliged to stop for a couple of days to dry their luggage after a storm of

rain and hail, fortunately among some kind-hearted peasants, one of whom had held the rank of a *Tchouanda* under the banners of the emperor, when he called forth, as the peasant related, *all* his forces against the English. The "invincible militia of Tchakar" were the last called out; when the "rebels of the south" (as the English are called by the Tartars), were so much alarmed that they demanded peace and withdrew. The peasant therefore had not seen them himself, but he repeated the warning of the Chinese at Peking:—

" 'What can you expect to do,' said they, 'against these marine monsters? You march to an inevitable and useless death. They live in the water like fish. When you least expect them, they appear on the surface, and throw their fiery *Si-koua* (literally, pumpkins of the west). As soon as the bow is bent to repay them, they plunge into the water like frogs. The emperor gave to each *Tchouanda* a Lama instructed in medicine, and initiated in sacred affairs; we depended on them to cure us from the maladies of the climate, and to protect us from the magic of these marine monsters.' "—Vol. i. p. 54.

Our travellers arrived at Chaborté on the day of the Chinese festival of the worship of the moon, a feast observed equally by the Mongolians and Chinese, though the former appear to have forgotten the bloody revolution which took place on this day in the year 1368. The Chinese wishing to rid themselves of the yoke which had been laid on them by the Tartar dynasty of Genghis Khan nearly a hundred years before, planned the massacre of the Mongol soldiers, established in every Chinese family, to maintain conquest. The signal was given by a note concealed in the "mooncakes," and the whole Tartar army throughout the Chinese empire was destroyed. Among the old Tartars, however, the bloody history is known, and the "mooncakes" preserve the memory of the perfidy of the Chinese, and the hope of future vengeance. These "mooncakes" have an image of the moon impressed upon them, that is to say, a little thicket of trees, in the midst of which is a hare in form. After this event the Chinese emperor ravaged Northern Tartary to a great distance, and burned and destroyed their numerous and flourishing cities, whose melancholy ruins are constantly met with in these desert journeys.

Our travellers, in pursuing their journey, had an opportunity of assisting a sick person: they give an amusing account of the medical science of the Tartars, which is confined to the Lamas only. It is invariably supposed to be a *Tchutgour*, or evil spirit, which is tormenting the invalid, and must be expelled. Vegetable medicines are first employed to facilitate his expulsion: if none are within reach, the Lama writes the name of the medicine on

a morsel of paper, which the patient swallows with as much confidence in its efficacy as if it was the real medicine. "The Lama then commences his prayers, conformable to the *quality* of the spirit to be dislodged. If the sick person is poor, then of course the *Tchutgour* is small, and the prayers are short and less solemn: sometimes only a simple formula of exorcism; sometimes the Lama says not even prayers or pills are necessary . . . But if the patient is rich, and the possessor of large flocks, the case is different. He is then persuaded that the *Tchutgour* is a powerful and terrible spirit, undoubtedly one of the chiefs of evil spirits; and as it would not be decent for him to journey like an imp, it is necessary to present him with fine clothes, a hat, a good pair of boots, and, above all, a young and vigorous horse: without all this, it is certain that he will not stir; it would be in vain to administer remedies, or to recite prayers. It sometimes happens that one horse is not sufficient; for the devil may be of such dignity as to bring a large suite of courtiers and servants, when the Lama exacts an unlimited number of horses: all depending on the means of the invalid . . . Lamas from the neighbouring monasteries are invited to assist, and the prayers continue for eight or fifteen days, till the Lamas perceive that the evil spirit is gone, that is to say, as long as they find it convenient to live at the expense of the family whose tea and mutton they are profiting by. If at the end of the time the sick person dies, it is the most certain proof that the prayers have been well recited, and the devil put to flight; it is true that the patient is *dead*, but then he is not *lost*, for the Lamas assure one that he has been transmigrated into a more blessed state than the one he has quitted⁴."

While on the subject of medicine, we cannot refrain from giving an account of a singular cure effected on a cow:—

"One day when we had placed our tent beside a Mongolian habitation, a Tartar brought a cow to the chief of the family, who eat nothing, he said, and wasted away daily.

"The chief examined the animal; opened her mouth, and then scratched her front teeth with his nail. 'Ignorant man,' said he to the owner, 'why have you waited so long to come here? your cow is at the point of death; she has, at the most, but a day to live. However, there remains one chance, which I will try. If your cow dies, you will know it is your own fault; if she is cured, you will say it is a great blessing of Horsmoudha's and of my knowledge.' . . . He then called some of his servants, and commanded them to hold the beast firmly by the head, whilst he performed the operation. He himself re-entered the tent, and returned soon after, armed with an iron nail and a large ham-

⁴ Vol. i. pp. 108, 109.

mer . . . Whilst several Mongols held the cow to prevent its escaping, the operator placed the nail under the belly, then with a rude blow of the hammer, he drove it in to the head. After that he seized the cow's tail between his hands, and ordered those who held her to let go. Immediately the unfortunate beast, who had endured this singular operation, took to her heels, dragging after her the veterinary Tartar, clutching her tail. In this manner they went over about a quarter of a mile. The Tartar then abandoned his victim at last, and came tranquilly back to us, who remained aghast at this novel method of proceeding. He announced that there was no longer any danger to the beast; he knew, he said, by the rigidity of the tail, the good effect of the feruginous medicine he had just administered."—Vol. i. pp. 348, 349.

Our missionaries had now arrived at the monastery of *Tchortchi*, the favourite monastery of the emperor, which he has overwhelmed with presents and privileges. The Lamas in charge of it receive a pension from the Pekin court, which, in case of their absence by permission of the superiors, is kept accumulating till their return.

In consequence of the imperial favour, this monastery is considerably cleaner than is usually the case, and the Lamas are not covered with dirty rags. But the imperial largess goes but a short way in the construction of these buildings. Simple and poor as the Mongol peasants are, they are of a generous character, especially in any case of their religion.

"When a Bouddha temple and monastery are determined on, a number of begging Lamas set out furnished with collector's passports. They pass through the Tartar kingdoms, begging alms from tent to tent in the name of the 'old Bouddha;' . . . they are received with joy and enthusiasm: no one refuses to give: the rich present lumps of gold or silver: those who possess no precious metals, make offerings of cattle, horses, or camels: the poor contribute according to their power, butter, furs, and ropes made of camel's or horse's hair. After some time immense sums are gathered together; and, thus in these deserts, to all appearance so poor, one sees arise, as if by enchantment, edifices whose grandeur and riches defy the resources of the most opulent potentates. . . . Almost all monasteries are constructed of brick or stone; though some very poor ones are built of earth: but so well are they whitened with lime, that they make no contrast to the others. The temples are in general built with elegance and solidity; . . . opposite to the entrance door is a sort of wooden or stone altar, usually in the form of a reversed cone: upon this the idols are enthroned. They are rarely standing; but almost always cross-legged. The figures are colossal, but fine and regular in form: apart from the distended ears, they belong to the Caucasian type, and have none of the monstrous and diabolical physiognomy of the Chinese idols. In front of the great idol, and on a level with the altar, is a gilt bench where the

living-Fo, or Grand Lama of the monastery, sits. All the inside of the temple is occupied with long forms, nearly level with the ground: a sort of divan placed to the left and right of the seat of the Grand Lama, and extending from one end of the hall to the other. These divans are covered with carpet, and between each is an empty space, to allow the Lamas to circulate freely."

The Lamas are summoned at the hour of prayer, by a conch-shell, which is heard at a great distance.

"Each one takes his cap and cloak of ceremony, and they meet in the interior court. The conch-shell sounds for the third time, the great doors open, and the *living-Fo* enters the temple. When he is seated at the altar, the Lamas leave their red boots in the vestibule, and advance barefoot and in silence. As they enter, they adore the *living-Fo* with three prostrations; each then places himself on the divan in the rank of their dignities. They sit cross-legged, the two rows face to face. Immediately upon the signal of a bell, each one murmurs in a low voice some preparatory acts, while they unrol upon their knees the formulary of prayer indicated in the rubric. After this short recitation, comes a moment of profound silence. The bell rings anew, and then the two choirs commence a psalm, in a grave and melodious voice. The Thibetian prayers, which are generally divided into verses, and written in a metrical and cadenced style, are easily harmonized. Occasionally the Lamas execute a music little in accordance with these psalms . . . it is a confused and stunning noise of bells, cymbals, tambourines, conch-shells, trumpets, whistles, &c.; each instrument being furiously played, produces the utmost noise and discord."—Vol. i. pp. 128—130.

The interior of the temple is encumbered with statues and pictures concerning Bouddha; numerous copper vases, glittering as gold, contain the daily offerings of milk, butter, wine, and millet; aromatic plants are burned, and canopies are formed over the heads of the idols of rich stuffs, heavily embroidered in gold, from whence depend flags and lanterns of painted paper or melted horn. The Lamas alone ornament the temples. Paintings are distributed among them all, but (with the exception of a really fine painting in the great monastery of the Temple of Gold in the kingdom of Geschektan, which came from Thibet), they are generally grotesque and fantastic. They are better sculptors than painters, and the temples abound in every variety of well-executed designs. For an interesting description of the great monastery of "Great-Kouren," in the Khalka country, we must refer to M. Huc's own graphic pages, as well as for a history of the *Guison-Tamba*, one of the chief incarnations of Bouddha, residing at Great-Kouren, and of his visit to the emperor at Pekin, accompanied by 3000 Lamas, in 1839. There is so much

interesting information of every kind in his work, that we hardly know where to make our extracts, from an *embarras de richesses*, which we trust our readers will explore for themselves. Nor must we stop to describe an amusing entrance into the old Mantchourian town of Ville-Bleue or Koukou-Kotou, and its filthy streets "remplie d'une fange noire et suffocante de puanteur;" the alarm and dispersion of all the horses at sight of their white camels; nor their own adventures in search of an inn, after becoming the prey of more than one wily Chinese, who traffic upon the simplicity and credulity of the Mongols; treating them on their first arrival to a meal gratis, taking charge of all their "little affairs," until they have cheated and robbed them, under the guise of obliging kindness, of all they possess.

During the war of 1843, a Goliath of the Mongolian kingdom of Efé presented himself to the Chinese, none of whom could withstand his prodigious strength. At last a Chinese of small dimensions appeared before him with an air of firmness and assurance. The Mongol Goliath had already stretched out his huge arm to crush him to the ground, when the little Chinese, who had his mouth filled with water, squirted the whole suddenly into his face! The astonished Tartar applied his hands to his eyes, when the crafty Chinese seized his body and upset him, amidst the laughter of the spectators.

At this city our missionaries provided themselves with sheep-skin dresses and caps, against the cold they would have to endure in the deserts; but their meagre purses only allowed of their purchasing "guenilles d'une extrême vétusté, et tellement vernissées de suif, qu'il eût été difficile d'assigner clairement quelle avait été leur couleur primitive." They left this dirty city a month after their journey had commenced, and passed on, meeting a caravan of merchandise borne on ten thousand camels, and extending over four miles and a half of ground. The camel-drivers overwhelmed their miserable little cavalcade with derision as they passed by, mingled with imprecations, on account of the alarm and disorder the sight of their little mule produced among the camels. They continued their journey, through many miserable difficulties, over ground inundated by the overflowing of the Yellow River, sometimes wading on the unhappy camels, sometimes in boats procured with much difficulty, and encamping at night wherever they could find some half-dry ground. Once more in the desert, we cannot forbear giving the following characteristic specimen of desert life, which we will not spoil by translating:—

"Ceux qui n'ont jamais mené la vie nomade, comprendront difficilement que ce genre d'occupation soit susceptible d'être accompagné de jouissances. Pourtant, quand on a la bonne fortune de rencontrer,

caché parmi les herbes, un *argol* recommandable par sa grosseur et sa siccité, on éprouve au cœur un petit frémissement de joie, une de ces émotions soudaines qui donnent un instant de bonheur. Le plaisir qui procure la trouvaille d'un bel *argol* est semblable à celui du chasseur, qui découvre avec transport les traces du gibier qu'il poursuit,—de l'enfant qui regarde d'un œil pétillant de joie le nid de fauvette qu'il a long-temps cherché,—du pêcheur qui voit frétiller, suspendu à sa ligne, un joli poisson : et s'il était permis de rapprocher les petites choses des grandes, on pourrait encore comparer ce plaisir à l'enthousiasme d'un Leverrier qui trouve une planète au bout de sa plume."—Vol. i. p. 240.

Our travellers now entered the Ortons steppes, and half regretted the overflowed country of the Yellow River, so much did they suffer from want of water, and the failure of the herbs on which the animals browsed, which appeared to be calcined with nitre. The horses looked almost too weak to walk, and the humps of the camels became like empty sacks, as they balanced themselves painfully on their long legs. They sometimes met with terrible storms, from one of which their lives were only saved by finding refuge in some grottoes among the rocks. After suffering terribly from extreme cold and hunger, for the lively description of which we must refer our readers to the original, they arrived at the monastery of *Rache-Tchurin* too late to prevent, as they had hoped, one of the horrible and barbarous ceremonies, common among Lamas who pretend to be oracular. They encountered here pilgrims making the round of the monastery by a series of prostrations, without a moment's cessation or food ; and this through snow and the severest cold. Some devout Bouddhists simplify the matter, however, by writing the desired prayer on innumerable leaves of paper, which are then pasted together, and placed in a hamper, shaped like a cask, and turned round on a handle. They can then eat, and drink, and walk, whilst the prayers are mechanically and complaisantly offered for them.

The missionaries after this traversed the great "Salt lake," or rather a large tract of country, covered, like snow, with salt, very trying to both men and beasts. They then reached some kind-hearted peasants, from whom they purchased the unwonted feast of a sheep, which strengthened them to endure many more dangers which we cannot stop to recount. We must pass over many adventures as interesting as a romance, and hurry on with them across a part of China, at the risk of their lives, however : as at this time any missionary of the West found in the interior, was condemned to death. They more than once crossed the great wall—that gigantic monument of power—which Sir John Barrow calculated to be capable of twice surrounding the globe ; but his

calculation was formed on that part of the wall which he saw near Pekin; at this part it was reduced to "its simplest expression—sometimes built of the commonest masonry, sometimes only of earth, and sometimes only a few loose stones heaped together."

At a village in this Chinese province, they were accused of being English, or rather "marine devils," but were saved by a bystander asserting that those monsters were incapable of leaving the sea, "for as soon as they feel the earth they tremble or die like fish out of water." In the same village they encountered a "*living-Bouddha*," or "*Chaberon*," who was on his road, with a large suite, from Thibet to his own monastery near the Russian frontier; his swarthy appearance was full of simplicity except his eyes, which beamed with a wildness our missionaries fancied almost diabolical. He indulged in much curiosity about them, imagining them to be Russians, or Englishmen from Calcutta. He seemed very intelligent, demanding an explanation of every picture in their Breviary, which he examined closely, and with the utmost respect.

We must say a few words about these "*Chabérons*," or "*living-Bouddhas*," the incarnations of the spiritual essence of Bouddha—the Eternal—the Author of all—from whom every thing has emanated, as light from the sun, and in whom all that has not become corrupt here will be finally absorbed:—

"The most celebrated of these 'living Bouddhas,' are the Talé-Lama, at Lha-Ssa; the Bandchan-Rembouchi, at Djachi-Loumbo; the Guison-Tamba, at Grand-Kouren; the Tchiang-Kia-Fo, at Pekin; and the Sa-Dcha-Fo, at the foot of the Himalayah mountains . . . Though all these Chabérons are incarnations of Bouddha, there is a sort of hierarchy among them, of which the Talé-Lama occupies the summit; all the others acknowledge his supremacy."—Vol. ii. p. 342.

Our travellers came to a halt at Tang-Keou-Eul, (four months after their leaving the valley of He-Chuy,) finding it impossible to proceed with their small cavalcade in a country infested with robbers, and difficulties of all kinds. Whilst waiting to accompany an annual caravan of merchandise, they employed themselves in studying the Thibetian language, and continuing their translations of the Breviary into that language. After witnessing the commencement of the Chinese year and its festivities, they removed into the famous monastery of *Koon-boom*, to their great satisfaction—its religious atmosphere and profound silence being very agreeable after the noisy Chinese town. *Koon-boom* contains nearly 4000 Lamas, and is the subject of continual pilgrimages; but we must leave the reader to explore for himself the very

interesting and detailed account of the monastery and the religious ceremonies they witnessed in it, especially a most curious "Festival of Flowers," an exhibition of bas-reliefs of groups of figures, larger than life, moulded in butter, and done with marvellous animation and expression.

Our missionaries soon caused some sensation in the monastery; much was said of the two "Lamas of Jehovah," and their new doctrine. Many appeared to be impressed by their teaching, finding no difficulty in the mysteries or miracles announced to them; and it was with regret that they were obliged to leave the monastery after three months' residence therein, it being against the rules for unbelieving strangers to sojourn so long there. They, therefore, removed for the rest of the winter to a smaller monastery close by, called Tchogortan, a sort of country residence to the other. The Lamas here studied the care of cattle, and the manufacture of butter and cheese, with more earnestness than meditation or prayer; but the missionaries did not regret the change, and their own freedom from conforming to the rules of Koon-boom. They here translated from the Thibetian, a little book entitled "The forty-two Proverbs of Booddha,"—for some curious extracts from which we must refer the reader to M. Huc's pages⁵, as well as for the Lama tradition of the origin of the Chinese Tartars and Thibetians, bearing a great resemblance to our Scripture history of the sons of Noah⁶.

Their own camels and horses having recruited their strength, they added another camel and horse, and a young Lama as camel-driver, to their party, and continued their route towards the Blue Sea, or Koukou-noor, where they expected to find the Thibetian caravan. The waters of this vast lake, more than 300 miles in circumference, with daily tides, have the same taste as those of the ocean, and can be smelt like the sea at a great distance in the desert. The missionaries remained here for a month, frequently shifting their encampment, on account of the brigands who infest the country. At the end of October, the great Thibetian caravan arrived, several Mongol caravans having joined it on the road to insure their own safety. It amounted to 15,000 long-haired bulls, 1200 horses, 1200 camels, and 2000 men, besides an escort of 500 Chinese and Tartar soldiers.

They had to pass over mountains covered with a pestilential gaseous vapour, from which they suffered very severely. The cold had now become intense; many members of the caravan fell victims to it, and "M. Gabet eut à déplorer la mort passagère de son nez et de ses oreilles." From not finding a sufficient quantity of fuel

⁵ Vol. ii. pp. 148—153.

⁶ Vol. ii. pp. 161, 162.

to supply so large a caravan, they could not melt the ice for their food, and were obliged to content themselves with the miserable fare of dry oatmeal, or, if the snow-water became tepid, to swallow it in haste lest it should freeze on their fingers. M. Gabet became seriously ill; his hands and feet were frozen, and he was obliged to be tied on to his camel: and they had still two months before them of this fearful journey! The caravan became silent and sad; even the ridiculous figures made by the cattle, wrapped up in furs and camel's-hair clothes, failed in exciting a smile from the half-frozen owners; and, to cheer them, they appeared to be travelling through a vast cemetery, so strewed was the desert with the whitened bones of men and beasts.

They had lately passed the sources of the famous Hoang-Ho river; they now came upon the magnificent Mourouï-Ousson, which finally becomes the Yang-Tse-Kiang, and found a curious spectacle in it. This was a herd of wild cattle, who had been swimming across the river, when it froze, and they became congealed and incrustated like fantastic islands, in the frozen waters, their beautiful heads and horns alone uncovered, but their bodies appearing still swimming in the transparent ice!

The caravan had now separated into small bands, in hopes of finding pasturage and fuel more easily: our travellers had reached the most elevated tract of mid-Asia, when a terrific north wind, lasting for fifteen days, reduced them to the extremest misery. Some idea of this may be gathered from the following example:—

“Each morning, as we left our encampment, we took some food, and then eat no more till we encamped for the night. As the oatmeal-tea was not very supporting . . . we mixed a few little balls with the tea, to reserve for the journey. We folded this boiling paste in a hot cloth, and placed it upon our breasts . . . Over this we had each a thick sheep-skin dress, a waistcoat of lamb-skin, then a short cloak of fox-skin, and over all a great woollen wrapper. Alas! during these fifteen days, our oat-cakes were always frozen. When we drew them out, they were but iced paste, which we necessarily endeavoured to devour, at the risk of breaking our teeth, rather than die of hunger.”—Vol. ii. p. 223.

The mortality daily increased among the men and cattle; the cattle dropped at every step, and more than forty men were abandoned, when still living, but beyond the possibility of recovery, to this dreadful death: the ravens and vultures quarrelling for the bodies within sight and hearing of their late companions.

At last these terrible mountains were passed; of our little party only the mule had fallen a victim, the weather improved, and with it M. Gabet's health. After escaping from a great fire, among

the dry grass of the desert, in which they, however, lost a camel, and passing through valleys which appeared lovely in the eyes of our famished travellers, they entered Lha-Ssa, the "eternal sanctuary," on the 29th of January, 1846, eighteen months after their journey had commenced.

The houses of Lha-Ssa are well built, of more than one story, whitened with lime, and painted with red and yellow stripes: these are the sacred colours of Booddha. Their clean appearance is but on the outside only however; the rooms inside are small, close, and unpleasant in many ways. Some of the houses are fantastically built of the white horns of oxen, and the black horns of sheep, imbedded in mortar in various patterns: the principal streets are wide and clean, but the back streets are very remarkable for their dirt.

The palace of the Talé-Lama (the Grand Lama of all, from the Mongol word *talé*, meaning "sea," signifying that he is an *ocean* of wisdom and power,) is built on the "divine mountain" close to the city, and is formed of a collection of Booddhist temples of different degrees of beauty and wealth; unceasingly occupied by the worshippers of this portion of the Divine Essence residing in the body of the Talé-Lama; but they are grave and silent, apparently absorbed in religious meditation. The immense multitudes which devotion and commerce combine to bring together from all the Asiatic countries, however, produce a very opposite effect in the city; the streets appear stunning from the variety of sounds, cries, costumes, and languages. Some of the costumes are described as possessing much beauty and grace, always excepting the female citizens of Lha-Ssa, who have been obliged, since the austere rule of a Sovereign-Lama two hundred years ago, to cover their faces with a black paste like pitch, on going into public, lest their beauty should be a cause of corruption among the Lamas especially. The edict has been scrupulously observed ever since, but our missionaries whisper that it has been quite unsuccessful in its object.

Lha-Ssa has three principal manufactures: stuffs, aromatic sticks for burning in the temples, and porcelain; the abundance of all the precious metals in the country, naturally produces skilful workmen in them. As a specimen of Thibetian manners, we may mention the invariable sign of respect in saluting one another—putting out the tongue, uncovering the head, and scratching the right ear, which three operations are performed at the same moment.

The Chinese government sends two grand mandarins as ambassadors-extraordinary to the court of the Talé-Lama, ostensibly to show their respect for Booddha, but in reality to keep watch over the government of Thibet, and the various people who resort

to Lha-Ssa. At this time their ambassador was the famous *Ke-shen*, whom our readers will remember played so important a part in our transactions with China in 1839, when he was disgraced and sent into exile for ceding the island of Hong-Kong to the "marine devils." He was only recalled from exile in 1844, and sent to Lha-Ssa, where much prudence and sagacity was necessary in dealing with the Thibetians, who were then in great confusion from the murder of three Talé-Lamas one after another. Three months after his arrival, Ke-shen published an imperial edict, announcing that the *emperor* had condemned the murderer (a Grand Lama) to perpetual exile! A badly-managed insurrection took place, and an attempt was made to massacre all the Chinese in Lha-Ssa; but the culprit submitted: Ke-shen remained triumphant; and a regent was appointed, the Talé-Lama being a minor.

After a short time, the missionaries were sent for by the regent, who received them most kindly:—

"With a half-assumed, half-benevolent smile, but in silence, which appeared so droll to them, that they laughingly observed in French to each other, 'Well! this regent seems good-natured enough; we shall do well.' He desired them to repeat their words in Thibetian; they obeyed. 'The countenance of the First-Kalon appears radiant with goodness,'—an opinion with which he seemed much pleased. . . . He then inquired if they could write, and, wishing to see some, they wrote in the French, Thibetian, Tartar, and Chinese languages, the words, 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' 'You are men of great learning,' said the regent, 'and can express thoughts as profound as those in our books of prayers.' . . . While still considering their marvellous sagacity, the cries of the people, and the noise of the Chinese gongs, announced the approach of the Chinese ambassador. 'Here is the Ambassador of Pekin,' said the regent; 'he wishes to question you himself. Speak to him frankly, and count on my protection; it is I who govern the country.'"

The idea of falling into the hands of the Chinese, was enough to fill our missionaries with fears; but they endeavoured to sustain their courage. We must give their interview:—

"Ke-shen, though now sixty years of age, appeared full of strength and vigour. His figure was, unquestionably, the noblest, handsomest, and most intellectual we had seen in any Chinese. We removed our caps, and made him the best bow we could. 'Very well, very well,' said he, 'follow your own customs; they tell me that you can speak the language of Pekin; and I wish to converse with you a little.' 'We commit many faults in speaking; but your highness's keen understanding will supply our deficiencies.' 'Ah! that is pure Pekin,

indeed! You Frenchmen have great facility in all sciences; you are French, are you not?' 'Yes; we are French.' 'Ah! I know the French: formerly there were many of them at Pekin; and I knew some of them.' 'Your highness must have known some at Canton, when you were imperial commissioner.' . . . This allusion made our judge knit his brows; he took a huge pinch of snuff from his box, and sniffed it with considerable ill-humour. 'Yes, it is true; I saw plenty of Europeans at Canton. . . . You are of the religion of the God of heaven, are you not?' 'Certainly; we are preachers of that religion.' 'I know it; you are, without doubt, come to preach your religion here?' 'We have no other object.' 'Have you travelled through many countries?' 'We have passed throughout China and Tartary; and now we are here, in the capital of Thibet.' 'With whom did you live in China?' 'We answer no questions of that kind.' 'But if I command you?' 'We could not obey.' Here the judge struck a spiteful blow on the table. 'Your highness says,' said we to him, 'that the Christians have no fear; why, then, seek to intimidate them?'

After roughly questioning their camel-driver, he dismissed them, and they returned to the regent, with whom they dined; he inquired, with much anxiety, whether they had made any maps of the countries through which they had passed; on this their safety appeared to depend. He was much relieved at finding they had only printed maps, and promised them his kindest protection. But they were not allowed to return to their lodgings that night. They were well treated, however, though the curiosity of the Lamas and servants of the regent, who crowded upon them even in their sleeping-room, was sufficiently disagreeable. The next morning the missionaries were escorted by three Lama constables to their own lodgings, the regent following immediately. In his presence all their effects were sealed up, and then carried in procession, with the two poor Frenchmen and the regent, back to the palace. Ke-shen awaited them.

"'You wish to examine the effects of these strangers; here they are.' 'They are neither so rich, nor so powerful as you pretend,' said the regent spitefully. . . . He appeared somewhat confused at the *gendarme*-part he was playing. . . . 'What is in these cases?' 'Here are two keys; examine them yourself.' Ke-shen reddened and drew back. His Chinese delicacy seemed offended. . . . 'Open them yourselves. It is my duty to inspect their contents, but you alone have a right to touch them.'"

The missionaries were soon almost forgotten in the admiration and astonishment at the French and Latin books, the coloured pictures, the sacred vessels, linen and ornaments, rosaries, crosses, medals, &c. &c., displayed by all the attendants, and even the

regent and ambassador. Ke-shen asked if they had any magic lanterns, telescopes, watches, &c., they showed him a small microscope (which he alone comprehended), but refused to adjust it in their then situation. "We thought," said they, "that we were here on our trial, and not playing a game." This brought Ke-shen back to his inquiries for maps; they showed him three, two of the world, and one of the Chinese empire. The regent believed them lost, at sight of these, and changed colour again and again.

" 'We are fortunate,' said they to Ke-shen, 'to have met your highness in this country; had you not been here, we might have found some difficulty in convincing the Thibetians that we had not ourselves composed these maps. But for a man of your knowledge, and accustomed to European things, it is easy to see these things are not our work.' Ke-shen was extremely flattered with the well-timed compliment. 'It is evident,' said he, 'at first sight, that these maps are printed. Look,' he said to the regent, 'these maps are not made by these men; they are printed in the kingdom of France. You could not distinguish this, but I have been long accustomed to the things which come from the west.' These words produced a magic effect on the regent; his figure dilated, his eyes glistened with pleasure, and he nodded his head, as much as to say, 'You are fine fellows.'"

After a lesson in geography, Ke-shen showed himself *au fait* with the ecclesiastical ornaments, having, as our missionaries remark, "sufficiently persecuted the Christians, whilst he was viceroy, to be familiar with all the appurtenances of the Catholic worship." At last, the Chinese ambassador announced, they might "Go in peace," and they returned to their lodgings. Their kind friend the regent sent them twelve ounces of silver, pretending that it was the price of their wretched, worn-out horses; and the following day he gave them a comfortable house of his own to occupy gratis. Here they established a little chapel; and the service was daily attended by great numbers of the people, Thibetians and Chinese alike.

We trust our readers will seek for themselves the very interesting details of the missionaries' sojourn in Lha-Ssa, of the ceremonies they witnessed there, and of the impression made upon the minds of the regent and some others by the doctrines of Christianity.

"We were puzzled at finding the regent appeared *surprised* at nothing. 'Your religion,' he repeated constantly, 'is like our own; we have the same tenets, but we explain them differently. You may have seen much in Tartary and Thibet to disapprove among us; but those things are only errors and superstitions which have been intro-

duced by ignorant Lamas, and which are held by no enlightened Boodhists.' He admitted but two points of difference between us—the origin of the world, and the transmigration of souls. The regent's faith, however closely it sometimes seemed to approach the Catholic doctrines, terminated in a vast Pantheism; but he insisted that we arrived at the same results, and he tried hard to convince us of it."—Vol. ii. p. 330.

But even Ke-shen,—proud as he was of his knowledge of European affairs,—had some droll ideas of the "marine monsters;" among others, he one day said:—

"The Queen of England appears to have a great understanding; but her husband plays a very ridiculous part; she lets him do nothing at all. She has made him a magnificent garden, and filled it with fruit-trees and flowers; and in this she keeps him shut up, passing his whole life in walking there!"

But whilst he was amusing himself with these "useless words," as the Chinese call such conversations, Ke-shen was secretly planning the expulsion of these poor missionaries from Thibet. The interest shown by the people of Lha-Ssa in Christianity and the two Europeans, was too warm to escape the jealousy of the Chinese. They had been there but little more than a month, when Ke-shen sent for them,

"and, after a thousand civil speeches, he informed them that Thibet was too cold, and too poor a country for them, and that they had better return to France. He said this in a careless way, as if they could make no possible objection to it. We asked whether he said it as advice or as a command? 'Neither the one nor the other,' said he coldly."

They thanked him for the interest he took in them, but remonstrated that having once been admitted by authority, they had a right to remain there; and reminded Ke-shen that he himself was a foreigner like them. These words appeared to incense Ke-shen, and shortly after he desired them to withdraw, assuring them that he would soon *oblige* them to leave Thibet. Their cause was most warmly espoused by the regent, and they became the subject of such hot dissensions for several days between the Thibet governor and the Chinese ambassador, that they were forced at last to adopt the more prudent alternative of signifying their willingness to leave the country, lest the quarrel should terminate in serious consequences. The regent expressed the utmost sorrow, but was helpless, even to prevent the further tyranny of the Chinese ambassador, who announced to the unfortunate missionaries that he had already made every preparation for their departure in eight days, not towards India (a journey of

twenty-five days), but actually into the interior of China, and so to Macao, a journey of eighteen months ! They remonstrated, but in vain ; and finally, after receiving much kindness from the regent, and a sort of cunning civility from Ke-shen, they were obliged, on the 15th of March, 1846, to leave Lha-Ssa, before the wounds caused by the cold and fatigue of their last journey were healed. Ke-shen gave them a mandarin called Ly-Kouo-Ngan, and fifteen soldiers to accompany them. The mandarin Ly was a miserable diseased soldier, worn out, not with fighting, but with eau-de-vie.

We have not space to follow them day by day through this painful journey : less disastrous than the last, only that their *lettre-de-cachet*, sealed by Ke-shen, obtained their *oulah* or beasts of burden at every station, notwithstanding the unconcealed dislike of the peasantry to their Chinese guard. But their route lay up some terrific mountains still covered with snow, along the brink of precipices of frightful depth, bridged with single trunks of trees, over frozen lakes, and in frequent danger of avalanches. Sometimes the path was so steep that instead of remaining on horseback, they could only cling on to the tails of their mules—or descended glaciers sitting, guiding their perilous way by the hands. For two entire days on one mountain they describe their situation as “suspended between life and death”—their courage cheered each night by recitals of the horrible catastrophes which generally take place at the passing of each caravan. M. Gabet, still weak from his former sufferings, fell insensible on the snow, and had to be carried by the soldiers. The sunshine on the snow also affected them so severely, that one day the whole party were laid up at a village, blind, and in agonies of pain.

At Bajoung they received a visit from a robber-chief, Proul-Tamba, “the Abd-el-Kader of these mountains,” and were hospitably entertained at his castle. Some of the villages near this were at war with each other, and their *oulah* was accordingly conducted by *women*, against whom the men of the next village could not fight ; a *ruse* more worthy of a cunning Chinese than a Thibetian. They had been overtaken by another small caravan containing a mandarin and his son ; both, however, died in the course of this fatiguing journey, and at Adzou-Thang, the melancholy caravan containing the two dead bodies joined our missionaries.

After these sufferings the town and valley of Bathang appeared “ravissante” and enchanting in their eyes, and the Chinese soldiers breathed more freely on entering a less hostile country ; but their misfortunes were not quite over : they mounted again into snow and ice on the mountains, and in a few days the Mandarin Ly, who had sunk daily under the severities of the

journey, died. The missionaries now became the conductors of their little procession with the three dead bodies, and, after being once more nearly swallowed up in the snow, were very thankful to reach the Chinese frontier, nearly three months after leaving Lha-Ssa.

A postscript tells us that they arrived at Macao in October, and that we may expect an account of the two years they have spent since in China, which will, we feel sure, give us a much more valuable and interesting view of the interior of China than we have as yet had any means of obtaining.

Before we take our leave of these interesting volumes, we must offer a few remarks on the more directly religious part of the subject,—on the relation between Christianity, as here exhibited, and Paganism.

These missionaries adopted the course which has ere now been attempted, with a certain success, by other missionaries of the Roman Church. In India the Jesuits in the seventeenth century announced themselves as “Brahmans,” who had come from a far country to announce the true “Brahmanism !” The Jesuit, Robert de Nobili, forged a deed, in ancient Indian characters, to prove that the Roman “Brahmans” were of older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits descended in a direct line from the god Brahma ! The Jesuit missionaries in China are said to have adopted a course of proceeding equally inconsistent with truth. They persuaded the authorities in China that the primitive theology of their nation, and even the doctrine of Confucius, was almost identical with Christianity ; and they are said to have invented a variety of historical fictions with a view to persuade the Chinese that Jesus Christ was known and worshipped by their nation many ages ago. Messrs. Huc and Gabet, in the same manner, *pretended* that they were “Lamas,” or *Buddhist priests*, who came from the “*West*,” the people of Tartary and Thibet attaching great weight and authority to “*Western*” Lamaism, as being enlightened by the *Talé Lama*, their spiritual head or deity. Now, we do say, that, however such a mode of proceeding might deserve the praise of artfulness and ingenuity, and however likely it might have been to meet with success, it was in itself wrong, because grounded in falsehood and deception ; and Christianity ought not to be propagated by the aid of lies. Can it be expected that God’s blessing will rest on such proceedings ? Assuredly not. Indians, and Chinese, and Tartars may be deceived into an acceptance of Christianity ; but there is a worm at the root of such Christianity. It can never thrive ; and, in fact, it has been found that after a time it passes into heathen idolatry. In such a system as this the offence of the

Cross is at an end. How foolish were the Apostles and first preachers of Christianity in telling the heathens to turn from their idols to serve the living God! How needlessly irritating and offensive must we deem the language of the Prophets and the Apostles in proclaiming boldly the truth of the Gospel! If the Jesuitical mode of preaching the Gospel be the true one, the Prophets and the Apostles had only to announce their religion as the *true Paganism*—the “*genuine*” worship of Jupiter, of Dagon, or of Astarte—and the truth would without doubt have encountered fewer obstacles.

The fact appears to be this. The position of the modern Roman Catholic missionary, in regard to heathenism, is altogether different from that of the early Christian missionaries. Christianity, under the influence of Romanism, has become so assimilated to heathenism, that it is impossible to draw any broad line of distinction. It is a religion of *the same kind*. Worship is no longer paid to God only: it is paid in an equal degree to saints and angels. There are as many objects of worship as in heathenism. The heathen sees the Roman Catholic bowing like himself before images and idols: he sees him using vain repetitions and prayers in an unknown tongue, as he does. The whole ceremonial and many of the practices are identical to a great degree. The Roman Catholic is, therefore, unable to go to the heathen with the slightest chance of success, if he is to tell him that there is but one true God, and that idols are an abomination. He is, therefore, driven to the necessity of trying to deceive the heathen into the belief that Romish idolatry is *older* and more *authoritative* than heathen idolatry. We have a curious illustration of the working of Romanism in the case of the Regent of the Buddhists at Lha-Ssa. This intelligent man could not discern any difference between Buddhism and Romanism, except in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and the creation of the world! Like some of the heathens in earlier times, he would doubtless have acknowledged Christ as a “Bouddha,” just as a Hindoo might be induced to look on Him as an incarnation of Vishnu. But is this, we ask, to preach the Gospel? Is this voluntary admixture of idolatry and Christianity the right or Christian course to pursue? Is a system, which is based on deception, a true or a salutary system? M. Huc appears to found his hopes of the future conversion of the people of Tartary and Thibet partly on the spirit of inquiry which Buddhism sanctions, but chiefly and especially on their extraordinary reliance on mere external observances and ceremonies. He infers from this that if the Roman Catholic ceremonial, in its full splendour, could be introduced amongst these people, they would be converted in multitudes.

an individual going into water. He is afterwards tempted by the God of Pleasure, and resists him. He is then inspired, and preaches his doctrine—that there is sorrow in life ; and that faith in his doctrine, and obedience to it, will remedy sorrow, and obtain salvation in an improved state hereafter ; and that every one will, in the end, cease to exist, and be absorbed into the Divine Spirit. He lives to eighty years of age, dies peacefully, revered and honoured for his sanctity ; and his relics are collected and preserved as of pre-eminent sanctity. He denies any eternity of future punishment, and teaches a universal purgatory by transmigration of souls, through which all persons will in the end be saved.

Now in all this, as stated by Mr. Prinsep himself, the resemblances to Christianity are, in all cases, so slight, and the differences are so many and so obvious, that it is really astonishing to see any attempt to trace a likeness. The only points of resemblance are the temptation,—which, however, appears to have been of a very different character in many respects from that of our Lord,—and the necessity of faith and obedience, which is common to all religious systems. The *doctrine* actually preached ; the transmigration of souls ; the final salvation of all ; the denial of eternal punishments ; the peaceful death of the teacher at an advanced age, are all totally unlike Christianity.

We will take the first book that we lay our hands on, and give its life of Sakhya-Muni or Buddha, from which the reader may judge of the resemblance between it and the life of Christ.

“The circumstances of the life of Buddha, which we find recorded, are very few. Conformably to the prevailing usage of the country, the infant was, a few days after his birth, presented before the image of a deity, which is said to have inclined its head when the child was brought near its shrine, as a presage of his future greatness. In his tenth year the boy was placed under the guidance of a spiritual instructor, whose name, according to a Mongol account of the life of Buddha, was Bak-Burenu Bakshi. He soon developed mental faculties of the first order, and became equally distinguished by the uncommon beauty of his person. At the age of twenty years he married a noble virgin named Yasôdhasta Dêvî, in the Ceylonese account of his life. He had by her two children, a son (whom the Mongols call Racholi, the Ceylonese, Rahula Kumareyo) and a daughter. At this period of his life it is related that earnest meditations concerning the depravity and misery of mankind began to engage his mind, and he conceived a plan of retiring from human society, and becoming a hermit. His father endeavoured to frustrate this design ; Buddha escaped the vigilance of the guards appointed to watch him, and took his abode on the banks of a river, named in the Mongol history Armasara, or Narasara, in the kingdom of Udipa. Here he lived during six years, undisturbed in his devout contemplations. At the expiration of this period he came forward at

have been a real person, though a false teacher, and to have had disciples ; it was natural that his discourses with those disciples should become a subject of record, just as the actions of our Lord were recorded by His disciples ; but it does not follow that the idea, in either case, must have been borrowed from any *other* religion. Mr. Prinsep argues, that "the idea of a divine Spirit being moved to take on itself a human form for the instruction of mankind, and for the redemption of the human race from the sins into which it had fallen by a course of degeneracy, is Boodhistical." (Ibid.) We reply that it is *more* than Boodhistical ; it is *natural*. The idea of an incarnation of Deity, and for purposes beneficial to mankind, is as much the characteristic of Brahmanism, as of Buddhism. It was known to all the ancient systems of idolatry. The gods assumed human bodies, or even those of animals. Buddhism exhibits no peculiar resemblance in this point to Christianity. Mr. Prinsep has not attempted to show that the offering up of the only Son of God as an atonement for the sins of the world is a Buddhistical notion. The Buddhist notion of Sakhya-Muni, their great teacher, even as represented by Mr. Prinsep, is altogether different from that of Jesus Christ. He was merely one amongst many gods, who became incarnate for the purpose of saving mankind from the dominion of sin. His birth is represented as being attended with miracles ; but, as Mr. Prinsep says, "*not of the same description* with those which attended the birth of our Saviour." An aged man, "like Simeon," "bears witness to the child's divine mission ;" and Sakhya, "*at school*, displays learning which confounds the doctors and professors." (p. 138.) Surely, Mr. Prinsep would not infer from this, that the Evangelists must, even if no such events had really occurred in our Saviour's life, have borrowed their ideas from Buddhism ! There is nothing to support such an idea, except a mere resemblance, which even, as Mr. Prinsep represents it, is very imperfect, and implies a different origin. And, again, Sakhya "*marries twice*," says Mr. Prinsep, then "*practises mortifications*, till finding his body weakened, he bathes in the Nyranjana river, and takes refreshment afterwards, *to recover his strength*." This is a species of baptism." (p. 138.)

We think Mr. Prinsep is peculiarly unfortunate in his attempt in this place to trace a resemblance between Sakhya's history and the Gospel. Our Lord did not marry ; nor did He practise mortifications ; nor did His body become weakened by His mortifications ; nor did He seek by bathing, and taking nourishment afterwards, to recover His strength. The history is perfectly different ; and, to compare this bathing in the river with the Baptism administered by John, is impossible. There is nothing in common between the two histories, except the fact of

Warnashi (Varanasi, i. e. Benares) as a religious teacher. It is said that, by some who heard him, doubts were at first entertained as to the soundness of his mind; but his doctrines soon gained credit, and were propagated so rapidly, that Buddha himself lived to see them spread all over India. He died in his eightieth year." (Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 122, &c.; I. J. Schmidt's *Geschichte der Ostmongolen*, pp. 312, 313¹.)

We now leave it to the reader whether the "extraordinary similitude" which Mr. Prinsep sees between Buddhism and Christianity, more especially in the *lives* of their respective founders, exists except in his own imagination. We readily admit the great similarity between many of the peculiar tenets and observances of the Church of Rome and Buddhism, and *other* heathen systems; but we lack proof of any peculiar resemblance between Christianity, as represented in the *Scriptures*, and Buddhism. Points of resemblance there are between Christianity and Buddhism, Brahmanism, Druidism, Magianism, and the false religions of Rome and Greece, not to speak of the ancient philosophical systems. It would be easy to show that Brahmanism recognises in a certain sense the Unity of God, and the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Incarnation, and the need of faith and obedience. The Vedas and sacred books of the Brahmins are older than those of the Buddhists. They almost equal the Bible itself in antiquity. The Brahmins, like the Roman Catholics, have images and incense. They practise mortifications from which the most ardent Roman Catholic devotee would shrink. They acknowledge the doctrine of the Incarnation. They imagine the birth of a Deity without a father. They ascribe the utmost spiritual powers to religious austerities and asceticism. They recognise the power of an anathema or curse, even over the gods themselves. They hold that faith transcends in its merit all sacrifices and austerities. They believe that men will, according to their merits, enjoy thousands of years of happiness in some of the heavens, or of misery in some hell, though they hold the universal salvation of all finally. They believe that crimes may be expiated by penances. They had "five" sacraments or rites even in the time of Menu. In the worship of their images they employ incense and flowers; and they dress them with various ornaments and jewels. The monastic orders are numerous: many of them have large establishments or monasteries, supported by lands and alms². Analogies might easily be traced between this and that action of our Lord, and some *avatar* of Hindoo Mythology. But to pick out this or that detached point of re-

¹ Penny Cyclopædia. Art. *Buddha*.

² See Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. i. book ii. c. 4.

semblance between two systems from a mass of other facts of a totally different character, and to argue that one of these systems must necessarily have been borrowed from the other, on account of the mere fact of these casual and imperfect coincidences, appears to us to be extremely illogical. By this mode of argument, we might easily prove that Christianity is derived from Brahmanism, or from any other heathen system, or trace the descent of one idolatry from another with which it never had any connexion. Mr. Prinsep is so eager in his attempts to identify Christianity with Buddhism, that even the slightest verbal resemblance is enough for him. Buddha, he says, declared that "another" teacher was to come after him. "Begawa Metteyo" was to be the name of this teacher; and Mr. Prinsep remarks, "the name 'Metteyo' bears an extraordinary *resemblance* to Messiah;" evidently implying that the latter is a corruption of the former. This is certainly a new light for both Jews and Christians, who have hitherto believed that the word "Messiah" is a *Hebrew* one, and signifies "anointed," being equivalent to "Christ." It is this universally admitted etymology which Mr. Prinsep attempts to set aside, by alleging the resemblance in *sound* between the words "Messiah" and "Metteyo." This reminds us of the ingenious translator of the Bible, who, finding the word "shachal" (lion) in the Book of Job, very neatly rendered it by "jackal!"

The spread of Christianity, according to Mr. Prinsep, (pp. 162, 163,) is very easily accounted for. The "Boodhists of the West" (he means the disciples of Pythagoras) at once accepted Christianity, as identical with their own faith:—

"It was no abjuration of an old faith that the teachers of Christianity asked of the Boodhists, but a mere qualification of an existing belief, by the incorporation into it of the Mosaic account of the creation, and of original sin, and the fall of man. The Boodhists of the West *accepting Christianity, on its first announcement, at once introduced the rites and observances which for centuries already existed in India.* From that country Christianity derived the monastic institutions, its forms of ritual, and of Church service, its councils or convocations to settle schisms on points of faith, its worship of relics, and working of miracles through them, and much of the discipline, and of the dress of the clergy, even to the shaven heads of the monks and friars." —p. 163.

We wonder Mr. Prinsep has omitted here the Pope and the Dalai-Lama, where the resemblance is really striking in some respects. Did he mean to except the papacy from amongst those institutions which he is pleased, in defiance of all history, to ascribe to Christianity at its "*first announcement*?" He might

just as well maintain that the Dalai-Lama has always existed in Christendom, as that monasteries, the worship of relics, the dress and mitres of the clergy, or the tonsure, have existed from the commencement of Christianity. Why, any well-informed Roman Catholic even would tell him the incorrectness of such notions. Monasteries were not heard of till the fourth century. Asceticism was advocated by the Montanists in the third century, and was gradually introduced afterwards into the Church. The veneration of relics began in the fourth century, pilgrimages at the same time, the use of images soon after. About the same time, the use of a distinctive dress by the clergy—lights in churches in the day time—the use of incense—and chanting antiphonally. The tonsure in the fifth century. The doctrine of purgatory, in the sense of the Buddhists and many other heathens, *i. e.* as excluding all notions of eternal punishment, had been introduced by Origen, from the heathen philosophy, in the third century. Now we concede most unreservedly to Mr. Prinsep, that many of *these* institutions or observances had a heathen origin. Dr. Newman himself has admitted, that the peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome are, to a great extent, borrowed from heathenism, or from heresies which were based on heathenism, and that Dr. Conyers Middleton was quite right in saying so. But, admitting that many of these practices were introduced in direct imitation of heathenism, after the time of Constantine the Great, with a view to attract the remaining heathen into the Church's communion, Mr. Prinsep's theory will derive but little benefit from the concession. For the introduction of all these "Buddhistical" practices and notions was several centuries *too late*. What became of all his "Buddhists of the West" during the two, three, or four centuries in which Christianity did not offer them images, or relics, or pilgrimages, or incense, or lights, or purgatory, or shaven-headed clergy, or monasteries? Generation upon generation of these "Buddhists of the West" lived as Christians without "Buddhism," so that we must seek some cause of their conversion which does not depend on the identity of Christianity and Buddhism. And really, when we remember the way in which St. Paul and the other Apostles denounced heathen idolatry, and the uncompromising tone of their followers in reference to heathenism, in whatever shape it presented itself to them, we are astonished at the imaginary picture which Mr. Prinsep draws of the first founding of the Gospel. The heathen were merely to acknowledge Christ as a "Buddha," and that was quite enough—none of their religious convictions were to be disturbed in any way! Mr. Prinsep does not seem to be quite a visionary; and yet his views are to

the last degree visionary and absurd. He magnanimously throws over historical facts altogether, and assumes that whatever now exists in the Church of Rome, must have existed when Christianity was first preached ! This is, without doubt, a very easy way of settling questions : and it may be a very agreeable amusement to raise splendid theories on such assumptions, and to direct such theories against Christianity ; but if men will amuse themselves in this way, they must be prepared to have their absurdities pointed out, and to occupy the place in public estimation which their ignorance and their false reasoning deserve.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Addresses and Charges of Edward Stanley, D.D., late Bishop of Norwich, with a Memoir. By Arthur P. Stanley, M.A. 2. The Church Catechism expounded, illustrated, and proved from Scripture. By the Rev. J. H. Gooch, M.A. 3. Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century. By T. Hudson Turner. 4. Church Education at Home and Abroad, and the Emigrant's Friend. By the Rev. H. Ives Baily. 5. The History of Greece from the earliest Period to the Roman Conquest, &c. By Miss Corner. 6. A Text-Book of Zoology for Schools. By Philip Henry Gosse, A.L.S. 7. Ann Ash; or, the Foundling. By the Author of "Charlie Burton," &c. 8. Catechetical Lessons on the Sacraments, The Apostles' Creed, The Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. 9. A Manual of Ecclesiastical History, from the First to the Twelfth Century inclusive. By the Rev. E. S. Foulkes, M.A. 10. Short Forms of Prayer for Family or Private Devotion, compiled from the Prayer-Book of the Church of England. By a Clergyman. 11. Amaranth. By Oscar von Redwitz. 12. Muse Populaire. Pierre Dupont.—Nouvelles Confidences. Par A. de Lamartine.—Théâtre de F. Ponsard. 13. Cecile; or, the Pervert. By Sir Charles Rockingham. 14. Stuart of Dunleath. A Story of Modern Times. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton, Ravenscliffe. By the Author of "Emilia Wyndham." 15. The Order for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, and the Ministration of Private Baptism of Children. To which are added Psalms and Lessons suitable for the Edification of Sick Persons, selected and arranged, with some Suggestions as to their use at the Visitation of the Sick. By the Rev. Ralph Allen Mould, M.A. 16. Essays from "The Times"—The Chace. By Nimrod.—A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh. By Burton Henry Layard, Esq., D.C.L. 17. The Family Almanack and Educational Register for the Year of Our Lord, 1852, &c. 18. The Duty of English Churchmen, and the Progress of the English Church in Leeds. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D. 19. A Letter, &c. on the Fifty-fifth Canon, and the Kirk of Scotland; with an Appendix, &c. By E. C. Harington, M.A., Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Exeter. 20. A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford, at his Second Visitation, November, 1851. By Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford.—Miscellaneous.

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- 1.—*Addresses and Charges of EDWARD STANLEY, D.D. (late Bishop of Norwich), with a Memoir. By his Son, ARTHUR P. STANLEY, M.A.* London: Murray. 1851.

OUR readers will not expect that with the utmost stretch of charity, we can admire all the *points* in the late Bishop Stanley, or approve of all his doings. He had grievous shortcomings, he made lamentable mistakes. But to err is human; and what we feel in reading his Memoir, and recalling what we knew of

him, is—that he was so essentially well intentioned and right principled, his heart was so completely in the right place, and beat so healthily; in a word, that he lived so entirely (according to his view of it) in the spirit of his sacred office, that we were right glad to see announced, right glad to become the possessors of, the Memoir before us.

The volume which Mr. Stanley has put forth is not a large one, and not half of it is occupied by the Memoir. The rest consists of certain Addresses to the Bishop's former country parishioners, and some others delivered in his episcopal capacity on solemn occasions, together with a couple of Charges to his clergy. We confess that these latter are to us much the least interesting as well as the least edifying portion of the book.

Bishop Stanley's early history is briefly this. The younger son of an ancient and lately ennobled family—owing to accidental circumstances he received a miserable education, the deficiencies of which—though made up for, as far as possible, by most praiseworthy application at Cambridge—were felt to the latest day of his life; as is testified by sundry anecdotes which we have heard from the lips of some of his most intimate friends, concerning the good bishop's scholarship. An extraordinary passion for the sea (so great, that “as a child he used to leave his bed, and sleep on the shelf of a wardrobe, for the pleasure of imagining himself in a berth on board a man-of-war,”) was overruled by circumstances; and in three years after he had received Holy Orders, he found himself in possession of the family living of Alderley. To the duties of his parish (and they seem to have been beset with no light difficulties) he applied himself with much devotion, and for two-and-thirty years continued to discharge them according to his notions of their requirements.

The portion of the Memoir which relates to these years of parochial ministration, is, to our mind (as we have already intimated), the most interesting, and we may add the most useful part of the volume; for though—thank God!—“energy and exactitude” are not so rare now, as to draw upon one who so devotes himself to his work “the reproach of singularity, and even of methodism;” yet the means by which a good man combats with success—even with partial or apparent success—the difficulties which meet him at first, must ever be interesting and to some extent suggestive to others who are engaged in a work bearing any similarity to his. We say “partial or apparent success,” because we feel constrained to confess misgivings as to the way in which the rector went about his work; in other words, as to the principles upon which he based his teaching and his operations (and this without reference to what we happen to know, from other

and notorious facts, actually were his theological views). "The general result" (so his biographer sums up) "was what might have been expected. Dissent was all but extinguished. The church was filled, the communicants many. To the better disposed of the parishioners he was, as they expressed it, 'their father and leader in every thing that was good.' Even when they differed from him, they would say, 'As the rector says it, we must not go against him.'" A very delightful picture, and we have reason to believe not overdrawn.

As we said just now, the late bishop's dogmatic peculiarities are but too well known. For this we would seek to find excuse which may plead in mitigation. We would remind our readers that during the first quarter of the present century, what vitality of religion did exist, was almost confined to those who had been "awakened" by the preaching of John Wesley and his followers; and that Bishop Stanley's own cast of mind was such as naturally to disable it from breaking through the theological fog which so generally enveloped his contemporaries¹.

Such was the early history of one destined for the episcopate, a post into which he was thrust by the late Lord Melbourne, having attracted that nobleman's attention (it was believed) by the publication of some ultra-liberal political views in favour of Romanists;—a post which (to his honour be it spoken) he had already twice refused²; a post, finally, for which he was in many respects singularly ill-fitted, but which nevertheless he discharged,

¹ We subjoin a few extracts in proof of this.

"The want of a regular classical education, as well as the peculiar turn of his own mind, indisposed him to purely literary studies, of which the nicer subtleties, whether in scholarship, metaphysics, or theology, were, on every account, distasteful to him."—*Memoir*, p. 16.

"The contrast of the elaborate systems of later divinity with the simplicity and freedom of the Bible, was a topic to which he constantly recurred: and though giving a full practical assent to the Creed and worship of the Church of England, he never could endure minute controversies relating to the details of its doctrines and ceremonies."—*Ibid*.

"Let us then abide by the faith of our Protestant ancestors, whose object was to proclaim that there was a deeper and more scriptural unity than the unity of ecclesiastical organization or of ecclesiastical details: I mean, the unity of Christian principle, the unity of the Spirit."—*Charge to Clergy*, p. 70*. A sentiment in which, abstractedly taken and nakedly stated, every Churchman will cordially concur. What is meant in the mouth of Bishop Stanley, may be gathered from the whole tenor of the lamentable Charge to his clergy from which it is extracted.

We must add a few words of his biographer, who well knew what and of whom he was writing.

"And thus he became more thoroughly identified with his See, and, if one may so say, more consecrated and solemnized by its influences, than many would have been who abstractedly ascribed a more sacred origin and a more mystical character to the order of episcopacy" [and therefore of the priesthood].—*Memoirs*, p. 29.

² Mr. A. Stanley mentions but one occasion on which his father had "declined

upon the whole, so as to win the respect of all of every party whose respect was worth having. Of course it will not be supposed, that we are blind to the great and grievous faults, the eccentricities, or the too often ignorant hostility of the late prelate to what we have been taught to consider to be truth and right. But these things notwithstanding, we deliberately affirm that the late Bishop of Norwich won the respect of men of every party: for to what shall respect be due, if it be withheld from frankness and sincerity, from untiring energy, uncompromising hostility to what he considered wrong, much personal piety, and a constantly present sense of the responsibilities of his sacred² office? He was at all times accessible, kind, and patient; considerate and fair towards those whose opinions differed from his own. Conscientious and exact, he required from others that obedience to the calls of duty of which he set them so bright an example. He was so generous, that no personal opposition ever provoked his lasting enmity; above all, so noble-minded a gentleman, that *anonymous letters were always put by UNREAD*. In fine, though we cannot exactly apply to him the well-known words *nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*, yet we may say that whatever he thought his duty he attempted to do, and all which he attempted according to his power he thoroughly did. What was the result? It was, that the diocese, which at the time of Bishop Stanley's installation was a proverb and a by-word through the whole Church, was left—when he was called away twelve years afterwards—in those very respects in which it had been most grievously wronged, a model among sees.

We propose to subjoin a few extracts in support of some of the statements which we have made, merely premising that if no such book as Mr. Stanley's Memoir had been published we should have written in the same strain.

It is well known that one abuse which the bishop set himself stedfastly to reform was that of non-residence. Some notion of the state into which Bishop Bathurst had allowed the diocese to fall, in this respect, may be formed from the following, out of several, testimonies:—

"The deanery of Sandford," writes a clergyman from that district, "is made up of twenty-eight parishes, containing a population of about 12,000 . . . When I first came here, in 1837, out of the twenty-

overtures of a similar nature," viz. with regard to the then contemplated erection of the see of Manchester. But we happen to have the best reason to believe, that the statement above made is true.

² Sacred, because of its purport; not, alas!—in his view—because of its origin.

eight parishes five churches only were open for Divine service twice on the Lord's-day. In 1849 all the parishes enjoy this great blessing except three, in one of which the population does not amount to 50 persons, and the stipend of another does not reach 60*l.* yearly."

"In 1837," said a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Norwich, "I saw from my window nine parishes, of which only one contained a resident clergyman. Of those nine parishes there is now (in 1849) only one which does not contain a resident clergyman."—pp. 34, 35.

"His methodical habits," writes his biographer, "here came to his rescue. The same punctuality, which had characterized his management of his parish, he now applied more systematically to his larger sphere. Maps and statistics of the diocese and city were eagerly studied; all letters from the clergy were carefully acknowledged, preserved, and carefully laid up in chests devoted year by year to the accumulated store; all anonymous letters carefully closed as soon as opened, but kept unread to verify the handwritings of their respective authors; all his own letters, even on the most trifling matters, registered, endorsed, and copied; the previous career and qualifications of every candidate for ordination minutely required and recorded.

"The activity with which he hunted out each case of neglect or abuse, as if with the zeal of a personal friend of the party injured, or a personal enemy of the culprit—and it may be also, the almost military rigidity with which he regarded matters of discipline and professional duty—at times lent a greater appearance of harshness and severity to his requirements than was really involved in them. It is certain that his strict enforcement of them, especially of those which related to residence, and the performance of the full service on Sundays, following—as it did—on a state of great relaxation, produced a bitter feeling in a large portion of his clergy. This feeling was for a long time the chief cause of the general unpopularity which for the first years of his episcopate attached to his name. The resistance which he thus encountered was extremely painful to him; he was unable to conceive a clergyman devoid of the sense of obligation by which he was himself animated; and it was doubly trying to find that he was charged with enmity to the Church, often by the very persons on whom he was vainly endeavouring to impress the observance of its most important rules. 'I came into the diocese,' he said, 'not with the expectation of finding it a bed of roses, but rather a bed of thorns; but my greatest trials arise from those of the clergy who are loudest in their cry of *the Church in danger*, but who never do any thing to keep it from danger!' The greatness of the work before him, and of the obstacles thus thrown in his way, weighed heavily on his mind. 'I am well,' he writes in his first visitation, 'and as far as I can see and learn, am going on well; but the more I advance, the more humbled do I feel by the importance of my position. My only hope and consolation is, that I am a sort of pioneer for better days; and that the seed I am, as far as I can be, sowing, will bring forth fruits when I am gone to a more peaceful and Christian world than this.'—pp. 32—34.

The bishop's character was not devoid of a little human vanity; and these concurred with his fearlessness and sincerity in possessing him with the notion (at least so it seemed to us) that he was set by Providence "in the gap;" that he was bound to come forward on all occasions to impugn certain supposed errors and publish certain cherished opinions. Hence public actions, and public speeches, which gave much offence at the time—and what wonder? "God grant," he is reported to have written, "that I may be an instrument in His providence of extending what I conceive to be more enlarged and Christian views amongst the clergy" [he had just been speaking of "the High Church party"], "and thus be the means (*and for this I mainly accepted my office*) of disseminating a wider and more comprehensive spirit of Christianity throughout the land." To quote the words of his biographer, "It was not merely that he was a Whig in politics, and a staunch supporter of a Whig ministry, but that in all the various questions where politics and theology cross one another, *he took the side of free and comprehensive, instead of precise and exclusive views*; and to impress them upon others was one chief interest of his new situation."—p. 52.

One of the most wholesale and offensive of the bishop's attacks upon a doctrine of the Church was contained in his Installation Sermon, a document which his son has not reprinted, only, as it would seem, because his Primary Charge, which he *has* reprinted, "reiterates the same sentiments in a more detailed and perspicuous form." We could have wished, for his own as well as for his father's sake, (as we have said in an earlier part of this notice,) that he had not exhumed, from the oblivion into which they had fallen, one or two other pieces from the same pen, with which in whole or in part he has made up the present volume. From them we forbear to make any extracts. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* is a maxim which we should desire to forget least of all in the case of one who really was in many points a fine and admirable character.

We would rather present our readers with a few extracts from "Notes of an Ordination Address." Speaking of sermons the Bishop says:

"The advice that I should give is, that it should be practical Always bring forward those doctrines, but bring them forward only in a practical and true point. For instance, never speak of original sin in a vague way as merely a malady with which the world generally is afflicted, but point out its inveterate inherence in the heart as manifested in the daily practice of every believer. Again, the doctrine of faith; let it always be associated with good works as its only genuine and admitted fruit."

"Respecting your amusements . . . a general principle is all that I shall venture to suggest. Remember that the eye of the world is upon you, and that in this world there are weaker brethren who may take offence at pursuits in themselves comparatively innocent, which if impartially analysed might be considered as free from reproach. Do nothing, then, adopt no amusements, which may tend to lower that respect for your ministerial character which above all other things should be maintained consistently."

"Take care not to substitute a tract for a visit. A kind word or visit is far better even than a good tract. Without effectual visiting there can be no effectual preaching. The moment you leave your door, you are the sower going out to sow. Look out for opportunities not unreasonable to them. If any one has listened to tales against you, by returning good for evil show yourself his friend . . . Remember that amongst many you are as much a missionary as your predecessors were on the same spot ten centuries ago. If they will not endure you close at hand, watch at a distance, so as to give succour in the hour of need: and that hour will come sooner or later, and you will be received as a minister of heavenly truth where, heretofore, your labours were rejected."

"You have to maintain your principles as members of the Church of England, and you have to maintain charity towards those who will not assent to those principles. In those principles be firm, *but do not renounce intercourse with separatists*: [we beg, by the italics which are our own, to call special attention to these words, which appear to us to enunciate a duty too often neglected, grounded upon a truth too frequently forgotten] that renunciation would be the concession of a leading principle—for remember your promise and vow to take charge of your *whole* flock."—pp. 185*—189*.

Much as we deplore some points in Bishop Stanley's character, we must look upon them more in pity than in anger; for it is evident that his very failings were the exaggeration of his virtues. Thus was he "tolerant" of dissent, and "liberal" in the extreme sense of these ill-used words? It was not that he cared little for truth (when he knew it to be truth), but that he cared much for charity. Did he manifest an undue repugnance to "elaborate systems of divinity" and "the nicer subtleties whether in scholarship, metaphysics, or theology?" This arose from an over-appreciation of the truth, that "life is real, life is earnest;" an over-realization of the duty,

"We must act, that each to-morrow
May find us further than to-day."

If, again, he sometimes rushed with blind impetuosity into controversy, or stepped out of his way to do an eccentric act, it would be unfair to attribute this altogether to the love of singu-

larity which would combat generally-received doctrines simply because they are generally received, or to the petty vanity which delights to shock the reasonable prejudices of mankind. No: it was rather due to an excess of that generosity which hastens to sacrifice itself; to an exaggeration of the fearlessness which stigmatizes as cowardice the whispers of a more hesitating prudence. In connexion with these remarks we cannot help extracting the following passage which has forcibly struck our own mind, from the bishop's private journal, under date of December 31, 1843:—

"The question *now* with me, or rather long since has been with me, 'Watchman, what of the night?' How stands my account? . . . May we all in our respective stations feel, that as by our example and conduct others may stand or fall, we should ever prove in the earnestness of our Christian profession that we would be feeders of the sheep in the Christian fold.

"To myself more especially the injunction comes with twofold force, and few suspect and fewer know how incessantly, in season and out of season, the sense of my responsibility haunts and overwhelms me. God give me judgment and understanding in the exercise of those high functions committed to me, and may I, when tried in the balance, not be found wanting. If, in feeling impatient and excited under the manifestation of those evil and angry passions in which the controversial Christian would delight to indulge, as if bitterness of spirit were a gospel virtue, I avert my thoughts from dwelling on those topics which separate man from man, and answer to myself, 'What are those questions of strife to thee?' may God impress me more forcibly with the importance of diligently carrying out the essence of religion, as declared by our Saviour to be comprised in the two great commandments, Love to God and to my neighbour."—p. 93.

And again from his journal on the last day of 1848, just five years subsequent to the foregoing extract, occurs the following touching passage; a passage which derives a mournful interest from the fact, that, being the last record of his thoughts contained in the journal, it seems like a glimmering presentiment of what was so soon to happen.

"And now, oh my God, whose eye is upon me, and who canst search my heart to the very inmost, hear the prayer I would offer in sincerity and earnestness, on my entrance to probably the last division and scene of my mortal life. The threescore years and ten have passed, and the remaining years must be few in number. Grant that thy Holy Spirit may enable me so to act in the high and responsible vocation in which thy Providence hath placed me, that my declining years may be devoted to thy service, and that, in all my doings and intentions, the advance-

ment of thy holy religion and the true vital interests of the Catholic Church of Christ may be my prominent object and end and aim." —p. 95.

We have room but for one extract more : and it shall be one which, together with a former one touching the bishop's treatment of anonymous letters, we earnestly commend to special attention. The following entry occurs in an early portion of his journal:—

"Little do they guess how engrossed I altogether am in one sole object; the spiritual and temporal welfare of the diocese. By night, in my many waking hours, the working of my mind is how and what can be done by me to promote the end for which I accepted a situation for which, in every other point, I feel myself so unqualified and unfit. *I accepted it with a determination not to make it a source of profit to myself or patronage for others, it being my unshaken determination to expend not only the whole proceeds of the emoluments on the diocese, but the greater part of my private fortune also,* saving little or nothing more than it was my wish to do at Alderley; that, with regard to patronage, no motives of private interest, or mere connexion, or formal friendship, should sway me in giving preferments; and that the names hitherto on my list consist of individuals known to me only by respectability and fitness for the situations to which I could appoint them. Such are the feelings with which I accepted the office of a bishop; on such I have acted hitherto; and God grant that nothing may induce me to depart from principles which will alone justify me in entering on a line of life and arduous responsibility, drawing me aside from pursuits and tastes with which my habits were far more congenial."—*Memoir*, p. 27.

Admirable sentiments! noble resolutions! adhered to to the very letter, we have reason to believe.

But we must have done. Disagreeing, as we do, from many of the sentiments of the subject of this Memoir, we could not but honour him in his life, and are glad to pay this tribute to his virtues. In spite of its faults, we have read with pleasure the volume we have been reviewing; and shall assign to it a place on our shelves, side by side with the worthies of our Church. And why? Not because we herein read of shining talents or of high attainments. Not because it is a record of saving sagacity in times of peril, of unerring orthodoxy, or of confession unto death. But because Bishop Edward Stanley is a name synonymous with UNSWERVING RECTITUDE OF PURPOSE; because it speaks to us of one who did what he did "as of sincerity, as of God, in the sight of God;" because the last of the few wandering words which escaped him ere every gleam of life and reason had passed away, proved that his dying heart was in his diocese, and his latest thoughts were for its benefit:—"If there are but twenty, they ought to have their double service."

- II.—*The Church Catechism expounded, illustrated, and proved from Scripture. By the Rev. J. H. GOOCH, M.A., Head Master of Heath School, Halifax, &c.* London: Longmans.

A VERY sound and orthodox exposition of the Church Catechism, which will be of much use to teachers.

- III.—*Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century, with numerous Illustrations of existing Remains, from original Drawings. By T. HUDSON TURNER.* Oxford: John Henry Parker, and 377, Strand, London. 1851.

THERE are few subjects, probably, of equal capabilities, concerning which so little has been written of late years as the Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages; few topics, we mean, affording an equally accessible field of interest and instruction. On all other points connected with the period intervening between the accession of William the Norman and the demise of the last of the Plantagenets, we are, or ought to be, fully and minutely acquainted, from the dress of a queen consort to the habit of a mendicant friar, or the accoutrements of a knight to that of his war-horse. On these, indeed on every subject, great or small, connected with those centuries, we have the most ample details, varied, it is true, both in colouring and outline, as the authors look upon the period in question as the golden or the leaden age of English life; for few either here or elsewhere take the candid and philosophic line which acknowledges at once the glittering merits and the glaring faults of those times, varied according to the principles or prejudices of the writers, yet still giving, or professing to give, the fullest information regarding the mind and manners, the men and women, the hawks and horses, and, above all, the wood and stone, of this interesting era. But of the domestic architecture of the time we have scarcely any thing worthy to speak of, nothing in any way having a claim to enter into a comparison with the very able, erudite, and interesting volume before us. It would be unfair to the illustrations and the letter-press to give the palm to either. The plates are designed and executed with that grace as well as accuracy which characterizes all the architectural illustrations of this publisher; and the letter-press has, in addition to those substantial merits which weigh with the professed student of architectural antiquities, two great attractions for the general reader. In the first place, unlike many works of the kind, it is *intelligible*: though strictly scientific it is never obscure; where a simple phrase will express the writer's meaning, it is always adopted; and where a more technical mode of diction is necessary, the style is so very clear that the uninitiated may with little diffi-

culty decipher the meaning. In the second place, Mr. Turner has rendered the work highly *interesting* by the insertion of many curious facts relating to the history and manners of the times in which his scenes are laid, and these are naturally, and as it appears almost necessarily, interwoven with the principal subject.

The Introduction briefly describes the domestic architecture of the Romans in England, and proceeds to give some notices of the Saxon period, gradually preparing the reader for the days of Norman domination. The first chapter gives the results of the author's researches regarding the twelfth century, and the second supports and illustrates his conclusions by accounts of the principal existing remains of that period. The third and fourth treat the thirteenth century in the same manner. The fifth contains various highly interesting extracts from the Liberate Rolls of Henry III., 1229—1259. And the volume concludes with supplementary notes of foreign examples, and an appendix of documents.

We subjoin a few extracts, that our readers may have the opportunity of judging of the contents of this entertaining as well as valuable work.

After thirty-two pages of the Introduction already mentioned, the work thus commences :—

“An inquiry into the state of domestic architecture in England during the twelfth century is attended with much difficulty. The comparatively few remains of domestic edifices of that period which have descended to our times are either so greatly dilapidated, or so entangled with later alterations, that we are compelled to resort to early writings and evidences for materials to aid in describing their main features, and to determine the plan of construction usually adopted at the date of their erection.

“Such writings and evidences consist of the more ancient accounts of the exchequer; of early conveyances of property, prepared late in the twelfth, or at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and of notices in chroniclers and other writers. The process of evolving any considerable amount of information from these sources is painful and laborious; but whoever would successfully pursue this subject, must have recourse to it. The deeds referred to are especially important; the boundaries and descriptions of property set forth in them frequently supplying valuable facts for consideration and comparison; and it is chiefly from an assemblage of isolated facts that we can venture to speak, with any degree of authority, upon the character of the various buildings adapted to domestic accommodation, either in the twelfth or succeeding century. There is also another species of information which must not be overlooked, viz. illuminations in ancient manuscripts, but unfortunately these pictorial decorations are comparatively scarce anterior to the thirteenth century, and are, generally speaking, not to be too greatly relied upon as evidences of architectural style; however,

they frequently afford useful hints as to minor details which should not be disregarded.

"It results from a comparison of these various authorities, that in England, particularly in the southern parts of the country, ordinary manor-houses, and even domestic edifices of greater pretension, as the royal palaces, were generally built, during the twelfth century, on one uniform plan, comprising a hall with a chamber or chambers adjacent. The hall was generally situated on the ground-floor, but sometimes over a lower story which was half in the ground; it presented an elevation equal or superior to that of the buildings annexed to it; it was the only large apartment in the entire edifice, and was adapted, in its original design, to accommodate the owner and his numerous followers and servants; they not only took their meals in the hall, but also slept in it on the floor—a custom the prevalence of which is shown by numerous passages in early authors, particularly in the works of the romance writers.

"In mediæval Latin this apartment, and not unfrequently the whole building, is termed '*aula*;' thus the royal palace was styled, '*aula regis*,' both in legal records and in chronicles. When the French language became generally used, the hall or building was called, '*la sale*' or '*salle*;' but in Saxon and Norman times alike, the chief mansion was vernacularly designated a 'hall:' a place named '*halla Haroldi*,' or '*Harold's hall*,' occurs in the sheriffs' accounts for Hampshire throughout the reign of Henry the Second. Hence the origin of the modern word 'hall,' as applied to a country residence."—pp. 1—3.

Amongst the more minute details which are presented to us in the course of these pages, we find that, in the 19th of Henry the Third, twenty-five thousand great nails with heads were supplied for the king's house at Winchester, by the borough of Gloucester, which, from its vicinity to the Forest of Dean, was the Birmingham of the middle ages.

The following very interesting particulars are given of the great hall of Oakham castle:—

"On the capitals at the springing of the arches are female figures and animals playing on musical instruments, but these are much mutilated; a harp and two crows may still be seen. In the same situation in the aisles are human heads very well executed. The arches have no projecting label, but the outer moulding is the same as that round the window recesses filled with the tooth-ornament, and resting on heads against the walls; under this is the plain wall, and within this the quirked ogree.

"The corbels which support the outer arches are very fine; they consist of a moulded corbel, out of which is cut a small arch, with the tooth-ornament on the angle, this is supported by an animal which again is supported by two heads. The one nearest the entrance-door at the east end appears to be what is heraldically called a 'cat-a-moun-

tain,' and is supported by the heads of a king and queen, which appear evidently to be those of Henry the Second and his queen, Eleanor of Guienne. The next is a lion supported on two heads, male and female, which appear to be portraits. The third has the mane and tail of a lion, but the head is different; this is supported by two heads without beards, but still apparently male and female, with very expressive faces. The fourth is a bull, supported by male and female heads, remarkable for the mode in which the hair is dressed; indeed, the whole series are highly valuable as examples of costume, showing the various modes of wearing the hair and beard at that period. The disposition of the folds in the drapery of the musicians is also very characteristic of the sculpture of the time. The roof is a king-post roof, but has nothing original except the pitch, part of it having been put up by Villiers Duke of Buckingham, and the rest being modern.

"The style of building clearly shows it to be about 1180; and as it is said to have been built by Walkelyn de Ferrars, that date agrees with it.

"It should have been mentioned, that the spring-stones or skew-tables of the gables on the north side, are each supported by two heads, male and female. The crests of the gables, too, are ornamented with large figures; that at the east end being a figure in long surcoat, mounted on the back of a lion or other animal; and that at the west being a sagittary, the bow and arrow of which are now gone, having served as a mark for rifle-shooters some years since, and by that means destroyed."—pp. 30, 31.

That archery has been superseded by the practice of fire-arms is a well-known fact; but that the living professors of the one art should destroy the lifeless representatives of the other, is singular and not praiseworthy.

Amongst the many other passing indications of the state of mediæval society, Mr. Turner notices the wealth of the Israelites, as manifested in their houses. The Jew's House at Lincoln is well known; regarding that called Moyses Hall, at Bury St. Edmunds, we find the following valuable remarks:—

"That tradition should have assigned the name of the Jew's House to this building, and also to the two tenements of the Norman period at Lincoln, is a fact not without significance, and worthy of attention. From Saxon times until the close of the twelfth century the Jews were allowed full liberty to trade in this country, and were comparatively unmolested in the possession and enjoyment of their gains. Being the wealthiest members of the community, it is not unlikely they constructed substantial habitations, as much for the security of their persons and property as from any other motive. It is certain that, in all early deeds relative to the transfer of tenements once held by Jews, those tenements are usually described as built of stone. It was not till the thirteenth century that the Israelites were subjected to that long-

continued system of oppression and exaction which terminated in their expulsion from the country by Edward the First, in the year 1290. That expulsion was accomplished in a manner so sudden and violent, that the memory of it was likely to be strongly impressed in any place where substantial monuments of their former residence still survived.

"The Jews of Bury St. Edmonds were driven from that town in the year 1190 by Abbot Samson, in the time of whose predecessor they appear to have had many illegal transactions with the subordinate officers in the monastery, some notices of which occur in the interesting chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelonde. In 1183, Saneto, the Jew of St. Edmondsbury, was fined five marks, that he might not be punished for taking in pledge certain sacred vessels."—pp. 46, 47.

The following passage reminds us of the "domestic architecture" of the late William Rose, Esq., author of "The Court of Beasts," "Anecdotes of Monkeys," &c. In his very peculiar, though very comfortable house at Jundemoor, near Christ Church, having first erected a drawing-room in the Italian style—a bedroom and a kitchen—he added chamber after chamber on the ground-floor, connecting them by a long brick passage running between them, which terminated in another eccentricity entitled The Persian Seat:—

"The directions for repairs and additions to royal manor-houses, issued by Henry the Third, prove that no systematic plan was adopted with reference to those buildings. Where a large extent of ground was enclosed, forming that which was called a court (*curia*), the original building of which was of small extent, it was the custom to enlarge the accommodation, as required, by the erection from time to time of new edifices, as chambers, chapels, kitchens, which, in the first instance, were isolated from each other, in fact, dotted here and there within the enclosure; when a number of separate buildings had been thus created, they were gradually connected by covered passages (*aleiæ*), built of wood, sometimes open at the sides, but more frequently made quite weather-proof, so that the queen might walk from her chamber to chapel with a dry foot."—p. 59.

The information however contained in these pages, is not confined to mere architectural details, and the manners and customs necessarily arising from the account of them—there is much that is interesting respecting other matters, such, for instance, as husbandry of different kinds.

The account given of the introduction and culture of the various fruit trees and fruit-bearing shrubs and plants, is well worth perusal, and contains many facts not generally known. Amongst other things we are told that—

"Nuts were cultivated in England in early times to obtain oil. It

was estimated by an English writer of the early part of the fourteenth century, that one quarter of nuts ought to yield a gallon of oil."—p. 144.

The woodcuts, to which we have before alluded, include besides designs of entire and ruined buildings, and various portions of them, such as doors, windows, arches, &c., illustrations from painted glass of the trades of the thirteenth century, and others from illuminated manuscripts of an equally interesting nature, referring to the manners and customs of the ages to which they belong.

And now we must take leave of this volume, cordially wishing it that success which it eminently deserves.

IV.—*Church Education at home and abroad, and the Emigrant's Friend.* By the Rev. H. IVES BAILEY, Vicar of North Leverton, Notts, &c. London: Longmans.

THE author of this work is well known as the author of "The Liturgy compared with the Bible;" and no one could be more competent than himself to direct the instruction of children in the doctrines of the Prayer Book. The volume before us furnishes the materials for catechetical instruction on all parts of the Book of Common Prayer, and many useful hints.

V.—*The History of Greece from the earliest Period to the Roman Conquest, &c.* By Miss CORNER. London: Dean and Son.

A NEAT and compact little volume, intended for the use of schools, and founded on the histories of Greece by Grote and Thirlwall, and other modern writers.

VI.—*A Text-Book of Zoology for Schools.* By PHILIP HENRY GOSSE, A.L.S. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

A COMPENDIOUS treatise on zoology, scientifically arranged, and very beautifully illustrated by woodcuts.

VII.—*Ann Ash; or, the Foundling.* By the Author of "Charlie Burton," "The Broken Arm," &c. London: John Henry Parker, 377, Strand. 1851.

ONE of those delightful little books which intended primarily to instruct, amuse, and refine the poor, cannot fail to interest, and ought to improve the rich into whose hands it may fall.

VIII.—*Catechetical Lessons on the Sacraments, The Apostles' Creed, The Ten Commandments, and The Lord's Prayer.* London: John Henry Parker, 377, Strand; and Broad-street, Oxford. 1851.

A MOST useful work, admirably adapted to its purpose; the veteran as well as the novice may derive much benefit from it. We have noticed, however, one singular and reprehensible omission. Speaking of the FIRST Commandment, *Deists, Jews, and Socinians* are mentioned, amongst those who break it; whilst in the SECOND, no allusion is made to *Romish Idolatry*. This is the more singular, as the work commences by saying—

“The Catechism reminds us that there are two Sacraments only, because in the Romish Church there are five other ordinances, erroneously so called.”—(See Art. xxv.)

IX.—*A Manual of Ecclesiastical History, from the First to the Twelfth Century inclusive.* By the Rev. E. S. FOULKES, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. Oxford: John Henry Parker. 1851.

THAT a work of the kind indicated in this title was much wanted, will be readily admitted by all, who have attempted either to gain or give instruction on the subject of Ecclesiastical History. Whether the volume before us supplies this want, is another and a different question. From the very hasty and partial perusal which we have been able to bestow on this performance, we are inclined to think that the author has employed great industry in collecting and arranging his materials, and great impartiality in comparing his authorities; but that he is somewhat deficient in judgment, and not remarkably felicitous in style, we select a few passages to illustrate our meaning. The following, for instance, strikes us as very “odd:”—

“Regulations appertaining to order are to be found in the epistles of the same Apostle [sc. St. Paul]: partly with reference to the particular Church he is addressing, partly tending to the edification of the whole Church. Many rites, ceremonies, and ordinances, were appointed, but a good deal was left to the discretion of the individual. The Gentiles were not obliged to observe the law, nor the Jews to lay it aside. Hence many customs ceased with the occasion which gave rise to them; for instance, the directions concerning abstinence from blood, and from things strangled, and the like. To which may be added the love-feasts, a community of goods, baptismal immersion, exorcism, the kiss of peace, observance of the Jewish Sabbath; in a word, ceremonies may be abrogated by the power that made them, and such a power has never been wanting in the Church. On the other

hand, there are apostolical injunctions which have been continued obligatory to the present time; for instance, abstinence from fornication, and the observance of the Lord's-day, or Sunday."—p. 7.

We were surprised at the following:—

"As for the letter of Abgarus to our Lord, and His reply, the account given of them by Eusebius is so circumstantial and unhesitatingly put forward, that it would seem rash to conclude them among the spurious productions of the age."—p. 12.

It is also a peculiar mode of expression to speak of

"The departure of the sceptre by the extinction of the Herods."

Our next quotation, however, is of a more seriously objectionable nature,—

"The gradual silence of the oracles [*i. e.* the heathen oracles] is likewise undeniable; and consequently the decay of the carnal idolatry upheld by them. By a remarkable coincidence it may be said to have commenced with the equally carnal law, and to have ceased with the law."—p. 21.

This needs no comment. Take again the following:—

"The ordinance of the Christian Eucharist, there can be no question, was borrowed from the eucharistical post-cœnium among the Jews; though it is not so clear when bread and wine were first employed in the feast of the Passover."—p. 32.

It would, however, be unfair to judge of the work from these isolated passages; for there is much, very much, which is valuable and useful, and the volume may find its way very profitably into a theological library, provided it be used as a *help* rather than a *guide*. The author is clearly desirous of exhibiting substantive facts rather than subjective views of them—in many cases he has succeeded—in others he has defeated his own object. The work *must*, however, be revised, if it reaches a second edition.

x.—*Short Forms of Prayer for Family or Private Devotion, compiled from the Prayer Book of the Church of England. By a CLERGYMAN.* Oxford and London: J. W. Parker. 1851.

WE heartily recommend this truly Church of England little volume, though we have some doubts as to the advisableness of using the forms, "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty," &c., in the manner in which they are here introduced.

xi.—*Amaranth, von Oscar v. Redwitz. Siebente Auflage.* Mainz. 1851. *Amaranth. By OSCAR VON REDWITZ.* Seventh Edition. Mayence. 1851.

A SINGULAR, an unheard of, novelty; a modern German Christian poem. "Simply impossible!" those who are acquainted

with German literature may exclaim: "since the days of Klopstock and his watery 'Messiade' Christianity has been altogether at a discount in the Leipsic Muses-market." Nevertheless, the fact stares us in the face; the volume lies before us, and the two words, "seventh edition," meet our eyes upon the cover. And, further, we have read the poem; and, upon the whole, we do most cordially admire it. We are inclined to doubt indeed that Herr von Redwitz is a great poet: he lacks, we fear, strong bardic impulse, genuine poetic "furor," spontaneity; nor does he make amends for the absence of this quality, like our own Keble, for instance, or like Tennyson, by any very peculiar depth of thought, or any very exquisite happiness of language. The phraseology of "*Amaranth*" is for the most part rather commonplace than otherwise; the versification has no entrancing melody; and yet there is a wholesome freshness, a sweetness, a purity, a beauty, in the poem, which reminds us of those northern forests, in which its scene of action is generally laid. Herr von Redwitz is a Roman Catholic, and a very earnest worshipper of the Virgin Mary: nevertheless, in essentials, his Christianity is sound enough. The main drawback to the value of the poem consists in its author's intensely German appreciation, or rather depreciation of womankind. The heroine, *Amaranth*, is preferred by the hero, Walter, to an Italian Princess *Gismonda*, mainly, or at least in no small degree, because the former is thoroughly submissive, and the latter ventures to have some few opinions of her own. One of the trials to which her German suitor puts the lady, previous to his rejection of her, her riches, and her charms, is the following: he goes to her when she is on the point of starting for the chase, and addresses her, literally, after this fashion, "*Gismonda, do not go hunting to-day! Please to show me obedience! (O woll Gehorsam mir erzeugen!)* be my loving and faithful maid." Instead of laughing in his face, as the lady well might do, at the singular impertinence of this request, she actually complies with it, but does so in rather an angry way, exclaiming "with severity," so says our poet,—"*then send the knights all home again, for I have no longer any pleasure in hunting.*" Hereupon, Sir Walter bends, quietly raises the whip which the lady has dropped, and places it gently in her hands, instead of laying it about her snow-white shoulders as the poet clearly thinks he might have done, softly presses her riding-hat down upon her hair, and, arranging the rubies in it, addresses her, "*Gismonda, go to the chase after all! (Geh du nur zum Jagen!)* I only wished for loving obedience; not for such angry resignation. Pardon me, if I should have hurt your feelings." And quietly, as if nothing had occurred, he disappeared in silence in the corridor.—Is not that a singular illustration of the honour in which

our Teuton brethren hold the fairer sex? To tell the honest truth, such a way of thinking as this is to our minds simply intolerable, though it be, alas! most characteristically German. For woman is almost always treated in Germany as an inferior creature, not being allowed to have any will, or taste, or opinion, of her own. She is for the most part, at least, a household drudge, a plaything, and a slave. Grillparzer, the great Austrian bard, has made his countrymen so furious, and brought about his own neglect, mainly, by the making his female characters in various cases intellectually superior to their male companions; as in the instance of Medea and Jason, of Sappho and Phaon, or, again more recently, of Hero and Leander. For whatsoever invades the despotic supremacy of man is regarded by all Germans as the highest social impiety; and if Herr von Redwitz's Christianity has been borne with by his infidel contemporaries, we suspect that this must be attributed mainly to the unhesitating ardour with which he has fought the old German battle on behalf of the supremacy of strength. This is the one most unamiable, and, indeed, most ignoble trait in the German national character, which it is difficult for an Englishman to speak of with common patience; and were it not for the presence of such very remarkable qualities, in the work before us, such beauty, and such truth, we believe that we should have been too deeply disgusted by its author's concentrated Germanism, on this score, to allow of our awarding him the laurel. But, after all, we will endeavour to conquer our disgust; and, setting this one subject aside, we must confess, that the appearance of the poem of "Amaranth" deserves to be sincerely rejoiced in by all men,—at least by all Christians,—however Protestant; because it is literally the very first German poem we have ever read or heard of, which combines romance and love with a positive Christianity. At last youthful German minds and hearts will be able to frame a Christian poetical ideal, even if Herr von Redwitz should not have furnished them with a poem of the very highest order: it will seem possible to be religious henceforth, without being necessarily prosaic and "philistine;" possible to court the Muses, without being rationalistic. An astonishing discovery for the German mind, which has taken nearly a century to arrive at this result. We need scarcely remind our readers of the sarcastic infidelity of Lessing, the frivolous paganism of Wieland, the polite indifferentism of Goethe, the transcendental mysticism of Schiller, all equally opposed to Divine Revelation; nor need we instance the more modern strains of Heine, Freiligrath, Lenau, &c. Christianity is well-nigh a total stranger to the heights of the German Parnassus. The Schlegels,—Frederick, and Augustus,—were

no poets, though they wrote laboured artificial verses ; Tieck was, and is an unbeliever, although he be one of a very romantic order, who has employed, accordingly, the creed of the Mediæval Church for his own romantic purposes. Simrock, again, has written, half seriously and half jocosely, in illustration of many Romish legends. But here is an actual Christian poem, celebrating the love of two young hearts, and yet containing ascriptions of praise and glory to the ever-blessed Trinity, embodying and illustrating all the greater mysteries of the faith, and obviously aimed at proselytising the minds and hearts of German men. The author seems full of genuine ardour, fraught with sincere enthusiasm : in his poem he thus speaks, having described the various themes of other German poets :—

“ But One alone, One only,
The Lord of lyres and lays,
Received no accent lonely
Of tribute, or of praise.

Of Him, the Son Eternal,
The Lord of light and song,
They spake with scorn infernal ;
Or silence did Him wrong.”

Redwitz tells us how he and a friend discoursed one day upon this theme, and regretted the absence of a school of German Christian poetry. “ Some one,” his friend said, “ must make a beginning ; but who would venture ? ” “ I will venture,” Redwitz cried, “ I promise it you ; ” and thus he fulfils his promise. We cannot attempt in the narrow space accorded to a notice to trace the narrative before us ; suffice it to say that the subject is happily chosen from the period of the middle ages, and is treated with no little animation, in every conceivable form of metre. Amaranth’s forest-songs present, perhaps, the happiest specimens we could select of our author’s lyric powers ; we will translate two or three of them accordingly :—

1.

How good thou art, how kind, O Spring,
That speed’st, with countless gifts to bless ;
To old bare trees thou leaves dost bring,
To each young flower its own bright dress.

Thou bring’st the lark his song divine,
Clear asure to the skies and sea,
Thou bring’st the world its gold sunshine,—
O hast thou nothing brought for me ?

II.

Sweet forest-bird, thou sing'st to-day
 More heartfelt lays, than aye before :
 So stirs my heart thy simple lay
 That I with thee would sing, would soar.
 Hast thou, too, thou, in dreams perchance
 Full sweetly pledged thy spring-tide troth ?
 Why do I fear thy startled glance ?
 Sure, something strange is near us both.

III.

Dear birds, sing more, and ever more,
 Long as your little breasts can swell ;—
 Sing of God's watch wide nature o'er,—
 Sing of Spring's mirth,—for you sing well !—
 Could your notes ring, more sweet than words,—
 Ten thousand years, those light wings furl'd,—
 You ne'er could sing enough, dear birds !—
 So beauteous God has made the world.

We will add a couple of songs of Walter's own, which have the same simplicity and freshness :—

I.

As long as my life's skies shine blue,
 Why should I think of clouds and night ?
 As long as this young heart is true,
 Why should it mar its own delight ?
 Think you, the spring-tide flower, first breaking
 From its fair stem, fears autumn's shade ?
 Think you, the star, at eve awaking,
 Shines less, because at morn 'twill fade ?

II.

Come to the forest's green recesses,—
 O come !—one word I'd whisper low :—
 But see, first see, how sunshine blesses,
 How ring-doves coo, how roses blow.
 Here, where the leaves and buds are springing,
 Look upward to the broad blue sky,
 Here, where the nightingales are singing,—
 And then, then, list, and make reply !

The volume before us, though small in form, has just 300 pages: the tale is therefore long, and fraught with romantic passages "by flood and field;" and we think that we can safely recommend its study to all lovers of German poetry. Despite

the brutality to them, in certain passages, which we have already alluded to, the ladies will be charmed with it, we are certain; and so, indeed, will be all the young of either sex,—it has so much fresh interest and so much poetic life. Its seven editions, called for within one year, betoken a success that, as far as we know, has heretofore been altogether unexampled: that its influence on the German mind will be healthy we have every cause to hope. Our readers will possibly pardon one or two more samples of the poetry. Thus then sings Walter's mother, the Countess, when he is about to leave her, wandering in the castle mead among the flowers:—

- “ My heart has one belovèd garden,
And mother's love must till the field;
May Heaven too fond affection pardon,
Where Grace alone can harvest yield!
- “ Full many flowers therein are blowing,
Fresh feelings, clear, and true, as light:
What tears, from eyes maternal flowing,
Bedew'd those buds, unseen, at night!
- “ His whole brave heart, like one bright blossom,—
Mine watches o'er it, night and day;
Youth's thorns may wound the mother's bosom,—
How should it cast that flower away?
- “ Through all his boyhood's mead of roses,
I wander, giving anxious heed,—
If here and there some weed discloses
Its noxious form,—to nip the weed.
- “ Here may some stem lie bent or trailing,
Here in some bell sleeps poison-dew,
Here seems some simple blossom failing,
Here 'neath broad sunshine fades some hue:
- “ Thus, aiding now, and now repressing,
The mother doth her garden keep;
She hopes in God's rich autumn blessing;
His love, and hers, may never sleep.
- “ But now—O Heaven, my anguish pardon!—
My child must go,—my heart must bleed:
They strip thee of thy spring-tide garden,
Thou widow'd warder of the mead.
- “ How many a flowret's head may falter
When o'er it cold north breezes blow!
O roses, sadly may ye alter,
If passion's sun above you glow!

"To God I turn : may He receive it,
A Mother's last fond parting-prayer :
My garden,—in His hands I leave it,—
The Mother's heart can not despair !"

One more extract, and we have done, premising, that though we present our readers with songs only, nine-tenths of this really delightful poem are plain narrative. This is a song, then, of the forest-maiden Amaranth's, after her meeting with young Walter :—

"He has kiss'd me !
Why tremblest thou, my young heart, so ?
Within thee thrills what music low ?
Art thou not young ? art thou not free ?
Is not the world so fair ? And *he*—
Yes, he has kiss'd thee !

"O, he has kiss'd me !—
I know not should I joy or weep :—
But will this heart ne'er more know sleep ?
I think of all I aye have known,
And still returns one thought alone,—
That he has kiss'd me !

"Yes, he has kiss'd me !—
O, had he kiss'd my lips alone,
I would not make one soothless moan :
His kiss sunk down my heart within,
And thence it calls—(can this be sin ?)—
That he has kiss'd me !

"O, he has kiss'd me !
If up to heav'n I now could soar,
And be *his* angel evermore,
And round about him watch and wake,
Then could I joy, for Heaven's dear sake,
That he had kiss'd me !"

- XII.—1. *Muse Populaire*. PIERRE DUPONT. *Chants et Poésies*.
Deuxième Edition. Paris. Garnier Frères. 1851.
2. *Nouvelles Confidences*. Par A. DE LAMARTINE.
3. *Théâtre de F. PONSARD*.

Now that French literature is threatened with sudden extinction by the new Imperial or quasi-imperial power which has so suddenly arisen in the person of the daring "*neveu de mon oncle*," the Prince Louis Napoleon, we seem to think of it rather more kindly than of yore. We remember that reign of dulness in the literary world which lasted throughout the period of the first Napoleon's

empire, and cannot but heave a sigh of anticipation, and almost of regret. With all its sins, the literary epoch now drawing to a close has been marked in France by the most extraordinary brilliancy; the names of Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and De Beranger, cannot be speedily forgotten. Now, however, we fear that we can expect nothing but the silence of the grave. The three works, the titles of which we have placed above, deserve but little notice at our hands. Lamartine carries on his interminable confidences in his usual strain of lackadaisical but rather pleasing sentiment. French among Frenchmen is De Lamartine. We are glad to find, however, that he has escaped the tender mercies of the new dictator, at least thus far!—a severe malady having confined him to his bed at the period of the recent *coup d'état*. Would that he were not so exceedingly voluminous and expansive in the expression of all his sentiments, both in prose and verse. With a little more power of concentration, he might have been a great poet. The "Muse Populaire" of Pierre Dupont, a collection of popular and revolutionary strains, in so far presents a contrast to the compositions of De Lamartine, that its effusions are, for the more part, very short and simple; unfortunately, they are also trivial and colourless. There is one little song in the collection respecting "les Veroniques" which has some merit; but trivial vulgarity is the more marked characteristic of the work; such, for instance, as finds utterance in the following "refrain":—

"Bon Français, quand je vois mon verre
Plein de son vin couleur de feu,
Je songe, en remerciant Dieu,
Qu'ils n'en ont pas dans l'Angleterre!"

The recent success achieved in Paris, by this collection alone, induces us to notice it. The "Théâtre" of Ponsard is still less to our taste, being a feeble imitation of the cold and statuesque productions of Racine and Corneille. And yet, strange to say, Ponsard's success has been positively startling; he has even been preferred for awhile (such is the instability of the French popular mind) to the ardent genius and bold imagination of a Victor Hugo, that immeasurably greatest of French poets, despite his extravagance and occasional folly, to whom justice has never yet been fully done, whether in his own country, or out of it. We can now make no further comments on the state of French literature, but trust to return to the subject ere long, and treat it with that gravity which its importance demands at our hands.

XIII.—*Cecile; or, the Pervert. A Tale. By Sir CHARLES ROCKINGHAM.* One Vol. London. 1851.

WE notice this flimsy production of the Vicomte de Jarnac's, a Romanist, who, we must say, dishonourably veils his real intentions in the title-page, solely for the purpose of calling our readers' attention to the notice which this book has received from certain English journalists. The raptures of the critic in the "Morning Chronicle" were so extreme, as scarcely to be able to find sufficiently enthusiastic terms of praise; this critic was alarmed, indeed, at the title of "The Pervert," and had apprehended some effusion from the bigots of Exeter Hall; but how agreeably was he undeceived! He could assure his readers that the book was purely and entirely catholic. To be sure, it might be considered rather favourable to the serious claims of the Church of Rome; but, then, an author must take one side or other in the pending controversy, and surely Sir Charles Rockingham had the right to take which side he pleased. The "Chronicle" was at a loss, in fine, which most to admire, the critical justice of the arguments employed, the beauty of the writing, or the interest of the tale; its readers were exhorted to peruse the work without delay, and promised the most surpassing gratification. Not one syllable of protest against the dogmas of Romanism, but unqualified sympathy and admiration! The "Guardian" was more guarded, as becomes its name; it apologized to its readers for having to speak unfavourably of "Cecile," but as the "Guardian" critic had condemned all controversial fiction on the Anglican side of the question, he admitted that it was not open to him to approve of this production, kindly as he felt disposed, and kindly as he expressed himself towards it. Of course, "The English Churchman" spoke of it, as it ought to speak, as a flimsy circulating-library novel, only worthy of notice from the unworthy deception practised in the title on the youthful and unwary. When will churchmen learn to know their true friends from their foes?

XIV. 1. *Stuart of Dunleath. A Story of Modern Times. By the Hon. Mrs. NORTON.* London: Colburn. 1851.

2. *Ravenscliffe. A Novel. By the Author of "Emilia Wyndham."* Colburn. 1851.

WE notice this new novel of Mrs. Norton's, for the purpose of reprobating that dallying in fiction with sentimental impropriety which is but too frequent in the present day, and which is so

exceedingly injurious to the minds and hearts of the youthful and the gay. From this error Mrs. Marsh, the authoress of "Emilia Wyndham," is usually free. In her new work of "Ravenscliffe" the moral is unexceptionable, and nothing can be more beautiful than the portraiture of the character of the heroine, her conquest of passion, her pure and free surrender of her heart to him who becomes her wedded lord, and the temporary happiness consequent thereupon. "Ravenscliffe" is on the whole a noble work. It is indeed unartistically constructed, the interest closing with the second volume, and the third being obviously added to make up the customary three; but nothing can exceed the passion or the power, and we may add, the moral truth and beauty, of certain scenes in the two first volumes. Admirable also is the portraiture of the amiable Romish priest, with his well-meant artifices and white lies, and the authoress has earned our gratitude for the warning thus addressed to young and too confiding hearts against the wiles and guiles of Rome. Mrs. Norton's book, on the other hand, though it exhibits a good deal of cleverness, some knowledge of the world, and perhaps virtuous intentions, is, to our apprehension, both artificial and mischievous in its bearings. We are taught therein to interest ourselves in a virtuous woman without any religious principle, who has married a brute, and loves another man who is himself of the unprincipled sentimental class, and indeed void of common honesty. We see these two people walk on the edge of a precipice where a single step might hurl them down; and though Eleanor is saved by chance, we see no reason why she should be, and turn from the book with a mingled feeling of dissatisfaction and *ennui*. Mrs. Norton dwells much in her preface on the moral bearings of her tale; we profess ourselves unable to discover them. Nothing is more dangerous in fiction than to excite an illicit sympathy with guilt: true, from the singular lack of interest, no great amount of sympathy has been excited in this instance, but the effort has not been made the less, and we sincerely wish it had not been made at all. Mrs. Norton is on a false literary track; let her learn, if she may, to rival the portraitures of genuine love and true affection with which Mrs. Marsh delights to favour us; she is certainly a woman of superior faculties, but she belongs, body and soul, to *the world*. She lacks that spirit of living Christianity, which permeates Mrs. Marsh's writings, and sets upon them their real enduring value. "Stuart of Dunleath" will be read once, and then forgotten. "Ravenscliffe," despite its unhappy third volume, may take an abiding place in our country's novel literature.

- xv.—*The Order for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, and the Ministration of Private Baptism of Children. To which are added, Psalms and Lessons suitable for the Edification of Sick Persons, selected and arranged, with some Suggestions as to their use at the Visitation of the Sick. By RALPH ALLEN MOULD, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Holy Trinity Chapel, Warrington. London: Rivingtons. [12mo. pp. lxxi. 182.]*

THE volume before us is a very convenient Manual, well adapted to the use of the Clergy in visiting the sick. It consists of the Offices for the Visitation, and Communion of the Sick, and for Private Baptism, accompanied by selections from the Psalms, and also by Lessons taken from Holy Scripture, and arranged under appropriate heads. Prefixed are a number of directions as to the mode of visiting the sick, and of making use of the Manual. We have perused these directions with interest and edification: they appear to indicate sound judgment and piety; and we have no doubt that they will be of great service to the younger Clergy, in aiding them to conduct efficiently this important and difficult branch of their sacred duties. The tone of the volume is, throughout, highly pleasing.

- xvi.—1. *Essays from "The Times." Being a Selection of the Literary Papers which have appeared in that Journal. Reprinted by permission. London: Murray. [12mo. pp. 310.]*
 2. *The Chace. By NIMROD. With illustrative Wood-cuts. Murray. [12mo. pp. 63.]*
 3. *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh. By BURTON HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D.C.L. Abridged from his large Work. With numerous Wood-cuts. London: Murray. [pp. xxiii. 360.]*

THESE volumes form part of "Murray's reading for the Rail"—a series of cheap and instructive publications which have lately begun to appear. The "Essays from 'The Times'" consist chiefly of Biographical Notices of Eminent Persons, and are extremely well selected and interesting. "The Chace, by Nimrod," contains several very spirited wood-cuts, and will be a pleasant companion to that large class who take pleasure in sporting amusements. Layard's "Nineveh" is extremely neatly got up, and we should think its price and embellishments bring it within the class of books which would be suitable as presents to young persons, or for parochial lending libraries.

xvii.—*The Family Almanack and Educational Register for the Year of Our Lord 1852, &c.* London: J. H. Parker. [sm. 8vo. pp. 228.]

THIS Almanack, in addition to all the usual information, supplied by a full-sized Almanack, includes an Educational Register, or account of all the Universities, Colleges, Schools, and Educational institutions in the kingdom. The amount of information supplied on all these subjects is very extensive and minute.

xviii.—*The Duty of English Churchmen, and the Progress of the Church in Leeds. A Sermon preached on the Tenth Anniversary of the Consecration of the Parish Church.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. London: Murray.

THIS discourse is peculiarly interesting as exhibiting the progress which the Church has been making at Leeds within the last ten years—progress the more gratifying, when it is remembered how much the cause of the Church has had to struggle against, in the unfortunate tendencies to Romanism which have continually manifested themselves at St. Saviour's Church. Dr. Hook remarks in his discourse on the habit of finding fault with the Church of England in such a mode as to create dissatisfaction with her; and the following observations will be read with pleasure:—

"We do not, then, blame a member of the Church of England when, pointing out, as he opines, defects in our discipline, or doctrine, or ritual, he proposes what he considers to be improvements, or even urges our spiritual rulers to seek a redress of grievances, imaginary or real. But we do complain, when, as at the present time, we find this done, with an attempt evidently malicious, by those who omit to act as our great divines in former ages were wont to do, and to remind the ignorant, who are ever ready to find fault, while they are too blind to discover excellences, that ours is, in the words of Bishop Beveridge, the best and purest Church on the face of the earth; the bulwark of the Reformation; the model according to which all other churches, Popish and Protestant, should be invited to reform themselves; the *via media* between Rome and Geneva; the representative of primitive Catholicism, and scriptural Christianity, as distinguished from Romanism; the nursing mother of saints; equally free from fanaticism and superstition; the glory and the blessing of our native land.

"When we perceive that men who are continually finding fault omit to maintain the essential excellence and superiority of the Church of England, while they still eat of her bread; when they hide our light instead of causing it to shine; we are led to suspect more than the jaundiced eye of a weak-minded sentimentalist—we suspect, moreover, the existence of a traitorous heart.

"Who will labour for the Church unless he loves the Church? Who will not be anxious for an opportunity to quit the Church, if he has accustomed his mind to dwell exclusively on her defects—defects, peradventure, which exist only in his own imagination? We are impelled to faithful, continuous, and painful action, not by a cold calculation of what it behoves us, as a duty, to do, but by the generous impulses of dutiful and sometimes enthusiastic love."

It is, however, to that portion of the sermon which refers to the progress of the Church, that we would direct especial attention. It is as follows :—

"On the principle laid down in our text, and illustrated by the conduct of St. Paul, I feel compelled to let your light shine before men, for it has been industriously, and I am afraid I must add, maliciously insinuated, rather than proclaimed, by parties hostile to the principles of the English Church, that the Church in Leeds has been doing next to nothing for the promotion of God's glory and the benefit of our fellow-creatures.

"We have professed to act on the principles of the English Reformation, and by such insinuations or assertions an attempt is made to bring those principles into disrepute or contempt. . . .

"I rejoice to think that all men of all sections of the Church, both of the clergy and of the laity, who have any pretensions to be called religious, have been actively engaged; and what has been done must be regarded as the triumph, not of a party, but of the Church.

"And let us see the result. After expending twenty-eight thousand pounds in rebuilding this, the parish church, you have in the course of ten years erected ten new churches, some of them at a cost of not less than fifteen thousand or twenty thousand pounds, and almost all of them distinguished for their beauty of symmetry and design.

"Assisted by a legacy of twenty thousand pounds, bequeathed for Church purposes in Leeds, you have erected seventeen parsonage-houses, thereby securing to as many districts the advantage and blessing of a resident minister.

"The parish of Leeds, one and undivided at the period of the consecration of this church, has already been formed into seventeen parishes, all of them endowed; and the clergy have increased from twenty-five to sixty.

"With the aid afforded by the National Society, and by grants from the Committee of the Privy Council, you have liberally contributed to the erection of twenty-one school-rooms, to many of which are attached houses for the masters, and you have during the last ten years provided school-accommodation for seven thousand five hundred children; of whose general proficiency a favourable report has been made by the Government Inspector.

"I must add, that during the last ten years we have passed through trying times. We have had a season of commercial distress, and, besides the Asiatic cholera, we have been visited with a pestilence of

equal deadliness in this locality—the Irish fever. Of the patience, the piety, and the meek endurance very generally displayed by the poor members of the church under these severe trials, we cannot say too much in praise; and equally praiseworthy were the sympathy, the kindness, and the generosity manifested by the more opulent of our brethren. I may especially advert to the liberality with which you provided us with clothing for the poor, a kind of charity for which, every winter, we have to tender you our thanks. And while, in addition to this, I acknowledge the wisdom of the measures adopted by the chief magistrate of the borough and the civil authorities, to mitigate the sufferings of the afflicted and to prevent the progress of the disease, I may be permitted to rejoice in the fact that the clergy were among the foremost to attend the suffering and the sick, the post of danger being regarded by them as the post of honour. Of all the congregations in the town this suffered the most: one of our clergy, being smitten by the cholera (having contracted the disease during his incessant attendance on the sick), was brought down to the very gates of death, though, blessed be God, he was spared to our prayers. It was otherwise ordered with respect to another of the brethren, and Stanley Monck died a blessed martyr in the discharge of his duty.

“In addition to this, it is only equitable to observe, that by confining my retrospect to the last ten years, I have understated your exertions, and that I might tell of thirteen new churches erected in as many years, and of school-rooms provided for ten thousand children: there are, besides, two other churches designed, for which you are raising funds, and soliciting aid.

“And now, on a deeper and even more solemn subject—the internal work, the growth of grace in individual souls—has this, let me ask, made equal progress with the external works of which I have been speaking? Brethren, upon this point I must appeal to your hearts and consciences; and what is the response which is made by them?

“As acts are the expression of principles and motives, we may form upon this point a favourable conjecture, even though we admit that to useful actions corrupt motives may sometimes lead. We know that some, who ten years ago were among the careless, are now among the most energetic of the brethren; and that many minds once in doubt are now devoted to the truth as it is in Jesus. There have been confirmed in this church four thousand five hundred young persons, and of these the greater number have continued to be communicants. Nor can I refrain from alluding to another proof of the growth of a Christian spirit among us. There never was a time when, excepting a few in the extremes on either side, so much of brotherly love and of good understanding prevailed among churchmen, both of the clergy and the laity, as there exists at present. There was a time when the good cause was likely to be retarded by our divisions. May the God of truth and peace pardon what is past, and continue to us that desire, so generally prevalent among us, to unite in the great work which presses upon every Christian philanthropist!—namely, to devise the

means of extending the comforts of life, and of opening the enjoyments of civilized society to the great mass of the working population, and, at the same time, of defending the rights of property, and of preserving the principles of social order; of vindicating the cause of the poor, and of asserting the responsibilities of wealth, and, at the same time, of binding all, the employer and the employed, in the bonds of brotherly love; of encouraging freedom of inquiry, and independence of mind, with, at the same time, leavening society with the religious element, leading men to the only Saviour, and educating them for eternity, as well as for time."

XIX.—*A Letter, &c., on the Fifty-fifth Canon, and the Kirk of Scotland; with an Appendix containing the cases of Morrison, &c. &c. By E. C. HARRINGTON, M.A., Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Exeter.* London: Rivingtons.

THE discussion which has recently arisen in reference to the ordinations of the Foreign Protestants, has been marked by that feature which is too frequently the characteristic of controversies at the present day—the effort of contradictory principles to claim the Formularies of the Church of England as favourable to their respective views. The "Low Churchman" is as eager and as confident in his assertions that our Formularies are "Low Church," as the High Churchman is in asserting that they are "High Church." The one quotes with a conclusive air the Twenty-third Article; the other rejoins with an appeal to the Thirty-sixth Article, backed by the Ordination Service. The one cites Cranmer and Jewel; the other Bancroft, Laud, and the great divines of the seventeenth century. The "Low Churchman" regards the assertion of episcopal rights as rank Popery, while the "High Churchman" regards the doctrine of the validity of non-episcopal ordinations as downright "heresy." Amidst this strife of tongues, and amidst combatants who are all so very certain they are in the right, it may perhaps seem presumptuous to speak except in the language of one party or of another; but we believe that any sincere and calm inquirer, who is not under the influence of party feeling, will have no difficulty in seeing that the Church of England, as far as her teaching can be gathered from her formularies and her discipline, does not concur in opinion with either of the contending parties—that she is neither "High Church" nor "Low Church;" but simply Scriptural and Apostolic.

The Twenty-third Article has often been quoted of late with a view to show that the Church of England admits the validity of any ordination which has been performed by authority of the congregation or Church. Its words are "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering

in the congregation, before he be rightly called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." Now this Article does not bear on the questions at issue between parties in the Church at present. It is directed simply and solely against the Anabaptists, who denied all ordination or mission by the Church or public authority, and held that individuals are commissioned by an internal impulse. Mr. Hardwick, in his very learned and valuable work on the History of the Articles reminds us that the Twenty-fourth Article of 1552, which corresponds to our Twenty-third Article, "is manifestly levelled against the Anabaptist error, that every one who fancied himself called to the work of the ministry was bound to assume the office of a teacher in defiance of the authority of the Church¹;" and he quotes from the *Reformatio Legum* a passage which distinctly shows what the Anabaptist errors on the subject of the ministry were². The Fourth Article, also, of the Eleven Articles composed by the archbishops and bishops in 1559, and which constituted until 1572 the profession of faith of the clergy on admission to a benefice, affords another evidence of the meaning of the Twenty-third Article. It declares, evidently in opposition to the opinions of fanatics, that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities according to the ordinances of this realm³."

Now what has this Article to do with our present controversies? Absolutely nothing. All parties agree now that persons require to be called and sent by those who have authority in the Church to do so, and that individuals are not to undertake the ministerial office on the ground of a mere internal impulse. As to *who* are those to whom especially power is given in the congregation to call and send ministers, the Article is silent: it does not enter on that question at all; and yet *that* is precisely the question which is in debate between parties now.

The "Low-Church" party maintains, on the authority of this Article, that all who are called by persons who have authority given them, no matter by whom, in the congregation, are all validly ordained. On this ground they hold the validity of the Foreign Ordinations in Protestant Churches. They even go further; and contend for the validity of all Presbyterian Ordinations in Scotland, and in England too—even the Dissenters are,

¹ Hardwick's History of the Articles, p. 103.

² Hardwick, p. 377.

³ Ibid. p. 397.

on the same principle, supposed to possess a lawful ministry; and of course the logical inference is, that there can be no strict necessity for bishops at all—that Dissent has as good a ministry and as regularly administered sacraments as the Church; and that, in point of fact, they possess equal claims. Nay, if the mere choice and will of a congregation, or a particular Church, confers the power of ordaining ministers, Presbyterianism and our Church must be in the wrong, and Independency or Congregationalism must be in the right.

The Fifty-fifth Canon of 1603, which speaks of the Churches of England, *Scotland*, and Ireland, has been lately referred to, in proof that the Church of England recognises the validity of Presbyterian ordinations. Now are not "Low Churchmen" a little too hasty in their inferences here? Do they not, in fact, adopt to a certain extent the principles of those against whom they object? Why should they assume that the Church of England could not acknowledge a Church, unless it possess a regularly ordained ministry? Why even Roman Catholics admit that the Church may have members in countries where there are no regularly ordained clergy, inasmuch as they hold that all baptized infants belong to the Church, and are members of it. We should suppose that although a Church may have no bishops, priests, or deacons, yet it may still be a Church in a certain sense; and it remains to be proved that the Church of England, in speaking of the Church of Scotland in 1603, as a "Church," intended to express any opinion as to the ordinations of the Scottish ministers, or to admit their vocation as ordinary, or admissible in the Church of England. We believe that the English Reformers went cordially, on the whole, along with the cause of the Reformation in all countries, even though they felt that there were irregularities, and that they did not hesitate to acknowledge as ministers and preachers of the word many who had been appointed to their office in an irregular way, which necessity only excused. Nor do we pretend to say, that they held the principles of those of our modern High Churchmen, who at once determine that a non-Episcopal ordination is in all cases null and void, and that it is an article of the faith that it is so; because the point had never been ruled even in the Church of Rome—some of the Schoolmen having been of opinion, that *the Church* could authorize a Presbyter to ordain. It is clear that the majority of the English Reformers, and their successors, did not hold any extreme views on the point; but, while admitting the Foreign Reformers as brethren, and acknowledging them as ministers of Christ called in an extraordinary way to their office, expressed their own practical judgment of the right mode of calling to the ministry,

by continuing Episcopal Ordinations, and the then orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, as having existed from the time of the Apostles. And we hold that, to a certain extent, the same view should still be taken. The ministers of the Foreign Reformation may still be recognised as brethren, and even as ministers, in a certain sense, though not called in any way by which the Church can acknowledge them to be bishops, priests, or deacons. We may regard them with respect and good will, and co-operate with them, if they teach substantially the religion of Jesus Christ. But the case of Presbyterians, who have revolted against, and set aside, what we believe to be the Apostolic discipline of the Church, appears to us to be wholly different from that of Foreign Protestants; because no plea of necessity can be alleged for their proceeding, which was altogether schismatical, and therefore could not constitute a lawful ministry in their communion. This appears to us to constitute a great distinction between the case of the Foreign Protestants, and the Presbyterians, and Dissenters in this country. The former were opposed to the Church of Rome; the latter to the *Reformed Church*.

Chancellor Harington, with his usual promptitude and well-digested learning, has put forth a valuable pamphlet on the subject of the Fifty-fifth Canon, and other connected points. He proves, and we think very clearly, that the Church of Scotland was not Presbyterian in its Government in 1603. He proves this by the admission of Presbyterians themselves. On the other hand, we must admit that it could scarcely be called "Episcopal," or be considered to have been in a right position, though tending towards it; and thus, as it seems to us, the Fifty-fifth Canon is inconsistent with extreme views on either side. We quote Chancellor Harington's able observations:—

"I have sought a solution of this question, so far as the history of the Kirk is involved, by correspondence and conference with several eminent Presbyterian writers in Scotland, and I have generally found that they have *ignored* all the proceedings of the 'Court Church' from 1597 to 1638; nor would they thank you for stating that the General Assembly of the Kirk admitted Episcopacy in 1610, for they deny the legality of that Assembly, as Dr. Hetherington tells us, and maintain that the Kirk, 'from kingly constraint,' was incapable of action, though still existing, and continuing to exist, under persecution; in other words (to quote the *Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, which, I may here state, was recommended to me by the most eminent ecclesiastical historian in Edinburgh, as an able exponent of the views of the Kirk), that 'from the Assembly of Perth, 1597, to the Assembly of Glasgow, in 1638, the Presbyterian Consti-

tution of the Kirk was subverted by the interference of the King, and the Acts of Assemblies were little else than a record of the Royal Edicts.' And I find that the views of the ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland during this period of Church anarchy and confusion, from 1597 to 1610, is fully corroborated by writers of authority on both sides of the question, who are far from admitting that 'the Church of Scotland in 1604 was under a Presbyterian form of Government, as she now is; nor do I believe for a moment, with a knowledge of the well-known opinions of James, Bancroft, Andrews, Overall, &c., on the subject of Episcopacy, and with the Canons themselves before me, that the Convocation in 1604, in alluding to the Scottish branch of 'Christ's Holy Catholic Church,' referred directly or indirectly to the Presbyterian form of Government, as it had existed from 1592 to 1597, or as it exists in the Kirk at the present day. I believe that they referred to that branch of Christ's Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church which had existed in Scotland from the days of St. Ninianus, in the beginning of the fifth century, and which, amidst persecution and spiritual rebellion, had no more ceased to exist than had the Church of Carthage during the absence and persecution of St. Cyprian, or the Church of England during the usurpation of Cromwell. . . .

"I shall be pardoned for briefly citing the authorities upon which I rest my conclusions. First, then, as regards the recognition of the General Assemblies by the Kirk subsequently to the year 1597; Calderwood, referring to the Assembly of 1596, utters this lamentation, 'Here end the Sincere General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland' (p. 323, ed. 1678); and Dr. Hetherington tells us that, 'The Assembly of 1602 was the last which was recognised by the Church of Scotland as a free and lawful Assembly, from that time till the year 1638' (vol. i. p. 224). Again, as to the alteration in the ecclesiastical polity; Dr. Cook, speaking of the year 1597, tells us that 'the King brought the subject of restoring to the Church a vote in Parliament under discussion, in a Parliament which met at Edinburgh, and an Act was passed ordaining that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should at any time please to invest with the office, place, and dignity of a Bishop, Abbot, or other prelate, should at all time hereafter have vote in Parliament, in the same way as any prelate was accustomed to have; declaring that all Bishoprics presently vacant, or which might hereafter become vacant, should be given by his Majesty to actual preachers and ministers, or to persons qualified to become such, and who should pledge themselves that they would enter upon the ministry. This part of the Act (adds Dr. Cook) appears to be a complete parliamentary restoration of Episcopacy; and it certainly did put it in the power of the Sovereign, without needing any further consent of the Estates, to introduce that form of Church Government.'—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 100. 'It is true that a clause was added, 'to avoid giving offence,'—'without prejudice of the jurisdiction and discipline of the Kirk';—but, as Scot archly remarks in his *Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk* (p. 98), 'what that office of the

Bishop, Abbot, and Prior should be, and not prejudicial to the jurisdiction and discipline of the Kirk, I think it were hard to determine.'

" 'This Act (says Stephen) advanced James's plans for the restoration of the Titular Episcopacy, formerly established; and there cannot be any doubt but that he was firmly determined to restore it.'—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 405.

" Again, Dr. Cook, speaking of the Acts of 1600, and remarking upon 'the altered form of ecclesiastical polity,' writes,—'This Assembly may be considered as having introduced a new form of Ecclesiastical Polity, and as thus marking an epoch in the History of the Church of Scotland. Instead of the parity for which Melvil, in conformity with the principles which he had embraced at Geneva, had strenuously contended, and which he had successfully established, there was recognised an order of ministers who, in addition to the pastoral office, had civil duties to perform, and were, consequently, in a different situation from the rest of their brethren.'—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 117.

" And thus, 'notwithstanding the vigorous and well-directed opposition of the advocates for the established Presbyterian discipline, at the General Assembly in 1600; notwithstanding their attempts to show that the granting to the Clergy a vote in Parliament would terminate in Episcopacy,' or, to quote Calderwood, in 'anti-Christian and Anglican Episcopal dignities, offices, places, titles, and all ecclesiastical prelacies, which are flat repugnant to the Word of God;' and notwithstanding it was declared that 'all corruptions of these Bishoprics are damned and rejected,' 'the resolutions passed at Falkland were sanctioned.'

" 'After an establishment, then, of only eight years—[1592—1600]—and after eight years of intolerable agitation, the Presbyterian form of Government was abolished by the King, with the full consent of an overwhelming majority of the Ministers, and the applause of the people, whose opinions seem to have been changed by experience of its tyranny.'—Stephen's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 413. 417.

" 'Henceforward, therefore, and indeed from the Assembly at Perth, the Church in Scotland must be regarded as Episcopalian, since, from the time that the General Assembly of Perth was held in 1597, the Presbyterian Constitution of the Church, as established in 1592, may be regarded as subverted by the interferences of King James; and this restoration of Episcopacy, effected by the Assemblies of Perth and Dundee, was rendered effectual by another Act of Parliament in 1606, whereby Bishops were reponed and restored to their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, livings, lands, teinds, rents, &c.'—*Compendium of the Laws of Scotland*, part ii. pp. 36, 37. . . .

" 'Then it was (says Calderwood) that the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in covered with caveats, that the danger might not be seen, which, notwithstanding, was seen of many, and opposed unto, considering it to be better to hold thieves at the door,

than to have an eye upon them in the house, that they steal not. And, indeed, the event declared that their fear was not without just cause; for these Commissioners, voters to Parliament, afterwards Bishops, did violate these caveats, as easily as Samson did the cords wherewith he was bound.—p. 441, Edit. 1678. ‘And these Commissioners (to quote the language of Scot) were the chief workmen for Episcopacy, were a wedge taken out of the Kirk, to rend her with her own forces; and this General Commission was the very needle which drew in Episcopal authority.’ ‘I am quite aware (to quote the language which I adopted in my *Reformers of the Anglican Church*) that this was the re-introduction of the Titular Episcopacy only;’ the King and the wiser part yielding (as Skinner expresses it) to the times, with a view of getting all rectified at a more convenient season. Still, with a knowledge of these facts before me, I would again submit, that an examination into the history of the Kirk of Scotland, at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, would ‘have induced you to have modified your statement,’ as to the form of Church Government in 1604; and even had I nothing more to advance, I should hesitate to admit, that the 55th Canon bids us pray for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and recognises that Church ‘under a Presbyterian form of Government, as she now is.’ But when we examine into the real sentiments of King James, and of Bancroft, the President of the Convocation, and of Andrews, and Overall, and King, and others, who were members of that Assembly, and when we refer to the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Canons enacted by that same Convocation, in 1604, and to the 6th and 7th Canons passed by the same body in 1606, the idea of the Presbyterian Kirk, an establishment of man’s creation, and without even a Presbyterian Succession, (see *Brief Notes*, &c. ch. iv.) being recognised by the Canon, as a branch of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church, is positively absurd.”

xx.—*A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford, at his Second Visitation, November, 1851. By SAMUEL, Lord Bishop of Oxford.* London: Murray.

WE very much regret that the late period at which the Charge was published, prevented us from embodying in our article on Mr. Gresley’s treatise the remarks of the Bishop of Oxford on the subject of Confession¹. Of the Charge itself, we have only space to say that it contains much “godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.” We earnestly recommend it to the consideration of our readers, and more especially those portions of it which refer to recent secessions, and to certain “Adaptations.” We most fully believe, that “in the greater number of perversions, the earliest approaches of the enemy

¹ The remark we did quote was taken from the “Morning Chronicle,” which, strange to say, omitted by far the greater portion of his lordship’s observations on “Confession.”

have been through the feelings, and not through the understanding. Argument has come to the support of feelings already perverted; not the feelings followed the slow convictions of the intellect."—(*Charge, &c.* p. 56.)

We regret extremely that the very high price at which the *Charge* is published will prevent many from perusing it, who would otherwise have cordially welcomed the genuine practical piety, and sound Churchmanship, by which it is throughout characterized. It is, unless we much mistake, a great and growing evil, that, just in proportion as a work is calculated to do very much good by the spread of Church-of-England principles, its high price should operate as a practical barrier to its general diffusion.

The remarks of the Bishop on "Confession" are so admirable, that we must quote them *in extenso*. Our readers will see that they fully confirm the view we have ourselves taken in our two papers on this subject:—

"The last point I will name is one of greater importance, and to which I would earnestly request your attention. It is the attempt made, as it seems to me, in some quarters, to favour the introduction into our pastoral ministry of that system of auricular confession and private absolution which, by disavowing the supremacy, and in practice destroying the healthy action, of the conscience has, perhaps more than any other single feature of their system, lowered the moral and religious tone of the Roman communion. It is well that we should have a distinct idea of the difference upon this point between ourselves and Rome. And to see this clearly, we must notice, first, the wide difference of intention which regulates the employment of acts common to us both.

"The Church of Rome, then, desires that every soul should be under the direction of some priest. She considers implicit obedience to this direction the safest spiritual condition; and hence, the government of the soul by the individual conscience, is, with her, practically superseded by the direction of a spiritual guide. Confession is, with her, an instrument for establishing and maintaining this relation; and accordingly, she encourages and, as far as she can, enforces upon all her members, habitual private confession to a priest. She treats this as the normal state of all Christians; and to effect her purpose she requires the practice of confession before receiving the Holy Communion. Whether the individual desire it or no, it is prescribed for him. He must from time to time open his soul in confession to some priest, and receive absolution. To perfect this system, these acts are exalted into a sacrament; and one great part of the training of the Roman priest, is that whole course of instruction which is to equip him for the confessional, by fitting him to put questions calculated to draw from reluctant souls the confession of their most secret sins of act, desire, or

thought. This is briefly the Roman system ; and its practical evils, its violation of the sanctity and supremacy of conscience, the hypocrisy it engenders, and the priestcraft it supports, were well known to the Fathers of the Reformation. Against this, as neither scriptural in doctrine, primitive in practice, nor tending to spiritual edification, they plainly protested.

" Between this system and that of the Church of England the difference is clear. She would have the instructed conscience of each one, under the ordinary ministry of the Word, direct his own spiritual life. She knows that no soul can hand over to another its own fearful gift of individual responsibility. She uses, therefore, every part of the ministry not to supersede, but to awaken, quicken, restore, strengthen and direct that internal supremacy of the individual conscience which she believes to be the voice of God in man. To bring men to a state in which the healthy conscience shall thus bear rule, and to keep them in it, she sets before her pastors as the object for which they, under the guidance and aid of God the Holy Ghost, are diligently to labour. She therefore, of course, would desire that her ministers should, with this aim, and not to become their spiritual directors, search and try the consciences of those committed to their oversight. A cold, languid ministry, which deals in generalities, and never enters into the particulars of men's spiritual state ; which reaches no secret sins, removes no secret doubts, heals no secret sores ; which does not apply the love of Christ, and the powers of the world to come, closely to the separate souls committed to it, this far too common, because easy, but this most unfruitful ministry is altogether alien from her whole mind. Her Ordination Service contemplates the most close and searching intercourse between the pastor and the souls committed to his oversight, of whom, at the last day, he must give account, and for which our Lord shed His blood. The difference, therefore, between England and Rome does not lie in this—that the Church of Rome would have her pastors deal closely, and the Church of England would have them deal slightly, with their people's souls. God forbid ! The difference between them lies in the object and purpose of this branch of their ministry. Neither is it that she denies the grace of confession and absolution (for how could she deny this undoubted use of the power of the Keys) ? It is that she uses them with another purpose. Viewing them as remedies provided for a peculiar state of actual disease, she goes so far as to prescribe certain times and circumstances for their administration. When any conscience is burdened with a sense of sin, and longs before Holy Communion to disburden itself ; or when any secret sin presses on the soul of the sick man, then his confession may be received or even solicited by the priest, and his absolution pronounced. The Church of England does not indeed absolutely limit the practice to these times for which she has prescribed it. No really living ministry could be so limited. Burdened souls must be permitted this relief, even when not immediately preparing for communion or harassed by the trials which so often wait upon a bed of sickness. No absolute rule, therefore, is

rigidly propounded by her for such cases. But knowing how probable it is that the practice of confession may lead on to the up-growth of a system of spiritual direction; and knowing, therefore, its dangerous tendency to supersede the law of conscience; and, having seen plainly its gross abuses in the Roman Communion, she discourages such confession as an habitual custom, and gives no authority to her ministers to treat it as the common diet of the soul under the ordinary circumstances of the spiritual life; still less to press, with all the force of spiritual authority, it and its repetition as a duty and means of grace, so that tender consciences are constrained, and feel well-nigh forced to employ it as almost essential to their safety. Believing, then, that there is upon this point this wide difference, first of intention, and then of practice, between ourselves and Rome, I cannot but fear that any who, in their ministry, inculcate strongly the blessedness of the custom, as one of common observance, and receive freely those who come to them habitually to practise it, are really paving the way for such perversions as have of late made our hearts ache, and our hands hang down.

"In all these cases then, as I believe, simple fidelity to the tone and teaching of our Church will, under God, be our best mode of resisting this danger."

MISCELLANEOUS.

AMONGST the minor publications now before us are two very remarkable pamphlets on Romanism, by "Pascal the Younger"—the former entitled "Cases of Conscience; or, Lessons in Morality, for the use of the Laity"—the latter entitled "*Wiseman versus Pascal the Younger. The Church of Rome's Defence, &c.*" (Bosworth.) Pascal, like his namesake, is a formidable antagonist, and appears to be more than a match for the "Dublin Review." We rejoice to see controversy of this kind: it cannot fail to do good. We strongly recommend the "*Cases of Conscience*" to educated persons. Another tract entitled "*Laymen made Slaves, &c.*" (Bosworth), is a penny tract, apparently by the same author, and is well adapted to warn the lower orders against popish "moralities." "Errors and their Uses; or, the Faithful made Manifest;" a Sermon preached at Hartford, Connecticut, by the Rev. J. Williams, President of Trinity College, and now Bishop Assistant of Connecticut, is full of sound and orthodox principles, and evinces a fixedness of faith, and a solidity of Catholic doctrine, which afford the liveliest hopes of his usefulness in the high office to which the learned preacher has since been called. "A Sermon at the Visitation of the Lord Bishop of St. David's," &c., by Rowland Williams, B.D. (J. W. Parker), contains an Appendix in Vindication of St. David's College, Lampeter, from some recent attacks. The details it furnishes are interesting, and the defence appears to be very good and satisfactory.

"Apostolic Treatment of Divisions in the Church," a Sermon, by W. H. Pearson, M.A. (Masters), is written in a charitable spirit. We have to notice also, without being able to concur with either, Archdeacon Denison's "Reply to the Committee of the Promoters of the Manchester and Salford Education Scheme," and the Rev. S. Robins's "Letter to Lord John Russell," on Education. We trust that the Church and the National Society will not permit themselves to be led by extreme partisans on either side. "A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Exeter on the Education of the Clergy," by the Rev. Philip Freeman; "Education the Necessity of Mankind," a Sermon, by Archdeacon Hare, with a very pleasing prefatory letter, comprising some good advice. "Independence and Submission;" two addresses, by Dr. Vaughan; "The Second Baccalaureate Address" of Bishop Doane, delivered at Burlington College; are all publications of interest bearing on the subject of education. We have also to notice "The Jew Question Considered," by Veritas (Hatchards), an argument against the admission of Jews to the Legislature; "Remarks on National Christianity, an Article of the Christian Faith" (Masters), opposed to the union of Church and State; a "Common Sense View of the Church of Rome," by a Protestant (Hatchard); "Stories and Catechizings" on the Collects (Mozley), a very nice series of tracts; the "Bible of Every Land," Part XII. (Bagster), containing a curious collection of alphabets of all languages; "The Educational Almanack for 1852" (J. W. Parker), a cheap and useful publication, intended for those who have any connexion with the Committee of Council on Education; a "Collection of Prayers," by the Rev. E. Bickersteth (Rivingtons), selected from Jeremy Taylor and other great writers, and adapted to various circumstances; "Thoughts for the Medical Student," by William Bowman, F.R.S. &c. (J. W. Parker), an excellent address; "The Museum of Classical Literature" (J. W. Parker), a periodical which appears to be very ably edited, and which comprises many well-written articles; "Devotions for Spiritual Communion," and "Things to be Remembered" (Lendrum), two tracts in which we regret to observe Romish phraseology and tendencies.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The Church of Rome, with its usual attention to its own interests, has thrown itself into the party of the President; and, judging from the conduct of Louis Napoleon in reference to the Papacy and the interests of the Roman Church generally, there seems every reason to expect that the new government of France will be the most decidedly Popish of any that has been seen for many years in that country. From a military despotism such as now appears to be established, and anxious to cultivate the closest relations with the Romish priesthood, no toleration can be expected for the spread of sound religious principles. The restoration of the Pantheon to the purposes of Christian worship, and the decision in favour of the observance of Sunday, which are amongst the earliest of the President's acts, after his assumption of power, show his wish to obtain the support of the Romish party; and in this he has fully succeeded—Count Montalembert having forthwith published a Letter in his favour.

In many parts of France the civil authorities have transferred the Communal Colleges to the Bishops, to be managed by them.

In consequence of the "*Manuel du Droit Canon*," by the Abbé Lequeux, having been condemned by Rome, and put upon the Index Expurgatorius, Mgr. Sibour, Archbishop of Paris, has dissolved the *École Théologique des Carmes*. The pupils of this school have been sent to the seminary of St. Sulpice. The directors of this seminary have caused the condemned "*Manuel*" to be withdrawn from all the seminaries in which it was used by members of the community of St. Sulpice.

By decrees of the President, M. de Marguerye, Bishop of St. Flour, is appointed Bishop of Autun, and is succeeded by M. Lyonnet, canon of the cathedral of Lyons. M. Guerin, Vicar-General of Besançon, is appointed Bishop of Langres.

Cardinal d'Astros, Archbishop of Toulouse, died on the 29th September, in his 79th year, and in the 30th year of his Episcopate. He is succeeded by M. Mioland, formerly Bishop of Amiens, and afterwards Coadjutor of Toulouse.

The Archbishop of Avignon has declared his disbelief in the pretended miracles of Rose Tamisier, and has directed the Chapel in which these miracles are said to have occurred, to be closed. It appears that the Priest of the place, had misrepresented the opinions of this prelate, in his depositions at the trial of Tamisier.

The Bishop of Samaria, Romish Bishop of Natal, has lately been at

Lyons, in the course of his tour, for the purpose of engaging a number of priests and others to accompany him on his Mission into Caffaria.

The chamber in which St. Vincent de Paul died at Paris, 1660, is about to be fitted up as a chapel for the episcopal worship of the Saint.

The Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Rheims has lately been held with great pomp. The Cardinal-Archbishop presided, and a number of regulations concerning ritual and other matters were made. At an early hour the whole body of the clergy, at the sound of the peal of eight bells of the cathedral, mingled with those of all the other churches, walked in procession to the first mass, celebrated by the Cardinal-Archbishop in full pontificals. The canons of the cathedral wore also, for the first time, the cross of blue enamel, with violet-coloured ribbons, to which they are entitled in consequence of the recent honours conferred upon their Bishop. After the mass, the first general congregation was held, the official personages of the synod and the dignitaries of the clergy of the diocese ranging themselves in a semicircle of three ranks, with the Cardinal in the centre, supported by two archdeacons; the remainder of the clergy occupied rows of seats below the elevated platform occupied by the presbyters. After prayer, the Archbishop delivered a short address, in which he thanked his clergy for the zeal displayed in their attendance. He also called to their recollection that two synods were formerly prescribed in each year, and that if the Council of Trent had exacted but one, it was with a view to its being more religiously observed. The Cardinal announced also his desire to ascertain the wishes and feelings of his clergy, not only with respect to the statutes proposed to the adoption of the council, but also upon matters apart from these; and with this view he appointed a committee, and named a *procureur* to communicate to him its sentiments. The order of the assemblages was then arranged, and the deliberations immediately commenced. Amongst the statutes passed was that on forbidden books, when the Cardinal insisted on the necessity of being acquainted with the decrees of the Index, and announced that an extract from this work, relating to French authors, would be annexed to the statutes of the diocese. On the statutes of divine worship, the Prelate congratulated his diocese on the sacrifice it had made of its local liturgy (*liturgie rémoise*), and its return to the Roman forms, an example already imitated in no fewer than sixty Bishoprics. On the statute respecting the offering of the *pain béni*, the Archbishop reminded the assembly that, according to ancient custom, the Christians, who almost all communicated, offered themselves the bread and wine of the sacrifice; whether because the offering was superabundant, or the number of communicants gradually diminished, it was found that bread always remained over, not consecrated, but *béni*, which was distributed to all in sign of union of faith and sacrifice, as a symbol of charity, in testimony of the living bread which come down from heaven. It was the *pain des anges* which the priest invokes when he blesses the offering "that those who partake of it may receive health of soul and body."

History was full of facts attesting the virtues of *pain béni* in driving out devils, healing infirmities, and sanctifying souls; and faith obtained even to this day these salutary effects. The custom remained dear to the poorer populace and to indigent families. There were parishes in the diocese of Rheims where several poor families united their offerings to furnish this bread of the community; and in some the pastor supplied to the poorest the means which furnished them this joy and honour. The custom of *pain béni*, which did not yet exist every where, he wished to see extended to the whole diocese.

The village of Migne, near Poitiers, was the scene of an interesting ceremony on October 10th. Mass being performed in the presence of all the children of the place, a certain number of names of children were drawn by lot, in order to be sent to China as *the names of newly baptized Christians there*. The children or their parents appear to have contributed their alms on the occasion, as the "collectors" and collectresses" took an active part in the ceremony.

The Bishop of Grenoble has issued a *mandement*, authorizing the erection of "a new Sanctuary to Mary," on the mountain of La Salette, in which he vouches for the truth of the "most extraordinary event, which appeared at first incredible," announced five years ago, as having taken place on one of the mountains of his diocese: viz. "an apparition of the Holy Virgin, who manifested herself to two shepherds (a boy and a girl) on the 19th of September, 1846, conversed with them on the misfortunes which threatened 'her people,' especially by reason of blasphemies and the profanation of the Sunday, and entrusted to each of them a particular secret, forbidding them to communicate it to any one." Among the proofs which convinced the Bishop, after much hesitation, that the story was true, he mentions that "extraordinary cures were announced, wrought in divers parts of France and abroad, even in extremely remote countries. Sick persons, whose cases were desperate, and who were given over by the physicians to a speedy death, or to perpetual infirmities, were said to have been restored to perfect health, in consequence of the invocation of Our Lady of La Salette, and of the use which they had made of the water of a fountain at which the Queen of Heaven had appeared to the two shepherds. From the first we heard about this fountain, we were assured that it was intermittent, and only flowed after the melting of the snows, or after abundant rains. It was dry on September 19th; from the day after it began to flow, and without interruption since that day: a marvellous water, if not in its origin, at least in its effects." He then goes on to state that he prevailed upon the two shepherds to reveal the secret, which "nothing could wring from them," to the Pope. "They wrote it themselves, each separately; they then folded and sealed their letters in the presence of men of high character, whom we appointed to serve as witnesses to them, and we charged two priests, who have all our confidence, to carry to Rome this mysterious dispatch." Upon these grounds the Bishop gives his decree:—"The Holy Spirit and the assistance of the Immaculate Virgin being invoked anew, we declare as follows: Art. 1.

We judge that the apparition of the Holy Virgin to two shepherds on the 19th of September, 1846, on a mountain of the Alpine chain, situated in the parish of La Salette, and the *archiprêtre* of Corps, carries in itself all the characters of truth, and that the faithful are well-grounded in believing it indubitable and certain." Several other articles follow, one of which "expressly forbids the faithful and the Priests of our diocese ever publicly to express themselves, by word of mouth or by writing, against the fact which we this day proclaim, and which from henceforth demands the respect of all." The *mandement* then orders the erection of "a Church as a monument of the compassionate goodness of Mary," and appeals to "the faithful" for their offerings.

Monseigneur, the Bishop of Luçon, in a synodal instruction forbids to his flock the reading of newspapers with the single exception of one journal, namely, the "Univers," the mouthpiece and organ of the Jesuits and Ultramontanes. M. de Luçon directs a special prohibition against the "Presse," and positively forbids any clergyman of his diocese to read or subscribe to M. de Girardin's journal, either singly or in partnership with priests or laymen; he also forbids "The Arabian Nights' Entertainments;" the novels of Walter Scott; and the works of Chateaubriand—a man by nature and education religious—as well as "The History of France" by Anquetil, the "Bonhomme Richard" of Franklin, and the "Simon de Nantua" of M. Jussieu.

The Bishop further tells his flock that they are not to read Montesquieu, Voltaire, or Don Quixote—that they are not to read Moliere till certain objectionable passages are expunged, and that they are not to read the "History of Robinson Crusoe," in the translation of M. Rendu, containing as it does a sentence from Rousseau in approval of the work.

But, above all, the Bishop will not have in his diocese the translation of the New Testament by De Sacy—not because it is not the Word of God—but because it is just such a work as might be given by the Protestant Bible Societies."

GERMANY.—The whole of Germany is now under the influence of Russian and Austrian absolutism, in the closest alliance with Popery. The consequence is, that the latter is in every way favoured and supported by the various German Governments, and the Romish propaganda is at work in every direction.

A meeting of about 1000 Protestant ministers was held at Elberfeld in the middle of September. Their attention was directed to the efforts made by Romish propagandism, and the best mode of meeting it. Pastor Pressensé of Paris stated that there are about 2500 *colporteurs* engaged in spreading the reformed faith in France, and that they are very favourably received.

The Protestant clergy of Hungary have determined in synod that a petition shall be presented to the Governor, in order to inform the Emperor of the state of oppression under which the Protestants in Hungary are labouring, and entreating the Governor to use his influence for its speedy removal.

The number of professors in the twenty-eight universities of Germany, amounts to 1586, with 16,074 students.

Four years ago a very splendid hospital in the outskirts of Berlin was erected at the king's expense, and placed under the direction of the Sisterhood of Diaconesses, or Protestant Sœurs de Charité, ladies mostly of good family, who, from religious impulse, devote their lives entirely to the tending of the sick. This institution, named "Bethany," at present contains 3000 patients, and stands under the especial patronage of the queen, who yesterday presided at the celebration of the anniversary of its inauguration. Seventy sisters have, since the opening of the hospital, entered on their probation, not quite one-half of whom have, after a trial, persisted in their resolution and definitively embraced the calling; yesterday, however, a few novices, after hearing divine service and a stimulatory sermon, publicly took the vows "to live in the exercise of a charity pleasing to God, and earning God's blessing, as long as God shall impart to them the call," whereupon they received consecration at the hands of the officiating divine.

Dr. Marriott, a zealous promoter of Protestant truth in Baden and other German countries, was arrested by the police at Karlsruhe, and confined in prison on the evening of the same day, for four weeks, on account of having circulated a tract lately published by him, with the title, "Anecdotes gathered from the Chief Work of Alphonsæ M. Von Liguori, dedicated to the Jesuits who at present hold the Mission in Karlsruhe, by Dr. Marriott;" and on account of a picture of the Roman Catholic Church, published by the Religious Tract Society. The tract contains extracts from the work of Liguori, as specimens of Jesuitical doctrine and corrupt morals. The Jesuits, who now for more than a year have been advocating the apostasy of Rome, and attacking the Protestant Church in many places of this country, have, within the last fortnight, been preaching in this town, the Protestant capital of a Protestant prince. Dr. Marriott had come hither to counteract them; but twenty-four hours after he had arrived he was seized.

Dr. Marriott has since been released, by order of the Minister of the Home Department, the authorities having exceeded the law.

Prussia and Austria support the demand of the Pope to erect a bishopric at Hamburgh; but the Senate of the City have offered much opposition to the project.

AUSTRIA.—The Chateau of Politz, which belonged to the Emperor Ferdinand, has been given to the Jesuits. The transfer was formally made by the Count Brandis, Master of the Ceremonies to the Emperor.

A meeting of the Roman Catholic Association of Germany, established under the title of the "Association of Pius IX.," was lately held at Mayence. Amongst the most important business transacted, was the adoption of an Address to Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Cullen, in reference to the Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill.

HOLLAND.—During the recent elections for the Legislative Chambers, many Roman Catholic candidates came forward; but the feeling of the

people is so strong against their attempts to gain ascendancy, that all the Romish candidates have been rejected.

ITALY.—The Papacy having recovered all its power in Italy, through the influence of Austria and Naples, who look to it as their only safeguard against democracy, the most vigorous measures of persecution against all who hold opinions adverse to Ultramontaniam, or who are favourable to Protestantism, are being adopted and persevered in.

TUSCANY.—A number of persons have been imprisoned at Florence for having met to read the Bible. Among them were Francesco and Rosa Madiai, a man and his wife, who were locked up in separate cells, except when brought before the secret tribunal for examination.

The tribunal of the first instance has made the following decree on their case :—

“The tribunal of the first instance of Florence assembled in the Chamber of Council.

“Whereas the accused, Francesco and Rosa Madiai, have in the depositions confessed to have made themselves apostates from the Catholic religion, and to profess an heterodox confession, which they call by the name of Evangelical confession, and of the pure Gospel, the which does not recognise the authority and the traditions of the Catholic Church, but subjects the interpretation of the Gospel and of the sacred Scriptures to private judgment.

“Whereas it is also certified in the depositions that they have sought to spread and propagate their belief by instructions ; that, in fact, it appears, by the deposition of Antonio Zaccagnini, of Francesco Mannelli, of Alessandro Fantoni, and of the girl Antonia Marsini, that in the house of the Madiai a society of persons assembled, which (the girl) Marsini estimates at the number of twenty or thirty, each of whom was to put in connexion (affiliare) with the society other ten individuals ; and one or other of the Madiai, and sometimes other persons, read the Bible translated by Diodati, with the object of comparing the words of the Scripture with the doctrines of the Catholic religion, and of showing that the latter stand in opposition to the teaching of the Gospel, as Mannelli and Fantoni relate, who, in order to show with greater proof of what these comparisons consisted, produce for an example the words of the Scripture that forbid idolatry, and they say that the Madiai, man and wife, deduced from them arguments for the condemnation of the Catholic religion, which permits the veneration of the images of Jesus Christ, and of the saints.

“Whereas these meetings were a school of Protestantism, the more dangerous, because some Catholics took part in them, and these children, as is attested by the woman Zaccagnini, and by the woman Mavegini ; that it follows, moreover, from the deposition of these two witnesses, that tracts were distributed, which, it must be presumed, were written in the spirit of the Protestant worship, arguing from those which have been seized in their house, and which are before the tribunal.

"Whereas it is further proved that the Madiai, man and wife, have not only taught maxims contrary to the Catholic religion in their house to persons assembled there for the purpose, but have also sought to make proselytes to the Protestant worship by their conversations; in fact, Enrico Materassi relates, that, frequenting their house to practise himself in learning the French language, Madiai told him that there was no other true religion except the religion of the pure Gospel; that worship ought not to be rendered to images, nor faith placed in the intercessions of the saints; that the supremacy of the Pontiff was an imposture.

"Whereas Luisa Berniolini deposes that she was obliged to leave off frequenting Madiai's house because Madiai ridiculed the catholic clergy, and said that the mass was a priestly knavery. And Guisepppe Caraccioli has related that Madiai several times endeavoured to insinuate that worship ought not to be rendered to the Madonna, which insinuation was also made by Madiai to Sebastiano Vannini, because he was accustomed to keep a light burning before an image of the most holy Mary; whereas, if before the above-mentioned witnesses, Madiai confined himself to mere insinuations against the catholic religion, as much cannot be said with respect to (his conduct to) Faustina Vecchioni, to Antonietta Marsini, and to Antonia Zaccagnini, since both he and his wife sought by every kind of persuasion to induce them to abandon the catholic faith.

"Whereas in fact the woman Vecchioni relates that whilst she lived in the house of Madiai for performing some services, they taught her that the religion professed by them was the only true one, because conformed to the Gospel and to the Bible; that auricular confession is an invention of men; that it is a folly to go to mass; that it is vain to pray to the Virgin and the saints; that disputes arose between herself and the Madiai because, stedfast in the catholic faith, she rejected such propositions; that at last, weary of hearing these impious maxims, she ceased to go to their house.

"The woman Zaccagnini deposes that whilst she also frequented the house of Madiai to perform services, they taught her the same maxims; that they gave her a Bible translated; that their conversations had such an influence upon her mind as to induce her to believe their doctrines: but, having conferred with her confessor, she returned to the catholic faith.

"Finally, the girl Marsini relates that staying as a domestic in their house, they gave her the same instructions, and in order that she might be able to read the Bible, they caused her to be instructed in reading, procuring for her a Bible, and books of heterodox prayers; that Madiai's wife persuaded her to put off the Carmelite dress that she wore, and to throw away the string of beads of the rosary. That apostatising from the catholic religion, she allowed herself to be seduced to believe that worship ought not to be rendered to images, nor to the saints, nor to the Virgin: that one ought not to have faith in the supremacy of the pontiff; that there is not in the sacramental wafer

the real presence of Jesus Christ; that the communion should be celebrated in the two kinds, as a commemoration of the last supper, and not as a sacrament; that the precepts of the church about abstinence from meat on fast days are not binding; that purgatory does not exist; that they took her to the Anglican church, where she partook of the holy supper. That on Good Friday of the present year she was taken by the wife of Madiat to the house of Massimiliano Buich, an apostate from the catholic religion, as is inferred from the combined deposition of the girl Marsini, and of the aforesaid Buich, because he being unwell, and wishing to partake of the holy supper, it was necessary according to the rite of that church that several persons should partake together with him in that ceremony, and amongst these were the girl Marsini and Madiat's wife; but having recovered herself from her errors she returned to the catholic faith.

"Whereas, by the above-mentioned results of the procedure, the charge against the Madiat, man and wife, for having disseminated maxims contrary to the catholic religion, appears sufficiently substantiated, a crime provided for, and punished by the 60th article of the law of the 30th November, 1786, by a penalty which exceeding the competency assigned to the Tribunals of First Instance, it pertains to the Regal Courts to take cognizance of and decide concerning.

"For these reasons, declares that sufficient proofs exist to send to the public judgment Francesco Madiat, Rosa Madiat, and Pasquale Casacci, in order that they may answer to the crime of impiety objected to them. It declares its own incompetency to take cognizance of, and to decide on such a charge, and orders the transmission of the process to the Regal Procurator-General, in the Regal Court of Florence, for the further course of Justice. The 16th of October, 1851.

" J. BORGHINI	} Auditors.
J. BERTACCHI	
J. PACINI	
U. FARULLI, Coad."	

This reminds us of Fox's Book of Martyrs.

ROME.—A new prophetess has appeared in the shape of a young peasant girl living at Sezza, near the Neapolitan frontier, who has been for some time in a kind of ecstatic or magnetic state, and who is known under the denomination of St. Catharine. Cardinals Lambruschini and Franzoni and the Duke Don Marino Torlonia have applied to this modern oracle. The advocate Zaccaleoni, Monsignor Appoloni, and many prelates, have followed their example; indeed, her alarming prognostics so far roused the curiosity of the Pope himself that he caused her to be sent for from the convent at Sezza, and brought to Rome, a few days ago, in the carriage of a respectable and religious couple, who went there for that express purpose. An interview took place between Pio Nono and the prophetess, immediately after which she was sent back to her retirement. The result of the interview has not transpired, but the nature of the girl's revelations was most probably similar to

those with which she has already excited the terrors of her exalted applicants; namely, predictions of imminent and sanguinary disturbances, in which, although not of long duration, many persons will fall victims to popular fury.

The journals have given long accounts of the imposing ceremonies attending on the canonization of Peter Claver, a Jesuit missionary of the seventeenth century, who is now a regularly constituted saint of the Church of Rome. The image of this saint was unveiled at St. Peter's, amidst the din of bells and the thunder of artillery, and the Pope went in the afternoon to pay his devotions to it.

The Pope and Cardinals have recently been busily engaged in condemning books. The works of M. Nuytz, professor at Turin, have been condemned by Pius IX. as savouring of Protestantism and other abominable errors. The Congregation of the Index have also condemned a string of books—a Manual of Canon Law, by M. Lequeux; *I Benefattori dell' Umanita*, a work by F. Vigil against Ultramontanism; and the Ecclesiastical Law of Professor Nuytz.

The Cardinal Vicar, has lately published an *invito sacro*, or holy invitation, to the Romans, to attend the spiritual exercises which are to commence in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the death of the blessed Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. The place chosen for the performance of the principal functions is the Flavian Amphitheatre, or Coliseum, which, the cardinal observes, "being an eminently religious as well as artistical monument, that calls to mind the courage of so many martyrs of Jesus Christ, immolated there by Pagan fury, is well adapted to revive faith, and instil courage to combat bravely the enemies of our salvation." The Pope has contributed to the undertaking both in money and indulgences. The Cardinal Vicar dwells upon the importance of this circumstance in the following terms:

"The Holy Father, the munificent protector of the aforesaid venerable arch-confraternity, has not only deigned to approve of the proposed spiritual exercise, giving suitable alms for the purpose, but moreover moved by that lively zeal which urges him to secure by every possible means the salvation of Christ's flock entrusted to his care, he has expressly commanded us to rouse not only the faithful of Rome to take part in the above-mentioned pious exercise, but also to excite those who every where glory in the profession of Christianity to join their prayer and supplications to those which rise from the most religious heart of his Holiness to God, in order that the Divine wrath, justly stirred up by our sins, may be appeased, the erring may be brought back into the path of justice, faith may be revived in all men, and the church, aimed at by so many enemies, may breathe for once under the shadow of a lasting peace."

Pulpits and awnings to a great extent were erected in the Coliseum, and the whole scale of preparation was such as to do ample honour to the memory of St. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. The Pope has recently given directions for grand preparations to be made at the Scala Santa, or holy staircase of 28 marble steps, which, according to Roman

Catholic tradition, formerly existed in the house of Pontius Pilate. Under the altar, at the top of the steps, was placed a box of cypress, containing three smaller ones filled with relics, and inscribed *sancta sanctorum*, an appellation given also to the chapel which contains many other relics. This spot the Pope has ordered to be adorned with new and splendid decorations, in the execution of which a sum of 12,000 scudi is to be expended.

The Pope's health has lately caused great uneasiness, and a *Triduo* in honour of the Apostles Peter and Paul has been ordered. Count Mamiani has published a new work on the Pope, in which he contends that the temporal power of the Pope is irrevocably hastening to its end; and that, in the present state of civilization, the Church requires even spiritual reforms which he points out. The *Cattolico*, and other papers for the clerical party, are greatly incensed at this new publication.

Boxes for the reception of alms and donations are now put up in the principal churches in Rome, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of the great catholic church in the centre of London; from whence, according to the pious intentions of his holiness, conversion is to spread over "the flourishing kingdom of England."

An encyclical letter from Pope Pius IX. has appeared. It is addressed to "all patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops of the Catholic world;" but from the general tone and tenour of the document, it is evident that the state of the Roman Catholic Church in these kingdoms was uppermost in the mind of the Pontiff. A new jubilee is promised for the benefit of all true believers, and for these reasons:—

"You have made known to us, in a word, that on this occasion the faithful of your dioceses hastened eagerly in crowds to the churches, with an humble spirit and contrite heart, to hear the Word of God, to purify their souls from all stain in the sacrament of reconciliation, to approach the holy table, and to add, according to our intentions, fervent prayers to the great and good God. The result is that a great number, through the assistance of Divine grace, coming out of the fangs of vice, and the darkness of error in which they were miserably languishing, have entered into the paths of virtue and truth, and have begun to work out their salvation. We have been greatly consoled and rejoiced at it. We, who are always so profoundly anxious about, and so intent upon, the salvation of all confided by Divine Providence to our care—and we desire nothing with so much ardour—we demand nothing else in the petitions and prayers which, night and day, ascend from our humble heart to God, than that all people, all nations, and every family, may walk in the paths of faith, may know the Lord, and love Him every day more and more, may observe faithfully His holy law, and follow with perseverance the road which leads to life. But if, on the one side, venerable brethren, we ought to feel great joy in learning that the faithful of your dioceses have gathered abundantly the spiritual fruits of grace from the jubilee, on the other side, it is not for us a trifling subject of grief, to observe what a sad and lamentable aspect our holy religion

and civil society present in these disastrous times. No one among you is ignorant, venerable brethren, of the perfidious artifices, the monstrous doctrines, the conspiracies of every kind, which the enemies of God and of mankind put into operation to pervert every mind, to corrupt morals, and to cause religion to disappear—if that were possible—from the face of the earth, to break down all the bonds of civil society, and to destroy it even to its foundations. Hence the deplorable darkness which blinds so many minds, the deadly war which is waged against the Catholic religion and this apostolic chair, the implacable hatred which persecutes virtue and honesty, the most shameful vices which usurp the name of virtue; the unbridled licence of thinking, doing, and daring every thing; the absolute impatience of all restraint, power, and authority; the derision and contempt for the most sacred things, for the holiest laws, for the most excellent institutions; hence, above all, the deplorable corruption of thoughtless youth, the poisonous inundation of bad books, pamphlets, and journals profusely circulated, and propagating every where the principles of evil; hence, the deadly venom of indifferentism and incredulity, the seditious movements, the sacrilegious conspiracies, the mockery and outrage of all laws, human and divine. You are not ignorant either, venerable brethren, what anxiety, what uncertainty, what painful hesitation, what terror, fills and agitates all minds, particularly the minds of the righteous, who believe with reason that the public and private good has to bear every misfortune, when men wandering miserably from the laws of truth, justice, and religion, in order to give themselves up to the detestable allurements of unbridled passions, meditate every species of crime. In the midst of many dangers, who does not see that all our hopes ought to rest solely on God, our salvation; that to Him we ought continually to raise our fervent prayers, in order that His propitious bounty may shed over all nations the riches of His mercy, that He may illuminate every mind with the heavenly light of His grace; that He may bring back into the path of justice those who are wandering; that He may vouchsafe to turn towards Him the rebellious wills of His enemies, to infuse into every heart the love and fear of His holy name, and inspire them to think always, and to do always, what is right, what is true, what is pure, what is holy; and since God is full of sweetness, mildness, and mercy—since He is bounteous towards those who call upon Him—since He regards the prayer of the humble, and loves especially to manifest His power by clemency and forgiveness, let us approach, venerable brethren, the throne of grace with confidence, in order to obtain mercy and find assistance in time of need.”

The Pope has delivered an Allocution to the Consistory, Sept. 5. The latter words are remarkable:—“ Lastly, We inform you that we have directed our efforts to adjust the affairs of the catholic religion in a distant region (*ad catholicæ religionis res in longinqua regione componendas*), and that we entertain great hope that a convention may be entered upon, which, in accordance with our wishes and yours, may meet the rights, views, and prosperity of the church (*ut conventio possit*

iniri, quæ ecclesiæ juribus, rationibus ac prosperitati respondeat); and we would, above all, hope that such an example as this might be speedily followed in all regions of those distant parts (*ut hujusmodi exemplum omnes earum dissitarum partium regiones imitari properarent*), the people whereof we regard with a special affection of charity in the Lord, that thus those very many and great evils might altogether be averted, with which in some regions of those parts especially (*in nonnullis præsertim earundem partium regionibus*) the Immaculate Spouse of Christ is, to the very great sorrow of our heart, afflicted and harassed. And here we cannot refrain from vehemently congratulating those venerable brothers, and giving to them the praises they have merited, and which are due to them, who, although placed there in a very painful position, nevertheless fail not by their episcopal zeal and firmness strenuously to maintain the cause of the church, and fearlessly to defend its rights, and anxiously to watch over the salvation of their beloved flocks."

From a recent paper, in the "L'Ami de la Religion," it appears that catechizing is conducted at Rome by an Arch-confraternity of Christian doctrine, which engages the aid of the laity. The President is Mgr. Cornette, Archbishop of Nicomedia, who manages this work in the fifty parishes of Rome. Every year an examination takes place, and a trial of strength between the more distinguished pupils. Each parish sends its two best children; and whoever shows the best memory, is declared "emperor," and the next six "princes of his court." These dignities last for the next year, and give right to use certain insignia in processions and religious solemnities.

It is stated that the Bishop of Gibraltar is at present staying at Rome, for the purpose of effecting some alterations in the arrangements of the Protestant Church in that city.

The Pope is taking a great interest in the conversion of the French soldiers at Rome, and has granted numerous indulgences to preachers labouring among them. On the occasion of the centenary of the death of St. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio, a mission, which attracted great crowds, was preached in the Coliseum. Father Ignatius is at present at Rome, soliciting prayers for "the conversion of England."

The Bolognese paper, "Vero Amico," contains an account of a recent miraculous change of the weather at the intercession of the Virgin Mary:—

"The inhabitants of Tossignano not long ago obtained a new demonstration of love and favour from the prodigious image of the most holy Mary, from that extremely ancient image which, saved from iconoclastic fury, always engaged the devout worship of their ancestors; and which their not degenerate descendants keep as a noble and precious heirloom of their hereditary religion, finding in it all comfort and support against public and private calamities. The late incessant and unseasonable rains having hindered the gathering in of autumn fruits, and impeded cultivation for the coming year, the active pastor, the very revered archpriest Agnoli, in order to avert so heavy a calamity, called the inhabitants of Tossignano together, and, with eloquent and

touching words, brought them before the most prodigious image; so that, by the intercession of the Virgin, God might restore serene weather. For this purpose, on the 7th of October, the flock and their beloved pastor met to depose their humble supplications at the foot of the altar, sacred to their distinguished benefactress; at the first prayer, whilst the pastor was offering the propitiatory wafer, a ray of sun gladdened the sacred temple, like a rainbow of peace smiling on the assembled faithful; and in a few hours all appearance of clouds vanished from the sky! The Tossignanesi rightly attributing this to the peculiar favour of their protectress, and full gratitude to her, resolved to sanctify the 12th inst. by solemn acts of thanksgiving. . . . Ah! Tossignanesi, let this prodigy also be inscribed in the religious annals of your country!"

PIEDMONT.—In the sitting of the 20th of the Chamber of Deputies, at Turin, Signor Brofferio attacked the government on the late papal brief against the writings of Professor Nuytz. Signor Deforesta, Minister of Justice, declared that the Government would oppose any discussion on the brief, that being a document officially unknown to the Government, and having no legal existence in the kingdom so long as it was not declared executory in the kingdom.

The sitting of the Piedmontese Senate, on the 1st instant, was very animated, in consequence of a question to ministers being on the order of the day, which Signor Castagneto had given notice of, concerning the erection of a public Protestant Church at Turin:—

"The tribunes were full. Signor di Castagneto declared that he was actuated by no motives of intolerance, but that in demanding an explanation on a matter concerning the religion of the State, he only wished to defend the constitution of the land. He added, that there were barely twenty thousand Protestants in Piedmont, who lived in a valley, where no one had meddled with them in so far as their liberty of conscience was concerned; but that at Turin there were so few that he thought a private chapel was quite sufficient for their wants. The Minister of the Interior answered, that in a country where the principle of civil equality was recognised, such restrictions as the honourable senator proposed were inadmissible. Nevertheless, the Government would introduce a bill without delay on the subject, in order to regulate the right of opening Protestant churches. The Senate, after some further discussion, adopted an order of the day, declaring itself satisfied with the promise that the bill in question would be speedily presented."

The Theses of Professor Nuytz.—Dr. Nuytz, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Turin, whose writings have been placed in the "Index Expurgatorius," and who is lecturing with great success at Turin, has put forth a series of propositions, of which the following are the most important:—1. The Catholic Church has no authority to confer material power.—2. She has no temporal power, direct or indirect.—3. The civil power, when violated in its rights by the eccle-

siaistical power, has the right to stand aloof *quoad sacra*, by virtue of its own indirect and negative authority ; and in the legislative conflict of the two powers, the civil law must prevail.—4. The civil power has the right of permitting or refusing its concurrence, known as the *Exequatur*, as likewise,—5. The right of appeal for “abuse” against the Church, when the latter injures civil society.—6. Over and above the spiritual power inherent in the Episcopate, the latter has a temporal power conferred upon it by connivance or express concession, which is revocable.—7. The Church has no power of coercion.—8. There is nothing to prevent the Pontificate being removed from Rome to any other city, by the decision of a General Council, or the consent of Christendom.—9. The Pope’s personal dictum is not of itself law.—10. A definition of a National Council does not admit of being defined anew.—11. The Pope is not infallible.—12. The extravagant decrees of the Pontifical See have contributed to the schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches.—13. It is doubtful whether temporal power is compatible with spiritual power.

The first stone of the Protestant Church at Turin has been laid. Amongst those present on the occasion were Mr. Abercromby, the English Ambassador ; Count Redem, the Prussian Minister ; Mr. Kinney, American Minister ; and M. Bert, Pastor at Turin.

The *Croce di Savoia* quotes a letter from Milan, announcing that the military commander had forbidden the Protestants of that city to meet for the celebration of Divine service at the house of Mr. Mylius, a merchant and citizen enjoying universal esteem.

The Bishops of Sardinia have addressed a protest to the King against the erection of the new Protestant Church at Turin, as being “contrary to the constitution.” The Romish clergy are likewise highly incensed in consequence of a Church being placed at the disposal of the Protestant residents of Genoa.

SPAIN.—The Concordat with the Pope has been recently published at Madrid, having been for some time withheld from the public, and its arrogant tone is represented to have provoked an outburst of criticism, betokening that its complete execution will be full of difficulty and danger. It declares that the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion—

“Shall rule and dominate exclusively, as of yore, in the whole kingdom of Spain, so that the calamities of the times shall cause no detriment to it, and all other faith be excluded ; it gives those of the sacred office power to remove all difficulties and obstacles ; it promises a new division of dioceses, and in the words—‘we trust to behold things restored to their primitive state,’—is supposed to hint at the restitution of the religious orders ; it ordains the sale of deteriorated Church property ; and, in compliance with the prayers of our beloved daughter, the Catholic Queen of Spain, that we do have a care for the tranquillity of her kingdom, which would be endangered if an attempt were made to recover the property of the Church already disposed of, it decrees

that completed purchases and present holders of such property shall not be disturbed."

In reference to the hint of restoring the regular orders especially, the tone of the journals is so hostile and bitter, as to imply that if the thing be attempted it may cause a total sweeping away of all remaining Catholic institutions.

The *Gazette* orders the suppression of the *Europa*. This order was given in pursuance of the urgent demands of the Pope's nuncio, Monsignor Brunelli, whose attention has been called by the Spanish clergy to several articles in the *Europa* on the Concordat. The Professor of Natural Philosophy in one of the principal universities of Spain has been deprived of his professorship, in consequence of the complaints of the Bishop of Orense, who accused the professor of heretical doctrines.

SWEDEN. — The Stockholm papers announce the death, in his seventy-first year, of Dr. Thomas Wingard, Archbishop of Upsal and Primate of the kingdom :—

"Dr. Wingard had long occupied the chair of Sacred Philology at the University of Lund. He has left to the University of Upsal his library, consisting of upwards of 34,000 volumes, and his rich collections of coins and medals, and of Scandinavian antiquities. This is the fourth library bequeathed to the University of Upsal within the space of a year, adding to its bookshelves no fewer than 115,000 volumes. The entire number of volumes possessed by the University is now said to be 288,000,—11,000 of these being in manuscript."

The laws of Sweden which require conformity to the established Lutheran Episcopal Church, are being strictly enforced. Fifteen persons who lately became Romanists, are liable to be exiled in consequence, and they have been brought before the Correctional Police. Romanists are as much as possible excluded.

SWITZERLAND. — The ceremony of laying the first stone of the English Church at Geneva, took place recently. It was performed by the Bishop of Winchester, assisted by his lordship's chaplain, the chaplain of the English church, and the members of the committee.

There was a large number of persons present, consisting of some English families of distinction staying at Geneva, and many inhabitants of the town. The service was read by the Bishop in a most impressive manner. At the close of the ceremony, the Bishop made a feeling and eloquent address to those around him. He said that he felt the deepest satisfaction at having been asked to perform the ceremony, recollecting that he, personally, some five-and-thirty years since, had made a request to the Government of Geneva for permission to celebrate an English service in the chapel of the hospital, and he was most happy at having that opportunity of thanking the old Government for the kindness with which it had granted that permission from that time to

the present. He was also pleased at being able to thank the new Government, in the person of its president, for having so liberally granted the site on which their edifice was to be erected, and he trusted that the best and kindest feelings might always exist between his countrymen and the inhabitants of Geneva, and that God would prosper their work. The president of the local government, M. Moulinié, then requested leave to address a few words in answer to those of the Bishop. He said he was most pleased to have been present at the ceremony; that England had always been a friend to Switzerland, and that, although Switzerland was a small country, it was happy to make a present to England that was acceptable. He hoped that the edifice might continue in perpetuity as a place of worship for the English, and that they would even more than ever be induced to become residents at Geneva.

TURKEY.—In spite of the efforts of the French Ambassador to obtain a favourable decision from the Porte respecting the question of possession of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, he had been unable to do so. A council had been appointed by the Porte to examine the claims of the Greek and Romish Churches to the sepulchre, but the French minister protested against this measure. By a recent letter from a Roman Catholic Missionary at Constantinople, which has appeared in the "*Journal des Villes et des Campagnes*," it appears that at Galata, near Constantinople, there are two establishments, one of the "*Frères de la Doctrine*," the other of "*Sisters of Charity*." There are also two similar establishments at Pera, and a college at Rebez. Altogether there are about 1100 or 1200 children, under the care of their missionaries. They report the present Sultan as favourable to Christianity. The French Ambassador has induced the Turkish Government to grant the *bérat*, or diploma of installation, to the Armenian bishops nominated by the Pope; and it is hoped by the same means, that the Greeks will be deprived of the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, and that the Roman Catholics will become its possessors. These latter hopes have little foundation, for the Emperor of Russia maintains the cause of the Greeks.

The "*Débats*" states that M. de Titoff, the Russian Minister at Constantinople, had, with reference to Jerusalem, taken up a menacing attitude, protesting that the Greeks had rights prior to the treaties of 1690 and 1740 with France, and that the Emperor, as protector of the Greek Church, would maintain his own rights, which if alighted, would oblige the Ambassador to quit Constantinople.

ASIA.

CAUCASUS.—It is stated by a journal published at Tiflis in Georgia, that the Mahometans of Caucasus preserve many ceremonies, which indicate their original Christianity. Besides the national festivals, the feasts of the Virgin have been preserved in the midst of Islamism and Idolatry. They even offer certain prayers and hymns to the Virgin.

The fact is a curious one, as showing how easily reconcilable the worship of the Virgin is with heathen practices and sentiments.

BORNEO.—It is generally stated that the Rev. Mr. M'Dougall, the senior missionary at Sarawak, will be appointed first Bishop of the proposed new diocese of Borneo, Sir James Brooke being strongly in favour of the appointment. It is believed that a commission will be issued to the Bishop of Calcutta, empowering him, in conjunction with other Prelates, to consecrate Mr. M'Dougall.

CHINA.—It is understood that a Roman Catholic synod of the various Missions in China, Cochin China, and other parts of the East, is likely to be held at Hong Kong, in order to establish three Archbishoprics, and convert the Vicars Apostolic into Titular Bishops.

Discovery of a Jewish Colony in China.—The "North China Herald" gives an account of an excursion made by two Chinese Christians for the London Missionary Society, in search of a colony of Jews supposed to exist at K'hae-fung-foo (lat. $34^{\circ} 55'$ N., long. $1^{\circ} 50'$ W. of Peking). The people they went in search of were discovered in the most abject condition, both physical and moral, still living apart from the Mahomedans and the idolaters by whom they are surrounded. Several Hebrew manuscripts, containing portions of the Old Testament Scriptures, among them six copies of the Pentateuch, have been obtained. Two of the Jews themselves have arrived at Shanghai. The copies of the Pentateuch are to be forwarded to Europe. The knowledge of the Hebrew language had entirely passed away from the community, not one member of it being able to speak or read it. The last person who could do so was a rabbi who died some fifty years ago.

CEYLON.—It is with deep regret that we record the fact that in the island of Ceylon the abominable idolatries of the natives, all connexion with which on the part of the British Government had ceased some years ago, are again encouraged by the Governor of the colony, who has appointed Buddhist high priests and chiefs over their temples.

In a letter addressed to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated, "On Visitation, Mantotte, Ceylon, Sept. 10, 1851," the Bishop says :—

"In this diocese we have very few consecrated churches out of Colombo; at present, only three. We have many licensed chapels, but few endowed or consecrated churches. Those at Kandy and Newara Eliya will now very soon be added to the number. But at the principal stations, where there are Government Chaplains, like Galle and Jaffna large and massive buildings had been raised by the Dutch, during their occupancy of the island, which by treaty were secured to them; but, as they are maintained and repaired by our own Government, we have the full use of them for Divine service, but only by sufferance, under the Consistory. Of the great inconvenience of this we had a striking example not long since. I have urged it upon them as a reason for

building a church for themselves, to be consecrated, and used as their own in perpetuity, and I have good hope that they will, ere long, undertake it, one of their body having lately bequeathed 400*l.* for the purpose.

"The case is similar at Jaffna. We have the joint use of the old Dutch church within the Fort, which is now in so dilapidated a state, that a considerable sum will be required to repair it. I solemnized two Confirmations in English and Portuguese under its roof a few weeks since; and on the following Sunday administered twice the Holy Communion in the same languages:—in Portuguese at the early service, with fifty-six; and in English, at the usual hour, with sixty communicants, assisted in both by the Colonial Chaplain. In the following week, the building was officially declared unsafe, which an inspection of the roof-timbers fully warranted. On my return to Jaffna, I was obliged to officiate in the Court-house; and I did not lose the opportunity of pressing upon them the desirableness of making an effort to build a church for themselves.

"Building materials are inexpensive in this part of the island, the whole peninsula of Jaffna being on a bed of coral; and I calculate that we can build a very fine church, one hundred feet by thirty, of simple, but good character, with chancel, pointed windows, bell turret, and vestry, for 500*l.*; of substantial scantlings, and good materials, either brick or stone, with excellent chunam (lime), and a tiled roof. The expense of materials never exceeds half, in some one-third, and in some even a quarter, of what they cost me in Colombo for my collegiate buildings. I have inspired them by a promise at once of 25*l.* myself, and 25*l.* more from a Tract Fund at my disposal, and of some help from your Society; and if the Society could add 50*l.* more, to complete the first 100*l.* for the holy work, I shall be most glad and thankful to communicate to the Committee your Christian sympathy. I may repeat, that it will be the only consecrated church in the whole northern province, amid a population of 100,000 heathen; and if we fail (*abiiit omen!*) in this effort, we shall have and can hope for none at all. But I have no misgiving."

PALESTINE.—M. Valerga, who was appointed Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1847 by Pius IX., and was directed by him to proceed at once to Jerusalem and reside there, has just returned to Jerusalem by direction of the Pope. This Latin Patriarch is the first who has attempted to reside at Jerusalem, since the Mahomedans have possessed it. The new Patriarch, on his arrival in 1847, found himself surrounded with difficulties, and his jurisdiction was disputed by the Franciscan Friars, who have long held authority over the Roman Catholics in the Holy Land. These Friars were supported by the French influence; and the young Patriarch found himself obliged to return to Europe. After a delay of two years, he has now returned again to Jerusalem, where it is hoped by the Romanists, he may attain

their object of taking possession of the Holy Sepulchre, to the exclusion of the Greeks.

Some observations having been recently made on the reception of members of the Greek Church into communion by the English Bishop at Jerusalem, the Rev. W. D. Veitch, Chaplain to the Bishop, has replied in a letter from which the following is extracted. We, certainly, can see no impropriety in teaching the truth to the Greeks, who are generally very ignorant and superstitious, nor in receiving them, if they are rejected by their own Bishops for holding the truth. *We* are not, certainly, to compel them to worship images, or to join Dissenting sects.

"When the probability of what is now doing in Palestine with respect to the Greek Church first became apparent, owing to a movement originating with the Greeks themselves, I communicated (as I was commanded by his Grace to do in all important matters before I left England) all the facts to Archbishop Howley, and he admitted the perfect right of the Bishop to do what the Bishop is now doing, only recommending great caution and great candour, lest the Eastern prelates should misunderstand it. Moreover, sir, Bishop Gobat had an interview with Archbishop Howley before he consented to be consecrated as English bishop in Jerusalem, expressly with reference to this very point; and his present conduct is in conformity with the views of the Archbishop then expressed, and without their expression Bishop Gobat would never have accepted his mitre.

"The truth, sir, is as follows:—Bishop Gobat has made no attacks, direct or indirect, or any effort at proselytism. On the contrary, he has kept back many who were desirous to leave the Greek communion, and seek admission into our own. It is solely owing to him that a very considerable body in the Greek Church has not already openly declared itself 'Protestant.' He has not sought, but been sought. The human mind cannot be always kept in darkness, nor the understanding submit to fetters for ever. Be the cause what it may, that has happened to the Greek Church in Palestine, in part, which happened to our own at the Protestant reformation. They have found out that the religion they are taught is not that of the New Testament, and that the Gospel is withheld from them. And they have determined—and who shall impugn their right to determine?—at all hazards to gain acquaintance with the Gospel, even though it may involve expulsion from that branch of the Church with which they are in communion. And they sought Bishop Gobat's help—he referred them to their own priests. Their reply was this, 'They are as ignorant as ourselves; besides, these are the very men by whose fault we are in the state we complain of, and they are as unwilling as they are unable to help us.' From a Christian bishop there could be but one answer here; and that answer was given. Means were afforded to them to pay a schoolmaster, a member of the Greek Church, to give his whole time and attention to instruct those who chose to avail themselves of the advantage, in the Scriptures, in

the Arabic tongue. For this offence—for reading the Bible—this first party who did so were excommunicated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. And his Holiness further manifested his zeal for the efficient discharge of the duties of his high and holy office by an (ineffectual) effort to induce the Moslem governor of the town to fall upon the school and disperse it, and burn the books—those books being neither more nor less than the Bible.

“Why the Greeks of the present day may not do as the English did at the period of the Reformation I cannot comprehend; or why, if the hierarchy of that Church should imitate the Bishop of Rome in the days of Elizabeth, it is wrong to extend to them that protection and assistance which I have often heard asserted we in this country would have been justified in extending to the continental churches of the Reformation, had they required it at our hands—nay, which I have more than once heard them bitterly reprehended for omitting to claim. ‘They carried,’ it is said, ‘no bishops with them, therefore they could not continue the apostolical succession, and therefore ought to have procured that succession from us in England.’ Why may not, therefore, the enlightened Greeks, retreating from the ‘darkness’ of their own communion, and expelled because they prefer ‘light,’ seek and receive from a Bishop of the English Church the aid they ask; and why, things proceeding as they do, may not a Christian society contemplate the spreading of that light which in God’s providence has broken out, and the time when a reformed Greek Church in Palestine may hold communion with the congregations of the Reformed Church of England in the same country?”

At a recent meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, held at Liverpool, the Rev. Dr. Kearns made the following statement:—“At Jerusalem thirty children of Jewish parents were being educated in the mission school, and the congregation numbered nearly forty adults. At Cairo a Christian teacher, who was once a Jewish Rabbi, was labouring with much success. At Bagdad, in a Jewish population of about 10,000; and at Salonica, the work was progressing most favourably. At Cracow, within the last year, fifty-three converts had been baptized. At Trieste, a spirit of inquiry pervaded the Jewish population. In Russia, which contained 2,000,000 of Jews, the demand for copies of the Scriptures was so great that the Society had been unable to supply it, and had sent over stereotype plates, to get copies printed on the spot. At Warsaw, eighteen Jews had been baptized within the last year; the operative institution contained about twenty-three inmates; and the chapel was crowded every Sabbath with Christian Jews and Gentiles, as well as with unbaptized Jews, who not unfrequently mingled with the congregation. In the Duchy of Posen, with a Jewish population of about 8000, there were fair prospects of success; there were nine schools in which 2500 Jewish children were being educated in the principles of Christianity. At Dantzic and at Königsberg the Scriptures were extensively circulated. In the latter city there were about 1000 converts, of which twenty-two

had been baptized during the last year. At Berlin the number of converts was 2500, of whom twenty-six were Professors in Universities, and upwards of one hundred occupying positions in the learned institutions of the country. Two hundred Jewish converts had been baptized within the last year, and within the last eighteen years, 2200; the general average of baptisms being about 120 annually. At Frankfort-on-the-Maine, a great desire for the Holy Scriptures had been awakened. At Amsterdam, rationalism had broken the fetters of Jewish superstition, and awakened a spirit of inquiry, which, in many cases, led to the embracing of Christianity."

AFRICA.

CAPE TOWN.—The Bishop has introduced synodical meetings in his diocese. He insists upon the offertory in every new Church, and is gradually introducing it into the old. To insure the discipline of the diocese he makes himself the paymaster of his Clergy, and on the same principle insists that all property intended for the use of the Church shall be conveyed simply to the See. By modifying his examinations he is making the Order of Deacons really distinct, and he has begun to establish a system of lay discipline.

SIERRA LEONE.—The Queen and Prince Albert have transmitted a joint donation of 100*l.* to the fund for establishing this Bishopric, which now amounts, exclusive of the sums collected in connexion with the Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to nearly 7000*l.*

TUNIS.—The Roman Catholic Mission in this part of Africa, under the direction of the Capuchin friars, has been erected into a Vicariate Apostolic under the presidency of M. Sutter, of the Capuchin order, who is made Bishop *in partibus*. This Vicariate will be under the protection of the French Government.

AMERICA.

CANADA.—During the last week of September a meeting of Bishops of the British North-American Dioceses was held at Quebec. It was attended by the Bishops of Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Newfoundland, and Fredericton. Various topics intimately bearing upon the interests of the Colonial Church were discussed in a spirit of cordial unanimity; the results of the conference have been transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Metropolitan, and will in due time be made public.

The Bishop of Montreal has issued a pastoral to his Clergy, explaining his reasons for objecting to the operations within his diocese of the Colonial Church and School Society, which has, without consulting the Bishop, and partly in defiance of his expressed disapprobation, sent into his diocese seven lay agents, assumed the government of one of the missions in it, and taken various other steps to establish an irresponsible authority within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Superior Court has dismissed with costs the petition of C. Wurtele for a *mandamus* against the Bishop of Montreal, for having refused, when requested, to read the Burial Service over his child (Wurtele being a Dissenter and the child having been baptized by the minister of another communion), on the ground that Dr. Mountain was not by law bound to comply with the said request.

A bull has been recently issued by the Popish Prelates in Canada, prohibiting the ladies of their communion from waltzing and polkaing.

UNITED STATES.—The Rev. J. Williams, D.D., was consecrated to the office of Assistant Bishop of the diocese of Connecticut, in St. John's Church, Hartford, on the 29th ult., in the presence of a vast congregation of Clergy and laity. The Right Rev. Bishop Brownell acted as consecrator, assisted by the Bishops of Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and W. New York. About seventy Clergy in their surplices were likewise present on the occasion.

Bishop Routledge was consecrated to the Sec of Florida at St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia, on the 15th of October.

The Rev. Dr. Whitehouse was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Illinois, at St. George's Episcopal Church, in New York, on the 21st ult.

Salt Lake is represented to be in a state of revolution. All the United State officers have been obliged to quit the territory. The Mormons are masters of the country.

The major number of the Standing Committees of the different dioceses have signified their consent to the proposed consecration of the Rev. W. Creighton, D.D., as Provisional Bishop of the diocese of New York.

The Bishop of Fredericton having officiated in a Church at Philadelphia, the circumstance has drawn forth from the Church journals in America expressions of gratification at this act of inter-communion.

The new Romish Archbishop of Baltimore, Dr. Kenrick, has issued a pastoral, summoning, in his character as Apostolic Delegate, a National Council of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Romish Church in the United States, to meet in his Cathedral on the fourth Sunday after Easter in the ensuing year.

The Roman Catholics held a Provincial Council, at Quebec, on the 15th of August. Nine bishops and 300 priests were present.

DEMERARA.—The following letter is from Mr. Brett, dated Demerara, Sept. 26, 1851.

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the box containing the copies of the Gospels in the Arawak tongue.

"I have just returned from a visit to the Missions of Pomeroon and Waramuri, to which a certain number of copies were sent two months ago, and am happy to say that the Indians are learning to read it with great avidity; and although they have there no person capable, from previous study, of teaching them, yet they are making great progress by their own unassisted efforts. One youth was pointed out to

us, who, though not living at the Mission, and wholly self-taught, had completely mastered the whole work ; and in the presence of the Bishop and myself he read every passage which he was desired to attempt.

"His Lordship also informed me, that he had seen during the previous week Arawak girls, who, having been taught by the daughters of the Rector of St. John's, read to him the third chapter of St. Matthew with much fluency and sweetness.

"I had delayed acknowledging the receipt of these books until I could also testify of their usefulness. Prevented by circumstances from visiting our Missions, and having had no assistant in the work, I was grieved at the lapse of time which seemed likely ere our hopes could be realized. But God has ordered it otherwise, and the above circumstances are in the highest degree satisfactory. I have much thankfulness in stating them.

"We have the highest hopes that a few years will complete the conversion of the Arawaks within the British territory to Christ. In the neighbourhood of our Mission the greatest desire for Christian instruction prevails. We have lost many faithful ones by death, but more come forward. The Bishop confirmed fifty-six Indians, and baptized thirty-seven; and the next day we had two weddings, and eighty Indians communicated with us. The attendance of Arawaks was so numerous, that the children were obliged to be sent out of church ere a party of Caribs could be admitted. These latter had stayed away for a long time, and it was necessary to conciliate them, by making room at any rate, or they would not have attended any more, being proud and jealous, and possessing a high national feeling. It was painful to see them in their naked and painted state, which contrasted greatly with the Arawaks, who were as well dressed as European peasantry; so greatly have they advanced within less than twelve years."

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.—The publication of the minutes of the Episcopal Conference, held at Sydney in November last, has elicited expressions of opinion on the part of the diocesan clergy. In the diocese of Melbourne, the Archdeacon of Geelong and ten other clergymen have declared their mind on the following points:—

"That Diocesan Synods should be held; that if the Crown should admit recommendations from local authorities in the appointment of Colonial Bishops, the recommendations should proceed from the Diocesan Synods; that no Metropolitan should be appointed, but each diocese and its Bishop remain under the immediate jurisdiction of Canterbury; that none but communicants should be entitled to vote, or eligible, at the election of lay representatives for the Diocesan Synod; that clergymen should be nominated by vestries, all to be incumbents, except assistant-curates; that no incumbent should be removed except on conviction for an ecclesiastical offence; that Diocesan Synods should act as Ecclesiastical Courts, subject to an appeal to the highest Ecclesiastical Court in England; that doubtful rubrics should be left

to the discretion of the clergy ; that any authoritative decision on the baptismal question is to be deprecated ; that no education, except that which embraces Holy Scripture and Church-teaching, should be encouraged ; that the Missionary should be actively prosecuted ; lastly, that a copy of the address, setting forth these views, be forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury."

A similar document, against a determination of the doctrine of holy baptism, has been addressed to the Bishop of Adelaide by the Archdeacon of Adelaide and ten other clergymen ; and in the diocese of Van Diemen's Land an address was adopted, at a meeting at Hobart Town, by twenty against eight, which expresses similar views on the baptismal question, claiming for the Bishops, clergy, and laity, "an equal participation in all deliberations and judgments," and strongly objects to the proposed plan of making clergymen removable at the simple will of the Bishop.

A letter from the Bishop of Newcastle, dated Sydney, May 28, 1851, contains the following :—

"Not only was ruin general, and poverty universal, and every district irritated and depressed by the amount of its Church debts, but there had grown up an opinion, that the Government and the Bishop were to supply all their religious wants ; and that all which was required of the members of the Church was to express a wish, that churches might be built for them, and ministers maintained. This opinion I have from the first most strenuously and perseveringly resisted, and, I am delighted to say, with the happiest result. Indeed, I determined to throw the members of our Church on their own resources as regards church buildings ; to give them nothing, except my own private mite of assistance, and to ask for nothing for them : and the following good has thus certainly been effected. Though the generality are still poor, they are willing to give cheerfully of their penury for the purpose of providing for themselves and for others the means of grace, through the ministrations of our Apostolic Church.

"Again, all the old debts upon the churches have been paid off ; and the churchwardens of every parish in the Hunter district were enabled, last Easter Tuesday, to inform their parishioners, that there was a surplus in favour of the parish, instead of a debt against it, as there had been for many previous years.

"Again, churches which had been left for years unfinished, have been completed ; and persons who were tired of subscribing, and irritated at finding their money either wasted or lost, have been rendered grateful and happy at the consecration of their church. Thus, in 1848, I had no church to consecrate ; in 1849, I had one ; in 1850, only one ; but this year I have already consecrated four, and three more will be ready for consecration before I return from my missionary voyage with the Bishop of New Zealand ; and I have several others progressing most satisfactorily towards completion.

"And lastly, without any fresh aid from Government funds, fifteen additional clergymen have been placed out in the destitute districts of

the diocese, and are maintained by the subscriptions of the Churchmen in their districts, aided by a grant from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and I am delighted to say, aided also by the offerings of the members of the Church in the old long-settled districts, who have their clergymen maintained by Government grant, and have been made to feel that there is a claim upon them, not only of brotherly kindness and charity, but of equity and justice, to share the burdens of their brethren, and to contribute to the support of their ministers.

"Such is the happy change, in position and in feeling, which has been brought about during the last three years. And, I may add, that the Newcastle Church Society, which I was enabled to form last month, has begun its work most successfully; while such is the cordial co-operation of the whole body of my clergy in carrying out their Bishop's wishes and plans, that there will be a district or parochial association, in connexion with the general Society, formed in every district of the diocese.

"It is my earnest desire to provide sound superior religious education for children of all ages and classes in my diocese; and if I can accomplish this, the strength and attachment which will accrue to the Church are incalculable.

"I desire to establish a commercial and a grammar school, as the necessary intermediate links between the primary schools and the colleges at Raymond Terrace and at Morpeth. I have announced to my diocese, that all children who are diligent in the primary schools, and really profit by their teaching in them, shall be assisted in their further education, by having superior schools provided for them, and by being in part supported at such schools. Thus I have promised that I will establish, at Maitland, my largest town, a superior commercial school; at Newcastle, a Church grammar school; at Raymond Terrace, a collegiate institution; while I train up under my own eye, at Morpeth, my candidates for Orders, and my young deacons."

LYTTELTON.—It appears that the Bishop-designate of Lyttelton has declined the appointment, on the score of Mrs. Jackson's health. It is reported that the Rev. Dr. Rowley, who went out to the Canterbury Settlement as Dean, will be raised to the episcopal office; and that a commission will be issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishops of Sydney, New Zealand, and Melbourne, empowering them to proceed with his consecration.

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